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THE ECONOMIC REVIEW

*VOLUME X*





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## THE AGRICULTURE OF A FRENCH CANTON.

THE canton of Cambrin, in the arrondissement of Béthune (Pas-de-Calais), is situated at the extremity of the plain of Lens. On the south it is bounded by the Gohelle, and towards the north it invades the Low Countries a little. Its physical features are very similar to those of the other cantons in the arrondissement of Béthune: the plain extends as far as the eye can reach, there are few or no undulations, and very few trees. All the woods have been cut down; at the present moment the very last is being cleared at Richebourg, in order that the land may be brought under cultivation.

The climate is inclement; the sea-winds, unchecked by any obstacle, rage at certain seasons of the year. Their direction is very variable, and it is no uncommon thing, on this great plain—extending as far as Calais and Dunkirk—to find the wind completely boxing the compass several times in the day. Under these conditions, the changes of temperature are often both sudden and rapid, but the thermometer usually registers a fairly low average, viz. about  $49^{\circ}$  Fahr., while the maximum and minimum reached are often extreme during quite a short space of time, as we might expect in a country denuded of trees. Thus, in 1895 a temperature of  $68^{\circ}$  F. was observed in the winter, and it is not unusual, in summer, to find the thermometer rise to  $95^{\circ}$  F., and even  $99\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  F., as in 1881. The temperature of the soil in 1897 was from  $50^{\circ}$  F., at a depth of  $11\frac{3}{4}$  inches: it is noticeable that this has decreased since 1884, when  $52\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$  F. was registered. The sky is often cloudy, an average of 200 rainy days annually being calculated (212 in 1896–97), and an annual rainfall of  $27\frac{1}{2}$  inches; while the hours of sunlight only reach an average of 1500.

The land is, for the most part, strong and fertile; the soil

is often founded on a bed of clay, more or less thick, below which there is chalk, and in some places quicksand. The richness of the soil depends to a large degree upon the thickness of this bed, which is almost impervious. As there are no rivers in the country, it is upon atmospheric moisture that the cultivator depends for the humidity necessary for the growth of his crops. Where the clay is absent, as in the south of Haisnes, there are flints in the fields, and the moisture passes straight into the chalk, so that the land there is of much less value.

Upon this rich and fertile soil have grown up the seventeen communes of the canton of Cambrin. The total population numbers about 25,416 souls. Cambrin is not, as might be supposed, the most important of the communes; on the contrary, it is one of the three with the smallest populations. Beuvry, with its 4300 inhabitants, was formerly the chief town, and remains so still in the ecclesiastical district. But Beuvry is situated at the extreme north-east of the canton, and Cambrin has since been chosen as a more central point, to facilitate communication between the communes and their capital.<sup>1</sup>

All the communes have increased in population rather rapidly, since, if the soil is rich, the substratum is equally so. The coal-mines are being actively developed, and many strangers come to settle in the canton in order to work at them. This is a new industry which has established itself in the country, with its own population and customs; but high wages make it attractive, and it threatens to draw away much of the local agricultural labour. It is interesting to observe how the latter has borne the shock. We shall therefore investigate, in order, first the existing conditions of agricultural property, and the profits which it affords.

We shall then examine the various agricultural industries; and

<sup>1</sup> The following is a list of the communes with their population, according to the last census, in 1896: Annequin, 801; Auchy-lez-La-Bassée, 2197; Beuvry, 4235; Billy-Berclau, 2003; Cambrin, 541; Cuinchy, 1165; Douvrin, 2730; Festubert, 1351; Givenchy-lez-La-Bassée, 491; Haisnes, 1010; Labourse, 965; Noyelles-lez-Vermelles, 371; Richebourg l'Avoué, 1226; Richebourg St. Waast, 973; Sailly-Labourse, 1002; Vermelles, 3007; Violaines, 1348.



afterwards cultivation proper, with the character and method of life of the agricultural labourer. Finally, we will make a brief comparison between him and the miner. This rough sketch will show—from a special point of view, and within the limits of a monograph upon a canton—the profit we may draw from this fruitful method, in which the humblest labourer, working in the same way and on the same plan as his predecessors, can present his documents without fear, being assured in advance of the utility of his work—however modest it may be.

Property in the canton of Cambrin is minutely divided, as is shown by the following table, drawn up in 1882, the number of landowners being 3617 :—

Parcels of taxable land.	Number.	Extent.
Above 1 hectare <sup>1</sup>	18,840	5206
From 1 to 2 hectares	888	1211
"    2    "    3    "	362	819
"    3    "    4    "	193	601
"    4    "    5    "	91	359
"    5    "    7    "	67	399
"    7    "    10   "	66	511
"   10   "   20   "	70	809
"   20   "   30   "	20	429
"   30   "   40   "	5	175
"   40   "   50   "	5	225
"   50   "   60   "	1	56
"   60   "  100   "	1	95
Above 100 hectares	—	—
Total ..	20,579	10,895

We are, in fact, dealing with a country where the law of partition of land into equal parts is absolute. Except among the nobility, the ancient custom of the country demands this partition from the small landowners, as well as from the townspeople; and it would be easy to find deeds where this mode of action is specified. After the Revolution the new civil code was welcomed. In fact, its introduction was sure to be easy among the people of the North of France, who, from time immemorial, have always had a very vigorous feeling of independence. The history of Flanders and Artois is a record

<sup>1</sup> A hectare is nearly 2½ acres.

of vassals perpetually at war with their over-lords, true fore-runners of the theory of equality in the future birthplace of Robespierre. And, as a matter of fact, the heirs show much jealous zeal about the division, each watching his neighbour and examining the shares, to discover whether any other portion is better than his own. It is not uncommon for disputes to arise at this juncture, resulting in feuds which last for many years.

Moreover, this spirit which animates the children is equally strong among the parents. They would not for the world favour one child above another; and when questioned on the subject, they show complete astonishment at the idea, which had never entered into their minds. They are indignant at what they consider to be supremely unjust. "There is no bastard in the house; why should you want one to have more than the other?" As for leaving the land to one of the children on the condition that he pays an income out of it to his co-heirs, they regard it as impracticable. For in this case the co-heirs care no more for equality, but regard only the maximum produce, and expect to have an income of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on their capital—that is to say, the rate of interest on mortgages. The eldest son would not be able to pay it. For instance, if the property consisted of forty plots of ground worth 2000 fr. each, and there were four heirs, the eldest would be obliged to contract a mortgage of 60,000 fr. and so to pay an annuity of 2700 fr. He would prefer to withdraw his 20,000 fr., and with it to set up for himself, and hire these same forty plots at 40 fr. each. This second method saves him 1100 fr. a year, which is a saving well worth consideration.

This system also involves the dowering of the daughters. As everything has to be divided, the share of each man is inconsiderable. It is therefore necessary for him to seek a wife whose property will help to establish the new household. This is a matter of self-interest; and if a father sees his son paying attention to a girl whose dowry or future property is inferior to his own, he bids him let her be, and keep other company. The girls, on their part, are not perfect simpletons; and at a popular ball in the canton of Laventie the other day, you could



see the young men in tall hats enjoying a veritable triumph, while those in plain straw hats were reduced to drinking beer by themselves.

One result of the subdivision of land is frequent change of ownership. There are very few old families, and the estates change hands in nearly every generation. In all the communes there are records of families which were numerous fifty years ago, and have now totally disappeared. At Béthune, in the office for the arrondissement, during the year 1898, 3745 deeds were registered for the transfer of land and other fixed property worth 13,206,887 fr.; it is instructive to compare with these figures the number of mortgages registered, which is 2352 during the same period, representing a sum of 11,262,588 fr., which is an increase of 1,929,750 fr. from 1897.

Another effect of this custom is the creation of very small holdings. If we take 50 hectares as the minimum size of a large farm, we only find twelve such estates out of 2252.<sup>1</sup>

These estates are situated on soil of various kinds, as has been already pointed out. They can be divided into five classes of land, of which the proportion per cent. and the money-value are given in the following table :—

	Lands.				
	1st class.	2nd class.	3rd class.	4th class.	5th class.
Proportion per cent. .. ..	40	20	15	15	10
Capital value per hectare of—	Fr.	Fr.	Fr.	Fr.	Fr.
1. Arable land .. ..	7000	5000	4000	3000	2000
2. Meadow .. ..	4500	2000	2000	2000	800
3. Wood-land { (a) Underwood .. ..	2000	1600	1000	800	500
(b) Timber .. ..	3000	—	1000	—	—
Annual value per hectare of—					
1. Arable land .. ..	150	125	100	80	60
2. Meadow .. ..	100	80	60	50	40

The high value of the land suggests that the cultivation is

<sup>1</sup> Number of farms below 1 hectare, 881; from 1 to 5 hectares, 803; 5 to 10, 310; 10 to 20, 170; 20 to 30, 60; 30 to 40, 11; 40 to 50, 5; 50 to 100, 9; 100 to 200, 3;—total 2252.

carried on either by the proprietors themselves or by tenant-farmers, and, as a matter of fact, we find 1851 estates (consisting in all of 7860 hectares) cultivated by their owners. The number of tenant-farms amounts to 401, comprising 3044 hectares. The leases are usually for a maximum period of nine years, and only eight exceed this duration.

The communes of Haisnes and Auchy possess a drained marsh, bequeathed to them by the Marquis of Villers, formerly their lord, to be distributed in shares among the inhabitants, under certain conditions. These shares consist of thirty to thirty-three ares,<sup>1</sup> some even covering more than forty ares.<sup>2</sup> In order to be entitled to a share in the marsh-land, the claimant must reside in the commune, and must be an independent householder. A list is drawn up of all the claimants in order of seniority, and the shares are distributed to them in order, as they fall in to the commune. The first claimant has the right of demanding any share left vacant by decease; the commune has no right to compel him to choose another share which has been taken away from some one who held it illegally.

In order to keep a share of the marsh-land, just as in order to acquire it, it is necessary to reside in the commune and to be an independent householder. The fact of being admitted to an almshouse and occupying a bed there without charge, deprives the allotment-holder of his rights; but temporary admission, subject to payment, does not affect his rights. The share of marsh-land is real property, belonging to the husband to whom it has been assigned; but the products of the share belong to the husband and wife in common, as in the case of all other real property. The ownership of a share is transmissible to the children in order of birth, whether male or female. Here we see an exception to the usual custom of equal partition of land; and in this connexion it is not uncommon to find the other heirs trying to reduce the share of the eldest son in the remainder of the parents' estate, regarding him with jealousy, because "with the addition of his marsh-land, he will have more than the others."

<sup>1</sup> About three roods.

<sup>2</sup> Almost an acre.



The eldest son also inherits contingent rights, if his father should die after having just lodged a request to be put in possession of a share of the marsh which has fallen vacant. He then has the right of adopting the claim and of taking possession, so long as he himself fulfils the required conditions. If the eldest of the children is a daughter, married under the system of joint property, her husband has the right, as administrator of their joint property, to receive the products of the share, and to take steps to obtain the enjoyment of them. Occupation dates from the day of assignment, irrespective of the time of year; if the harvest is just ready for reaping, it belongs to the new owner. Finally, if the owner die without issue, his share returns to the commune to be distributed afresh.

This property, which is of a somewhat peculiar character, is confined for the most part to the assistance of the poor of the commune, but any man may acquire it under the conditions described, whether he be rich or poor. And, indeed, it is a very acceptable form of property, for the marsh allotment constitutes a plot of ground usually fertile, and eminently suitable for the cultivation of vegetables; some of the allotment-holders even grow tobacco on it.

Having now made a brief study of the various forms of property found in the canton, we must examine the profits which accrue from them. These profits are of different kinds. The most important are afforded by the two agricultural industries which have grown greatly in the Pas-de-Calais during the last few years—the manufacture of sugar and alcohol.

In 1898 the forty-one factories in the Pas-de-Calais produced about eighty-six million kilograms of sugar. The sugar industry in this part of the country dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the first factory was founded at Arras. It is especially since 1830 that this infant industry began to develop, so that in 1836 there were already ten sugar factories in the department. From that year date the only two in the canton of Cambrin, both being built at Douvrin. Until 1875 the trade was exceedingly prosperous, and the number of

factories rose to over ninety in the Pas-de-Calais. But then an acute crisis followed, brought about by the competition of the Germans, who set up large works and inundated the market with their products. Most of the manufacturers were very much shaken by this state of things, and several of them gave up the struggle.

It was then that, to meet the foreign competition, the methods of manufacture were improved. The machinery for extracting the sugar was perfected in various respects, and the beetroot itself was improved by the acclimatization of the rich species containing 14 or 15 per cent. of sugar. While this was going on, the laws of 1884 and 1890 were passed to satisfy the wishes of the manufacturers. Since that time the sugar manufacture has never ceased to prosper.

To this statement of the case the cultivators of the beetroot answer that the law of 1884 has ruined them. Formerly, with the red beetroot, they used to sell at the rate of 10 fr. for the thousand kilograms, without any stipulations being made as to density. Now, they complain, their income is reduced by one-third. The manufacturer, they say, has a thousand ways of reducing prices; and, rightly or wrongly, the cultivators complain, and hold the law of 1884 responsible. The fact is that the introduction of the new beetroot has diminished their income.

Exported sugar is exempt from duty, and actually receives a premium of 4 fr. per hundred kilograms. This bounty has at least the peculiarity of requiring the Frenchman to go abroad to buy cheap the sugar which he produces cheaply. It is one of the reasons why the consumption of sugar is ten times greater in England than in France.

At Douvrin the two sugar factories are the property of old-established families, which have worked them since their foundation. The beetroot is obtained both by purchase from the country people and by cultivation carried on by the manufacturers themselves. The coal comes from Lens, and there is a mine in the next commune which is equal to the supply of the two factories.



Each of the works at Douvrin can deal with twelve or fifteen millions of kilograms of beetroot, giving a production of 34,000 sacks of sugar. This sugar is sent direct to the refineries, which are the only market for it. None is sold direct to the foreigner.

The number of hands employed in these factories varies greatly, the business including, as we have already seen, the cultivation of the beetroot and, as accessory to that, the fattening of oxen, kept partly in order to consume the pulp created by the manufacture, and partly to supply the manure necessary for cultivation.

During the process of the sugar manufacture, which begins at the end of September, and ends, according to the nature of the season, in December, January, or February, the workers at each factory increase in number to an average of 200, of whom 40 are women. The latter are chiefly employed in unpacking the beetroot in the factory, and in cleansing it. The unpacking is done by girls paid by the day at the rate of 1 fr. 20 c., while those who are employed in the cleansing are paid by the piece, and can earn 2 fr. a day. All the men and children are paid by the piece, the highest wages rising as high as 4 fr. a day; boys make 2 fr. Special workers, such as the stokers, receive higher pay; that of the turbiners goes up to 10 fr. a day, but their work is of a highly specialized kind. It consists of periods of work interrupted by short intervals, which makes it more irksome. During the summer this same staff of workers—though then consisting of a much smaller number—is occupied in agricultural labour, remunerated as we shall see later on.

There are no institutions established for the advantage of these labourers except those that are compulsory, such as insurance against accidents under the law of 1898. The life and customs of the agricultural families shall be described when we come to treat of cultivation in the narrower sense of the term.

Though sugar factories were the first established in this district, distilleries for alcohol, first introduced into the canton in 1881, soon surpassed them in number. Thus we find four, of which two are in the commune of Violaines, and the others in

Givenchy and Labourse. In the Pas-de-Calais generally beetroot is ousting other substances as the source of alcohol, and the Cambrin factories use nothing else. It is unnecessary to describe here the technical process of distillation. The bye-products are pulp and vinasse. The pulp is of different quality, according as the juice is obtained by pressure or by diffusion. In the purely manufacturing distilleries diffusion prevails almost exclusively, in order that the greatest possible amount of sugar may be extracted. In the agricultural distilleries, on the contrary, this is not desirable. The pulp should retain a little sugar in order to be acceptable to the cattle, which do not like the pulp produced by diffusion, and have to be persuaded to eat it by the addition of oil-cake. Vinasse is used for irrigation, and here is the triumph of the agricultural distillery surrounded by its own highly cultivated land. Vinasse is a wonderful manure containing 15·950 kilos. of organic and 7·550 kilos. of mineral substances per cubic metre, and as much as 1·024 kilos. of azote, 0·470 kilo. of phosphoric acid, and 1·674 kilos. of potash. A conduit from the works takes this liquid manure to the fields. The distiller tills and prepares the ground, and then lets it at 1200 fr. the hectare to tobacco-planters. Next year, without any other manure having been applied, he resumes possession and plants beetroot, which will bring him in 1000 fr. per hectare; the third year, without any application of nitrate, the land will bear a crop of wheat and bring in 700 fr.; the fourth year oats will be the crop; and, finally, it is possible to draw a fifth harvest in rye and lentils, but this is little done. The soil, thus exhausted, is now ready to receive vinasse once more. After it has gone through this process three times, it becomes so compact that it is necessary to treat it with lime in order to take away its acidity and restore its original consistency.

In the purely manufacturing distillery the vinasse is sold to the agriculturist. The distiller binds him to grow beetroot the next year for the works, and this arrangement gives rise to much friction. Consequently the tendency is for the distillers to surround themselves with land of their own and grow their own beetroot. Just at present, then, the agricultural distillery has



the brightest prospects in our canton, but legislative changes in regard to taxation may reverse the conditions. The duty on alcohol is 156 fr. 25 c. per hectolitre of 100°, but recently it was reduced to 3 fr. only on alcohol for industrial purposes. This, it was supposed, would encourage its use in new ways, both for lighting and motive-power, but this expectation is not likely to be fulfilled for a long time. The price has been gradually falling in the last twenty years, but a rise took place in 1898, which encouraged the producers, and the trade in the Pas-de-Calais is growing. Of the Cambrin distilleries, the two at Violaines deal with 33,000,000 kilos. of beetroot, producing 16,500 hectolitres of alcohol; that of Givenchy treat 7,000,000 kilos., producing 3500 hectolitres; and that of Labourse 7,500,000 kilos., producing 4000 hectolitres. Fifty litres of alcohol thus come from a ton of beetroot.

The improved methods of working now introduced, especially as regards the provision of water to the works, have allowed the number of hands employed to be considerably reduced. In one of them we find only seven workers, and in another nine. Workmen become more difficult to get, as any strong man can look for better-paid work at the mines. A distiller whom I interrogated as to the efficiency of his men, replied, "As to efficiency, they are blind, lame, and infirm; we are obliged to take all the mine does not want." This is the perpetual complaint. "The agriculturist is in want of labour." It is true that the average wage is much below that paid in the mines, as we shall see further on. The distillery worker has to content himself with 3 fr. 50 c. or 4 fr. 25 c. a-day, according as he works by the day or the piece; the carter gets 2 fr. 50 c. and a small bonus according to the length of his journeys.

Here, as in the sugar industry, there are no funds for savings or other institutions for the benefit of the workman. Yet families which begin at the works remain there. There is still a certain permanence in the engagement of the old men. The young ones break the tie to find work in manufacture.

The difficulty of finding labour, which is felt by these works, is much more serious to the small cultivator. He works alone

most of the year, and requires at certain periods considerable assistance. His situation is very different in other ways, and to the consideration of this we must now address ourselves.

Artois belongs to an industrious and economical race, and these primæval characteristics are not wanting in the canton which we are considering. In some cases, indeed, economy verges on avarice. The old spirit of independence has now turned into a fierce love of personal freedom, and a kind of defiant pride. This feeling, too, is not free from a touch of jealousy, so that every one tries to fancy himself greatly superior to his neighbour. It is true that this habit of mind is not peculiar to the canton of Cambrin, and that it is a characteristic nowhere altogether unknown; but there are degrees in its intensity. If the Norman is pre-eminently cunning, the Gascon exuberant, and the Provençal fiery, the Northern peasant is certainly proud and slightly egoistic. Besides this, the intense reserve which he always maintains prevents any outsider from ever sounding the depths of his thoughts—he is always on the defensive. In the main, he is a respectable man, and a good father; it is evidently among the agriculturists that we find the sense of family life in its most highly developed form, simply because they have remained faithful to the religion of their fathers. In a general way, the father and mother fulfil their religious duties, and make their children join the various guilds existing in the village. Yet at the same time they are not free from deep-seated superstitions. I know a woman who went to fetch the parish priest in order that he might exorcise her house because the former tenant had been in the habit of reading bad books. Since then the inmates said they had heard an infernal racket every night in the granary! This tendency is especially seen in the case of quacks—those who use what are called secret remedies. These men take the utmost advantage of the public credulity, and the accounts of the so-called cures which they effect are amazing. There is a celebrated quack of this kind in the canton, who is supposed to cure all forms of disease. Not long ago a man had toothache for some days, and suffered intense pain. He heard that this famous quack was staying in his

village, and determined to go to see him. The distance from his house was only a five minutes' walk. "Well, sir," said the good man to me, "just as I turned the handle of the door, my toothache left me all at once, and since then I have not felt it again. The pain was afraid of *him*, and it left me from fear of seeing him." After several stories of this kind the reputation of no matter what quack is firmly established. On questioning the subject of this miracle, I found that he had been that very morning to a dentist who had killed the nerve!

We may doubtless expect that the continual growth of education will enlighten this ignorance a little; but, in spite of the increase of conscripts able to read and write, the people remain strongly attached to their ancient customs, and especially to their ancient dialect. The child who speaks French at school hastens to forget it at home, and resumes his *patois*; and this *patois* is not, properly speaking, a dialect—it is merely French badly pronounced. Its formation is very simple. "*An*" and "*en*" are usually pronounced "in;" *e* and *ch* are altered so that *ça* becomes *cha* and *celle-la* becomes *chelle-la*, *chat* becomes *ka*, and so on; and there are variations in different communes, so that the *patois* of each parish appears perfectly ridiculous to the next. Some old French forms survive, and the Spanish occupation has left traces in words like *rio*, which is commonly used for a stream. There are other words of Teutonic origin, such as *daine*, which is the same as the English substantive, "down," and means the same thing.

The old measures survive, like the old language. Women buy cloth by the ell; the quarrymen measure depth by the foot, and the farmers reckon by "measures." Unfortunately this "measure" is different in different districts, being larger where the land is less fertile. It is a curious method of estimating land by its value instead of by its extent. Thus in one part of Haisnes the measure is 33 and in another 42·63 acres.

This industrious population has profited by the example of the great mining industry in its midst. Seeing that, according to the proverb, "Nothing can be made out of nothing," it has abandoned the old routine, and cultivation is now carried on in



a more rational manner than in the old days. The surface of the agricultural land is about 11,045 hectares, of which 10,787 are cultivated, while the remaining 258 are still in a marshy condition. The ground occupied by buildings, roads, railways, etc., amounts only to 464 hectares. The statistics of 1882 show the distribution of crops:—Cereals, 6146 hectares; other food-producing grain, 360; tubercles and roots, 1012; mixed fodder, 668; natural meadow, 217; oleaginous plants, 186; textile plants, 57; plants for manufacture, 2016; wood, 125; total, 10,787 hectares.

The cereals are divided as follows, according to the extent of cultivation:—Wheat, 3099 hectares; rye, 262; barley, 354; winter rye and lentils, 602; oats, 1827.

Wheat naturally takes the first place, and is found in all the varieties which can bear the cold climate in the north of France. Beardless wheat tends to decrease, and to give way to various species of bearded wheat; for, besides a profitable produce, this kind of corn has the great advantage of immunity from the attacks of birds. The following is the gross produce of wheat, expressed in its money value; the calculations being made for the “measure” of land mentioned above (p. 13). The amount of produce, in good years, may be reckoned as 15 hectolitres (*i.e.* about 40 hectolitres to each hectare). The actual cost being about 15 fr., the sum total comes to 225 fr. With this grain there would be nearly 2500 kilograms of straw at 35 centimes the kilogram, *i.e.* 87 fr. Thus the total produce of a “measure” is represented by the sum of 312 fr. The expenses necessary for this result are:—Rent and taxes, 60 fr.; seed, 20; ploughing, 10; removal of weeds and destruction of roots, 10; manure, 10; harvesting, 10; threshing, 20; various carting, 10; total, 150 fr.

The net profits are  $312 - 150 = 162$  fr.

In this table, the sum of 10 fr. for manure is rather small, because all the manure is generally used up in the cultivation of beetroot. In any case this is the maximum profit, and the cultivation of wheat is not highly remunerative at the present price. The yield, however, is abundant. Thirty hectolitres<sup>1</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> A hectolitre is equal to  $2\frac{3}{4}$  bushels.

wheat, weighing 75 kilograms per hectare, may be reckoned on ; whilst in the case of bearded grain, it amounts to 40 hectolitres. Last year, in some parts, it even amounted to 42 and 43 hectolitres ; but this is quite exceptional. The yield of straw is about 3500 kilograms. With rye, the crop of grain is not more than 25 hectolitres, weighing 70 kilograms, and likewise yielding 3500 kilograms of straw. Barley yields from 35 to 40 hectolitres of grain, weighing 60 kilograms, and producing only 1500 kilograms of straw. Oats produce a large yield, from 50 to 60 hectolitres, weighing from 45 to 50 kilograms, and 2000 kilograms of fodder. Lastly, winter rye and lentils yield 5000 kilograms of forage, including grain.

The other crops raised in the canton are—broad beans, which cover between 35 and 40 hectares, and which yield 25 hectolitres ; kidney beans, with a cultivation extending over 170 hectares, and yielding 24 hectolitres ; and lastly, peas, with about the same produce, over an area of from 150 to 160 hectares. Potatoes also are cultivated to a great extent, and come fourth in order of importance, occupying an area of over 900 hectares. They are put in at the rate of 30,000 plants, and yield from 10 to 12 tons per hectare. Beetroot grown for fodder covers only about 20 hectares, at the rate of 80,000 plants per hectare, and its produce varies from 30 to 50 tons. Lastly, roots such as carrots and turnips are grown on about 60 hectares, and yield from 8 to 15 tons.

To pass on from these to plants grown for manufacture, the most important is beetroot. It covers 2000 hectares, yielding a produce of more than 50 tons in the case of the rosy beetroot. Then we come to tobacco, which extends over 64 hectares at the rate of 45,000 plants, yielding a produce of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  tons.

Formerly the colza, the poppy, and the camelia were cultivated on a large scale, but these plants are no longer found to be sufficiently remunerative. The use of petroleum for lighting purposes has ruined the popularity of the quinquets and moderators. The peasants have almost given up the cultivation of oleaginous grains. There is not at present a single hectare of colza. The poppy covers an area of two or three hectares, and

yields a produce of about 20 hectolitres of grain. This grain, when reduced to oil, forms 25 litres of pure oil and about 4 tons of oil-cake.

A very flourishing branch of agriculture in the neighbourhood of Festubert was the cultivation of flax, which involved the existence of domestic industry. After the plant is steeped, the scutching is done and the flax prepared at home. Women and children have their share of work, and sometimes the total earnings of the day would be as high as 15 or 16 fr. But since the increase in the cultivation and exportation of flax from Russia, this industry has been entirely given up, and Festubert has become a mining centre. At the present time it would be difficult to find 20 hectares of flax left. The produce, however, is good enough; 15 hectolitres of grain and 2·6 tons of tow can be obtained, while the oil amounts to 30 litres per hectolitre of grain, and yields, as a bye-product, 3 tons of oil-cake.

Agricultural industry cannot get on without manure, and the same source of statistics to which I have already referred, gives the proportions of materials used for fertilizing the soil:—Dung, 330,000 quintals; lime, 10,400; cinders, 550; guano, 3840; natural phosphates, 250; superphosphates, 100; bone-ashes, 30; oil-cake, 25,000; nitrates, 5000; nightsoil, 1250; road sweepings, 120; various, 1000.

In consequence of the nature of the soil and of the manure used, there is great variety in the courses of crops. The distillers, as we have seen, follow a five-year course; the sugar-manufacturers a two-year course (beetroot, cereals), which requires 500 quintals of dung. The three-year course (beetroot, corn, oats), which is the commonest, requires only 300 quintals. The five-year course of the ordinary farmer (beetroot, poppies, corn, oats, winter rye and lentils) requires 1200 quintals.

The agricultural labourers decrease in number daily, and the farmers are obliged to have recourse to machines, so as to dispense with manual labour as much as possible.

We now see no fields sown except by the sowing machine, and for the last two years grass-cutting and reaping and binding



- machines have come into universal employment. The thrashing machines are beginning to be worked by petroleum. In short, the improvements of modern manufacture (*industrie*) are gradually reaching agriculture, and tend to manufacturize (*industrialiser*) it.

All this cultivation, however, which we have just examined, is but a part of the profit which the peasant can make out of the soil. All the northern part of the canton is low-lying and damp; hence there are meadows both natural and artificial, and therefore cattle-rearing is practised. The natural meadows occupy more than 200 hectares, and yield 7 tons per hectare, the duration of pasture-feeding being six months. The artificial meadows are sown with clover, luzern, and sainfoin; they extend over more than 600 hectares, yielding 10 tons of dry forage from luzern, and from 6 to 8 tons from the other plants. Maize, cabbages, and winter barley are the only other crops, and cover less than 40 hectares.

In the whole canton we find 5000 cattle, of which 1300 are young beasts. Each yields annually from 5 to 6 tons of manure. Sheep number 1900, and yield annually a ton of manure per head. Pigs also number 1900, with an annual production of 2 tons of manure per head. There are about 1200 goats. The yield of manure in their case does not exceed a ton per head annually. Finally, there are, employed in agriculture, 1200 horses, yielding according to age from 2 to 5 tons; 250 mules and 50 asses, which yield from 1 to 3 tons. The annual loss by disease and accident may be reckoned as follows:—Horses, 2·4 per cent.; mules, 1; asses, 1; cattle, 4; sheep, 1·5; pigs, 2; goats, 2.

Poultry is a source of income which the farmer of Cambrin is far from neglecting. There are in the canton about 22,000 chickens, 13,000 pigeons, 4000 rabbits, 100 geese, some turkeys, and a few guinea-fowl. The production of all these animals varies considerably.

Horses are still very little used for food. Nearly 1100 horned cattle are slaughtered annually, yielding on an average 280 kilograms of meat at the age of 5 years; and at the same time,

60 heifers of 2 years old, and 500 calves of 3 months—weighing 60 kilograms. About 100 sheep also go to the butcher: they are usually sold at the age of 3 years, and yield 30 kilograms. Lastly, 3000 pigs of 6 months old going to the pork-butcher afford 60 kilograms. In addition to this, a sheep affords 4 kilograms of unwashed wool at every shearing. The 3000 milch-cows also give 30 hectolitres of milk annually, or 90,000 for the whole canton. And finally, to make our list complete, there are 200 beehives, each one affording annually 5 kilograms of honey, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kilograms of wax.

The various employments of this industrious rustic population give to their daily lives that simplicity which we always find in country districts. As regards food, there is very little variety, and in the main it consists of a concoction of sage, which they call *thé al sal*, and slices of dry bread. Those who aspire to better living “rub their bread against the bars of a cage containing butter”—as their detractors express it. At midday the meal merely consists of lard soup; and on Saturday they buy a bit of beef. The whole culinary art of the housewife consists in boiling it.

I have collected the facts concerning a family composed of father, mother, and four children below the age of 18 years, whose annual consumption was:—Bread, 1456 kilograms; oil, 20; butter, 104; milk, 766; eggs, 51; beef, 66; pork, 130; mutton, 20; vegetables, 1229; salt, 52; pepper, 7; vinegar, 13; sugar, 52; coffee, 36; beer, 6 hectolitres.

Roughly speaking, the total would be about 500 kilograms per head per annum, *i.e.* about  $1\frac{1}{3}$  kilograms per head per day, excluding of course all drink. It is a small amount, when we consider the hard work that is required of the cultivator. And, moreover, he shows the same economy in the expenses relating to his dwelling. There is nothing less luxurious than the house of a peasant. Sometimes, alas! cleanliness is deficient, but this is not usually the case, and there are many places where the farms are less well kept than in the Pas-de-Calais. The dwelling-house is clean, but by some strange inconsistency, in some communes the dungheap is left on the road—a custom which,

besides being dangerous to health, especially in a country without watercourses, causes the complete loss of the liquid, a thing the cultivator would avoid if he understood his interest better.

Furniture and clothing are usually very simple, but quite clean. The people's pleasures are few. The chief is the Sunday visit to the public-house, where a great attraction is afforded by piquet and carabin (a game played in parts of the north of France, the players holding cards in both hands). It is rare to see them play for money, and the stakes are confined to the cost of drinks. The daily pleasure is a pipe, and some smoke to a very considerable extent. Usually, however, the peasant is sober, in spite of the steady increase of public-houses during late years. Thus, in the arrondissement of Béthune there were 5109 in 1888; while now, in 1898, there are 7490, *i.e.* an increase of more than 40 per cent. In some communes, the increase has been even greater: thus in Haisnes, in 1860, there were nine public-houses, while now there are 39; which is an increase of more than 300 per cent., due to the growth of the manufacturing population. The consumption of alcohol has increased on the same scale. In the arrondissement it was about 600,071 kilograms in 1897; while now it is 712,169 kilograms, showing an increase of more than 20 per cent. It is very evident that at the dedication fête of the country, all the people let themselves go, as it were, for at least one out of the three days. But apart from that, their life is regular and temperate.

The peasant's earnings, when he cultivates on his own account, whether as proprietor or as tenant, are rather uncertain. The wages of the agricultural labourer are no better, considering those paid in the manufactures of the same district. The statistics of 1882 show us that they can be classified as follows:—

Head-man .. .. .	600 fr. yearly.
Labourer over 16 years of age .. ..	400 „
Drover .. .. .	400 „
Shepherd .. .. .	300 „
Other men .. .. .	300 „
Boys under 16 years of age .. ..	180 „
Women .. .. .	240 „



Of course, with these wages, the servants are boarded at the farm.

The peasant can only depend upon his own earnings for support during his old age. He has no pension, and does not even know what it is; so that if he is able to retire, it is due to the personal efforts of years. However, for some years past, the councils-general have come to the aid of needy families by gifts in kind, such as mattresses, boots, blankets, or even repairs of buildings.

Such is the general view of the position of agriculture and the agriculturist in the canton of Cambrin. Agriculture was in former years the only industry of the country, but since the beginning of this century others have been introduced, and are in process of changing the old conditions of life. The railways have come, with their staffs dependent on powerful central offices. A considerable number of breweries have been established throughout the canton. At Richebourg a weaving mill is in full work. At Violaines superphosphates are manufactured. Last, but not least, the mining industry has grown up, and, so far as the labour question is concerned, completely dominates the situation. At Haisnes is situated the pit of the old Douvrin Company, bought in 1875 by the Mining Company of Lens. The Béthune Company owns the pits at Auchy, Annequin, and Vermelles. The mines have brought a large number of strangers into the country, and it is curious to watch these two populations, agricultural and industrial, with small common sympathies, the latter gradually penetrating the former.

The miner's conditions of life are very different from those of the rustic worker. The miner has a fixed wage and a high one. Since 1888, the recognized increase is 30 per cent., and a man who used to make 4 fr. 80 c. now has a daily wage of 6 fr. 50 c. Of course I am only speaking of miners proper; helpers and boys enjoy a corresponding gain. To this we must add for those who live in houses belonging to their employers, that for a rent of from five to seven francs a month, they have comfortable houses, satisfying every sanitary requirement. The latest models consist of detached buildings, with three rooms on

the ground floor and three upstairs, and a garden of at least three acres. So we see the miner, unlike the cultivator, spending freely, and his expenses of living are high. In a mining family studied in 1893, and consisting of father, mother, and two children, of whom the eldest was eight, I found a daily consumption of two kilograms per head. It is interesting to compare the income and expenditure of these two very dissimilar neighbours :—

## RECEIPTS.

	Miner.		Agriculturist.	
	Francs.	Per cent.	Francs.	Per cent.
Income from property .. ..	3·61	0·15	558·95	12·42
Subventions .. ..	152·60	6·19	84·60	1·88
Wages .. ..	2279·90	92·48	2288·67	50·86
Profits of business carried on ..	29·07	1·18	1567·87	34·84

## EXPENSES.

Food .. ..	1327·00	53·83	1870·90	41·56
House .. ..	254·60	10·32	264·80	5·88
Clothes .. ..	365·05	14·81	522·65	11·62
Intellectual wants and recreations	221·60	8·99	153·00	3·39
Taxes, debts .. ..	..	..	198·75	4·42
Savings .. ..	296·93	12·05	1490·97	33·13

The table shows at a glance the great difference between the modes of life of the two workers. In the case of the miner, all the receipts are certain. Wages form 92 per cent. of the whole, whereas of the cultivator's gains 35 per cent. are subject to the chances of the harvest. Consequently he feels keenly the need of saving for bad years, and we observe his savings amount to 33 per cent., while those of the miner are here 12 per cent., and often sink to nil. The great difference between the two may be exhibited in a striking light by a conversation which I heard the other day between an old Flemish peasant from the neighbourhood of Cassel, whose son had come for his wages for work in the pit. The old man said to his son—

“Well, sonny, are you happy in your mines? Get a good wage?”

"Not so bad, father. I am making six or seven francs at present."

"Six or seven francs!" cried the old man. "But that is a fortune! You will be able to put by money to retire on in your old age. You will do like me. By means of economy, and perhaps pinching myself a little, I have been able to keep my affairs straight, and make provision for illness without running into debt, and to buy a house and a cow; and now I live very happily with your old mother until God calls me, and I have the satisfaction of having set up my children handsomely."

"We've changed all that, father," replied the young man with a smile. "We have no need for economies. All that is done for us. When I am old, or even before, provided I am fifty-five, the State will pension me off. Illness? I don't need to trouble about that; the relief fund (*caisse de secours*) is there to furnish me with doctor, medicine, and days out. Accidents? The law obliges the company to give me the half of my salary. Debts? The law forbids the retention of more than 20 per cent. of my wages, and my pension cannot be attached. As for children, there is the public nursery for the little ones, the school for the bigger, and at thirteen they start working at the mine. You see, father, that there is not much to trouble about; all that you have got by economy and pinching I get without any bother."

This reasoning is perfectly typical, and unfortunately it is not only in the canton of Cambrin, or even in France, that it prevails, but more or less everywhere. The new schools, which preach what calls itself progress, desire to hear of nothing but collectivities; and we have the right to ask whether the suppression of individual effort is not the beginning of the decay of nations.

YAN' KERAUVIC,

Member of the *Société d'Economie Sociale* of France.



## THE PLACE OF MONEY IN ECONOMICS.

**D**URING the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, an exaggerated importance was attached to money *per se*; to the acquisition and storage of a treasure of gold and silver within the territories of each nation. Such a treasure was often spoken of as the only real wealth that a nation could possess, and the statute books were overloaded with enactments and re-enactments of essentially foolish laws intended to prevent the export of any portion of it.

This attitude of economic thought towards money has been followed by a reaction which has also not been free from a taint of absurdity. "Money," we have been told, "is the most insignificant thing in the whole social economy." "It is of no use till it is spent." "The whole benefit of international trade lies in the imports," and a balance of exports over imports means nothing but national loss. At the same time it is evident that we are ready to fight in every corner of the world to open or to keep open markets for our exports, and that we seldom give ourselves a thought about the acquisition of cheap imports, except, indeed, they chance to be necessary for the production of profitable exports. Regarding money as so insignificant a matter, Mill thinks it possible to treat of a great part of the phenomena of wealth without referring to the conception of money at all; and it is not till his book is almost a third of the way through that he overtly brings it in. / It is not too much to say, however, that the modern conception of wealth—wealth in definite amounts such as the word brings up to the mind of all of us—is one that could have had no existence at all apart from the existence of money. It corresponds to the Greek *χρήματα*, which Aristotle defines as "everything whose value can be

measured in money," and which came indeed to be used frequently as a practical synonym for money itself.

Let us endeavour to look at the conceptions of wealth and value in their historical aspect. How did they arise? As regards all the things that exist at the same moment, price and value are synonymous. Price, as it has been well said by Adam Smith, is instantaneous value. Still, one of the two conceptions may be the more primitive. It is an invariable rule, in tracing the development of thought, that the more concrete conception precedes and lays the foundation for the more abstract one. Thus, for example, the Tasmanians had names for many of the special varieties of trees, but no name for tree in general, and innumerable other parallel instances could be cited. The more concrete conception can and often does exist without the more abstract one, but the more abstract one, plainly enough, cannot exist without the more concrete one. A savage can have a very clear notion as to what the price of anything means before he is capable of forming any idea of value as distinguished from price. But Man, having formed his idea of price, proceeds to construct from that his idea of value by abstraction, that is, by denuding the first idea of its details. The price of the horse I have just bought is the sum of money I have given for it. But I may have had some special luck, and may have bought the horse at an exceptionally low figure; or the seller may have had a similar advantage in coming across me, and may thus have received a higher price than he would have obtained in normal circumstances. Its true value, then, may be defined as what the average man, neither, on the one hand, favoured by any special circumstances, nor, on the other, hampered by my idiosyncrasies, would have given for it. The conception of price, however, could plainly not have arisen till after money, in some shape, had come into existence; and if the conception of price could not, then neither could the conception of value, or of wealth, which stands to value in the relation of the substance to the attribute. How concrete such conceptions were in ancient Rome is shown by their word for the verb "to value." The etymology of *æstimo* indicates that the idea of value was

originally bound up with the special material of the standard money.

The economist of to-day, however, takes this conception of value in its developed form, which is only possible in a society where some commodity had already attained the position of money, and endeavours to apply it to a state of things in which, by hypothesis, money did not yet exist. In a state of barter, we are told, a price current would be a very complicated document, for the value of each commodity would have to be expressed in terms of every other commodity. It is difficult to attach any meaning to such words. The truth is that, in the primitive state of barter, there could have been no such thing as a price current at all. There would have been no word, no thought even, for either "price" or "value." There would be, no doubt, the subjective thought, "I will or I will not exchange my commodity for the other man's commodity;" but it is the existence of the common standard alone, of the commodity that has become the goal of effort in the community, that renders it possible for the thought to become objective, that allows a man to say or to think, "This slave is worth three bullocks," or "This bullock and this caldron are identical in value."

It has been much the fashion to tell us that, while the adherents of the mercantile theory had taken it for granted that the legitimate goal of a nation's fiscal policy was to make its subjects wealthy in the sense in which wealth was equivalent to the command of gold, Adam Smith rendered unspeakable services to mankind by showing the futility of such a conception of wealth as this; and that, since his time, we have come, in England at any rate, to recognize the truth that money is not in any real sense wealth at all—that it is a mere tool for the transference of wealth. Moreover, the doctrine that it was always commodities and never money that men really sought in all the operations of business and industry was supposed to be of great importance in connection with the free trade propaganda. Free trade, however, I feel assured has never owed any of its victories to the promulgation of such insincerities. Rather, indeed, it may be that it has owed to them the



reaction which its principles have still to surmount in the world.

The validity of the teaching based on the alleged insignificance of money might be taken for granted by the student when he found it within the boards of his text-books, but the remarkable thing is that he was likely to find it nowhere else. In all current literature, in all common talk, he would find it taken for granted, on the contrary, that what every one was aiming at, who either engaged in business at home or went to push his fortune abroad, was the making of money in the old-fashioned sense in which making money is synonymous with acquiring the ownership of gold. More than this, if we look at the fiscal policy of modern nations, if we regard the practical considerations that recommend one line of policy in preference to another, we find that the goal which they all have before them is nothing else but the goal of the mercantile theorists themselves—the acquisition of the maximum degree of command over the medium of exchange for the nation itself as a whole, and for the units in particular that compose it. Everywhere, throughout the world, we find commercial communities bent eagerly on the opening up of fresh markets, nowhere on the look-out for cheap imports. If the desirableness of cheap imports is put forward at all, it is put forward as a means to an end. Without cheap imports, it is urged, and of course with truth, profitable exports are impossible; but cheap imports are ordinarily a concession, increased exports are always the end to be achieved. When Peel said, “We will fight protective duties by cheap imports,” he found an echo, no doubt, both in parliament and in the country. But what did he mean by “fighting the protectionist nations”? Nothing else but this—becoming richer than they, securing a greater command of gold than they, which indeed we have done. The eighteenth-century policy of the European states blundered, no doubt, as Sir Thomas Mun and others of the much-maligned mercantile theorists pointed out, in aiming at the accumulation of actual gold and silver, and in thinking that this end was to be promoted by prohibiting their export; but if it was a blunder to aim at increasing for their citizens

the ownership of the precious metals, the certain command of gold at brief notice, then all the states of the modern world, free trade and protectionist alike, are making that blunder now. Whatever fiscal policy a statesman has to propound in a modern democracy, the only line of reasoning which he can advance on its behalf, which has the smallest chance of being favourably listened to, is the one which will aim at showing that it is the policy which, in one way or another, is calculated to inaugurate good times, or to ward off bad times; to make business prosperous and to make property rise in value; to bring enhanced incomes, in short, or the possibility of realization for increased capital sums within the reach of every citizen.

In Sydney, for instance, where I happened recently to reside, it would assuredly have been idle for a free trader, who wished to advocate the abolition of the duty on sugar, to point out to his audience that if this were done they would save a few shillings each in their annual expenditure. They would have been quite unselfish enough to decline to purchase so nearly inappreciable an advantage by a measure which, it would have to be admitted, could not be carried out without largely curtailing employment for a time, and causing considerable distress. Yet the duty on sugar is being reduced, and will shortly be abolished in Sydney.<sup>1</sup> This, however, has come about because the free traders have been able to convince the public that free trade is the policy which is most likely in the end to increase the money-wealth of each citizen. "Look at Sydney," they can say, "with her free-trade policy in the past, and you see property rising in value, shipping increasing by leaps and bounds, every one making money, in fact; and look, again, at Melbourne with her protectionist policy, and you can note that the reverse of all this is happening." All through, the appeal is made by both sides to a population that thinks and thinks only of making money, and cares not a jot about the cheapening of commodities, except in so far as this cheapening conduces to the making of money.

<sup>1</sup> The ministry specially identified with free-trade principles has recently resigned. I have not heard, however, that any radical change of policy is contemplated.

Among the more modern economists who deal with free trade, such as President Hadley, of Yale, we hear little, if anything, of the desirableness of cheap imports in themselves. Their defence of it is grounded rather on the consideration that the rates of profit and of wages in a country generally must be ruled by the rates prevailing in the export trades; that the export trades, consequently, are those which are best worth fostering; and that it is free trade which alone can foster them. Convince the American and the colonial working man of this, and no doubt they will follow the English example. The argument, however, directly reverses the old line of reasoning, which laid all the stress on cheap imports. It lays all the stress, as the mercantile theory did, and as the whole business world does still, on the income to be derived from exports.

The truth is that there is the same distinction in economics between money and commodities as there is in physics between Energy and Work. Because the utility of money is measured by the commodities and services that it can purchase, therefore, the theorist goes on to argue, money is nothing but commodities and services. If we take them into account, he thinks, we may leave money out of account altogether. He might as well contend that because energy is measured by the work it will do, therefore it is nothing but work; and that if work is taken into account in the theories of physics, energy may be left out of account altogether. The trouble would be that, in such a case, when we found the energy of sunlight stored in the coal-measures for a myriad of ages, we should be entirely at a loss to know what to make of it. Work we certainly could not call it, during its period of quiescence. On the same principle, we cannot identify with commodities the power of purchasing commodities which the possession of gold or the right to gold confers. The sale of a coat by a tailor, we are told, is "only half an exchange" till the money obtained for it is spent, say, in the purchase of a pair of shoes. But what about the state of things that exists while the exchange is thus only half completed, and which, of course, may continue during a dozen lifetimes? It is analogous to the state of things that exists



when a stone is thrown into the air, and, instead of coming to earth again in its former position, rests on the ledge of a jutting rock. The energy put into it by the impulse is not lost, but remains stored up for future work. So the sale of the coat, while the money for which it was exchanged remains unexpended, be it in coin or in credit, results in the storing up of purchasing power for the seller ; and it is to the increase of this purchasing power, this potential energy, for themselves, that the aspirations of men and the policy of nations are everywhere directed.

If we met with the doctrine that money is of no use till it is spent anywhere else than in a treatise on political economy, we should assuredly say, "This is the maxim of a spendthrift, not of a prudent citizen." It is in no conceivable sense true. The utility of money to an individual is not bound up absolutely with the commodities which, either now or at any future date, it will purchase. It has, as we well know, satisfactions to bestow altogether apart from the contemplation of its expenditure, either immediate or remote. The speculator who clears £100,000 by a successful *coup* derives surely an immediate satisfaction from his gains, though he never spends and never means to spend a shilling of them. He might derive it even from the groundless reputation of having made them. If he does not awake to find himself famous, he, at any rate, awakes to find himself somebody. He was formerly, perhaps, of no account in the world. He is now the *homme arrivé* quite as distinctly as the successful general or the celebrated man of letters. The money not yet spent has won for him that most universally coveted of all objects of human desire—increased consideration in the eyes of his fellow-citizens. Suppose he proceeded to spend his £100,000, on what could he spend it? In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he would spend at least nine-tenths of it on nothing else but on the purchase, in one way or another, of increased consideration. Spent, or unspent, the money at bottom subserves the same purpose.

It is in this universal desire for increased consideration, not in the desire for cheap commodities, that we have the clue to

the explanation of very many of the phenomena of money, and, with it, the clue to very many of the problems of economics. In examining the nature of the forces which moulded the destinies of the lower world, Darwin found himself led to the conclusion that the struggle for existence was not everything. It had to be supplemented by the principle of sexual selection, by the struggle between the males to outvie other males in attractiveness in the eyes of the females, and the struggle between the females to outvie other females in attractiveness in the eyes of the males. But if the struggle for existence—that is, in economical language, the industrial effort devoted to the supply of material needs, is not sufficient to explain everything in the lower world, much less can it explain everything in the sphere of human development. There, too, sexual selection in its literal sense plays a part of the first importance, of which literature has taken abundant account, though economics has paid little attention to it. Sexual selection itself, however, may be regarded, in man, as but one manifestation of a more extensive law, the operation of which among ourselves attains a far wider scope than it does among less advanced forms of life. Mr. Mill remarks somewhere, with point and truth, that, if we reflect what it is that we are all really striving after once the necessities of the body have been satisfied, we shall find that it is, in one shape or another, the favourable opinion of those about us. We must take opinion, of course, in its most general sense. What we strive for may, no doubt, be moral approbation, but, on the other hand, it may not. Our aspiration will be, at any rate, to be looked up to, to be admired, perhaps to be envied.

There is, it may be assumed, a certain degree of consideration in the eyes of those about us which we all of us possess, to begin with; a certain “position,” as we call it, which has been conferred on us by the circumstances of our birth, or which we have attained by our own exertions; and it is to the maintenance and to the improvement of this “position” that nine-tenths of the exertion of civilized man is directed. There is no need to suppose that such exertion is necessarily selfish in its aim. Its main stimulus, on the contrary, comes from its

unselfish side. No one comes into the world as an isolated unit ; we all enter it as members of some group. There is the family group, first and foremost, then the wider groups of kinship and connexion. Again, as life advances, a man may enter another group besides his own, perhaps become the head of another group by marriage. In whatever he does or fails to do in life, his fortunes are bound up with those of the group to which he belongs. He cannot lapse from his position in the eyes of the outside world without the position of those dependent on him and those closely connected with him sustaining more or less of reflected injury. Nor will it readily happen that his position will be signally improved without theirs being, in a measure, improved also. Thus, a young man entering on life, or going abroad, it may be, to seek his fortune, will have his eyes bent, in the first instance, on the opinion of this group. What he will look to will be the approval of the father and mother, and of the brothers and sisters left at home. To win that approval will ordinarily be the chief stimulus of his first efforts, and the surest road to the attainment of that end will be found in the improvement of his own position in the eyes of the world generally. Presently, perhaps, he meets the woman of his choice, and finds that to be seen to be "getting on in the world" is the likeliest, most often indeed the only, way of winning her. Similarly, after marriage, it will probably become his aim not to disappoint the reasonable expectations of his wife, and it may soon become the aim of both of them to give their children "a better bringing-up than his had been or hers."

This ceaseless, universal eagerness to get on, to pass others in the race of life, presents itself often in an unamiable aspect, and its excesses are a favourite subject of moral denunciation. Mr. Mill, among others, is "not charmed with the ideal of life held out by those who think that the normal state of human beings is that of struggling to get on." / "The best state for human nature," on the contrary, in his opinion, "is that in which, while no one is poor, yet no one desires to be richer." Even supposing that to be so, it may be replied that we have to take the world as we find it. Further than this, it may be worth



while to remark that Mr. Mill, in the middle of the century, looked out on a world in which, as it seemed to him, following Mr. Malthus, population was pressing hard upon the means of subsistence, and was about to press yet more hardly. He saw little prospect of any improvement in the condition of the working classes in England, unless they followed the French example and practically ceased to increase their numbers. The facts of the last fifty years have happily, to some extent, at any rate, falsified this gloomy anticipation. The population of England has vastly increased, but the pressure on the means of subsistence, instead of having been intensified, has been to an amazing extent lightened.

The truth is, I think, that we have to recognize in the creation of wealth, as in everything else throughout the whole sphere of life, the operation of a double purpose—the purpose of instinct, and the purpose of reason; the immediate purpose of the individual, and the wider purpose that underlies it. Von Hartman tells us that we are all “the dupes of the Unconscious;” and it might be that it is so, if we could conceive of That as unconscious which is capable of thus making dupes of us. At any rate, the scene that seems to present itself to any one who endeavours to watch the game of life from the position of an outsider, is a world in which men, in every rank, are toiling and striving to increase their command of gold, to distance each other in the race of life: while the net result of it all is that, from decade to decade, the masses are becoming better clothed, better housed, and better fed; that they have more leisure and more enjoyments; and that they may, within reason, and without danger of imminent misery, go on multiplying and replenishing the earth. We have come to learn that “the evolution of improved machinery is found to be attended by a continual increase in the product, a fall in piece wages, and an increase in the weekly earnings.” Improved machinery is seen, indeed, “as the direct cause of high wages and short hours.” The Edisons, the Siemens, and the Bessemers are thus, it appears, greater benefactors to the working classes than all the Liberal administrations. Yet we know that

philanthropy has very little to do with the inspiration of their efforts. It is because men are everlastingly in pursuit of position and distinction, and because in this pursuit satiety is, in the nature of things, impossible, that private wealth continues to be produced in ever-increasing quantities. Once produced, economic forces take possession of it, and soon it finds its way through every fibre of the social organism.

If the struggle for existence had been the only or the main stimulus to human exertion; if men, like cattle, had found their only spur to effort in the desire to satiate material needs;—we should be left without any adequate explanation of the progressive well-being that has characterized in so marked a manner our recent history. It would be hard, in that case, to conceive of anything that could have stood in the way of the fulfilment of the Malthusian prediction, that nothing but vice and misery could check the increase of population. The fact of the existence of a “standard of living,” which is rightly regarded as occupying the position of a buffer between the forces that tend to the increase of population and the deluge of misery which their unimpeded play would inevitably bring about, means nothing else but this: that the pursuit of position, of distinction, of consideration in the eyes of their fellows, extends to all classes of the population, more or less, even to the lowest. It is noteworthy that, while the moralists denounce such springs of action as unworthy, the practical philanthropist, when he finds them absent or dormant, makes it his first business to endeavour to awaken them into existence. The author of *Darkest England*, for instance, has occasion to remark that the tramps who resort to the twopenny department of the Salvation Army Shelters resent the introduction among them of “dirty fellows” from the penny department; and the fact that they do so, he regards as of hopeful omen for their future.

On what, then, does this “position in life,” of which men think so much, depend? No doubt, to a great extent, on circumstances of birth; also on character, on strength, on beauty, on ability. These latter qualities, however, are not transferable; and for our present purpose it is only the transferable

means of maintaining and improving position that concern us. Now, the briefest glance at human society in any age will show to how great an extent social position depends on expenditure on superfluities, on things that are in the nature of ornament. Unwritten laws create for all of us social expenses which seem hardly less urgent than provision for bodily health and comfort. Thus the conception of a certain position in life is liable to attach itself, in the first instance, to a certain scale of expenditure; and from this it readily transfers itself, in the second instance, to the fact of possessing the reserved power of making such expenditure whenever we please—that is, to wealth, or a command over the medium of exchange whatever it may be.

It is in this fact that we have the explanation of the insatiability of the desire for the standard substance; and without taking that into account, it is impossible to give any satisfactory explanation of its invariability in value, whether we regard that invariability as real or apparent. The Austrian theory, now much in vogue, rests on the assumption that the increased supply of everything without discrimination results in the reduction in value of the thing supplied. If that assumption were universally true, a standard of value would be an impossibility. The very definition of the standard substance is the substance that can maintain its value altogether irrespective of the conditions of its supply. Grant, for the sake of argument, that this maintenance of its value—universally taken for granted by the whole business world—is appearance and not reality, still you have to give some account of this appearance. Its explanation is to be found in the fact that the goal of human effort is to so large an extent not commodities, but distinction; and that the demand for the means of distinction is absolutely insatiable, because the more of them that any one man succeeds in obtaining, the more must others obtain to be level with him or to outrun him in the race of life.

WILLIAM WARRAND CARLILE.



## HOW BERLIN PROVIDES FOR ITS DESTITUTE CHILDREN.

IN Alte Jakobstrasse, right in the centre of Berlin, there is a certain building which men and women alike evidently regard with quite special interest. They glance up at its windows as they pass it by ; and, as they do so, as often as not a kindly, human look comes into the eyes of even the hardest among them. There is a ring too of something akin to tenderness in the very roughest of their voices as they speak of its inmates, "unsere armen Kleinen," as they call them. For it is the Waisen Depôt, the refuge the city provides for its destitute children. Its door stands open night and day, and it has a welcome for all comers, providing, of course, they be young. If a baby be picked up in the street, it is straightway carried off to Alte Jakobstrasse, and so is the luckless urchin who has fallen into the clutches of the police. Poor little mites who have been left to starve in attics ; they whose parents ill-treat them, kick them, crucify them ; they whom baby-farmers are intent on doing to death, are all taken at once to the Depôt when they are found. Waifs and strays, indeed, of all kinds drift there sooner or later. Nor is this place a shelter only for little outcasts ; the children of the respectable poor make their way there too : they whose fathers and mothers are either dead or too ill to provide for them. Then it is a sort of general harbour of refuge for all that restive tribe who are just starting in life, and on paths where there are more thorns than roses. The young servant maid may betake herself there if she loses her place ; and so may the homeless apprentice who has a just grievance against his master. All who go there, however, from the eldest to the youngest, go merely as sojourners : no one may

stay longer than six months, and the average length of a visit is not much more than six days.

This Waisen Depôt is a huge building, appalling alike in its size and—its ugliness. Its one attractive feature is the large old-fashioned garden it has behind it. It is one of the busiest places in Berlin; for not only is it a universal refuge, but the whole administration of the poor-law, so far as it relates to children, is carried on under its roof. It is carried on, too, practically under the direction of one man; for Berlin has no faith in divided responsibility, especially when its Waisen are in question. The term Waisen, it is well to remember, as used by German poor-law authorities, includes not only children who are fatherless, or motherless, but those whose parents are in prison, or are suffering from chronic disease and are therefore unable to support them; or who neglect them, ill-treat them, or have deserted them. For the well-being of all these children the director of the Waisen Depôt is responsible. He has many helpers, co-workers, and advisers, it is true; he has also an executive council over him, before whose authority he must bow; still, to all intents and purposes he holds in his own hands the working of the whole system for the relief of the young. It is he who decides what must be done with each and every child to insure its being fitted, so far as in it lies, to become a useful, self-supporting citizen. He makes all the necessary arrangements on its behalf, finds a home for it, and watches that its appointed guardians take proper care of it, do their duty to it in all respects. If wrong be done to any child he must right it, and if any child go astray he must try to lead it again into the narrow path.

The Berlin poor-law administration is divided into two sections, one for the relief of adults, and the other for the relief of children, and the two are kept entirely apart. When ordinary poor-law guardians are elected, children's poor-law guardians are elected too; and no matter how small the district may be, the two boards work independently of each other. Both sections of the administration are, however, under the same control, viz. that of the burgomaster, as the representative of the city, and

of the Armen-Direktion, a department corresponding roughly to one division of our Local Government Board. But the burgo-master and the Armen-Direktion delegate their authority, in all that relates to the administration of the children's relief section, to the Waisen-Verwaltung, a department under the control of an executive council. This council consists of sixteen honorary officials, viz., three members of the Berlin magistracy, twelve town councillors, and one citizen's deputy; and of four paid officials who act as their advisers, viz., the Director of the Dépôt, the orphans' education inspector, and two Government assessors. It supervises the working of the department and controls its expenditure. The Director of the Dépôt acts as the representative of the council, and must render to it an account of all that he does or leaves undone. /

If children be ill-treated in Berlin, it is certainly not for the lack of persons to take care of them; for, in addition to the officials of the Waisen department, and the members of its executive council, they have at their service quite an army of honorary officials, Waisenräthe, Pflegerinnen, and Vormünder. The city is divided into 242 districts, and for each district the town councillors elect not less than three, or more than six, Waisenräthe, *i.e.* poor-law guardians, whose duty it is to watch over the children who live there. Each district has also two or more Pflegerinnen, ladies who place their mother wit at the disposal of the guardians and act as their lieutenants in matters relating to girls and young children. Then every fatherless child that the town supports—excepting those in institutions—is provided by its Waisenrath with a Vormund, or personal guardian, who acts as its legal representative, and is supposed to interest himself quite specially in its concerns. A Vormund must report from time to time to the Waisenräthe of his district how things are going with his charge; and they, in their turn, must report concerning all the children in the district to the Waisen department. According to German law, persons who are convicted of crime, or who are proved to have neglected, ill-treated, or deserted their children, or to have deliberately incited them to wrong-doing, forfeit all their rights with regard to the



said children, for whose maintenance, however, they may still, if able, be compelled to pay.

As practically all the children for whom Berlin is responsible must at one time or another be housed in the *Depôt*, there are there, of course, many different wards, wards for all sorts and conditions, for all ages too. The nursery ward, a bright, cheerful-looking place, had, when I was last there, seven baby inmates. The youngest of them, who had just arrived, after quite a journey too, was only two and twenty hours old. It was the son of a woman who had recently been admitted to the State asylum hopelessly insane. One poor little thing, a foundling who was only a fortnight old, has already a careworn, anxious look on its face, as if it knew it had come into the world with its troubles ready made. Another, whose age must also be counted by weeks, was quite uncannily alert; it glanced around it inquiringly, as if bent on understanding all that was passing. In another ward I found little boys and girls of two and three running about; and in another again, quite apart from the rest, were the sick and maimed—a most pitiable little set. The elder children are in a wing to themselves, under the care of teachers and governesses, and have regular lessons every day. No attempt is made, it is true, to teach them anything much in the way of book learning, anything beyond reading, writing, and arithmetic, in fact; but infinite trouble is taken in making them understand that cleanliness and order are virtues, that prompt obedience conduces to comfort, and that speaking the truth brings with it rewards. All these children, the strong and the feeble alike, certainly live in clover while they are at the *Depôt*; they are well fed, well clothed, and kindly treated, and were they little princes and princesses they could not be more carefully watched over and studied. But their stay there is short; at the end of a few days, of a few weeks at most, they are summoned down to the Director's room, where they are each in turn either handed over to the care of a foster-mother, or are drafted off to an institution.

In the treatment it metes out to its adopted children, Berlin makes a clear distinction between boys and girls, turning the

former out into the world to earn their own living a full year earlier than it turns out the latter. It insists, too, that all its girls, whatever be their age, shall be boarded out, unless indeed they be either almost irredeemably bad, or in such a state of health as to need skilled nursing. Its boys, on the contrary, it requires to be boarded out only until they are six. When once that age is reached, it has them sent—so many of them at least as there is room for—to an institution organized on the cottage home principle. There are reasons for this difference being made: for one thing, it is by no means easy to find suitable homes for sturdy urchins; for another, Berlin holds that many of its boys stand in need of stricter discipline than that which prevails in most families where poor children are received. Still, a boy for whom a suitable home has once been found is left there until the time comes for him to be apprenticed. And this is, of course, by far the most economical arrangement; for a boarded-out child costs Berlin, on an average, only £9 a year; whereas one in the Boys' Home costs it more than three times that sum. Foster-parents are, as a rule, paid for the children they receive from 9s. to 18s. a month—9s., however, only for girls who are between six and sixteen. A higher rate of pay is granted if the child boarded out be blind, deaf and dumb, or delicate; or if there are special advantages in the way of education or training to be obtained in the house where it is placed. In addition to paying for their board, the town provides its *protégés* with suitable clothes—not uniform.

It is by no means to the first comer that Berlin intrusts its adopted children; indeed, it is sheer waste of time for any woman to apply for one unless both her own character, and that of her husband, be above suspicion. To be eligible for the post of foster-mother, she must be between twenty-five and sixty-five years of age; neither delicate nor “*nerviös*,” and she must not have more than one child of her own under six. She must be in a respectable position in life; not in the receipt of charity or poor-law relief; and she must not take lodgers. Her husband may not be a weaver, lest he should make her charge help him in his work; nor may he own cattle, unless he pledges himself never to

send the said charge out to tend them. Then both husband and wife must be thrifty, fending, and kindly, people who may be trusted to bring up a child in the way it should go, and set it a good example. On all these points and many others a woman must satisfy not only the *Depôt* officials, but the *Waisenrätthe* and the police of her own district, before ever a child can be given to her. Then, when she has the child, sharp eyes are always on the watch to see how she treats it. If she lives in Berlin, she is under the close surveillance of her own special *Waisenrath* and his lady assistants, who visit her regularly; and, if they notice anything reprehensible in her proceedings, may at once remove the child from her care. It is they who pay her her monthly allowance, and, before doing so, they must convince themselves, by seeing her charge, that she is doing her duty to it. Then she has its *Vormund* to reckon with, for he has the right to visit his ward whenever he chooses. The *Waisen* inspector too may appear at any moment, for he is a paid official who devotes all his time to visiting, on behalf of the department, the boarded-out children, to see that they are being properly brought up and educated.

Whether Berlin's children should be boarded out in the city itself, or in the country, is a much disputed point, even among experts. It is argued on the one side that greater educational advantages can be obtained for them in Berlin than elsewhere, and that they can be more easily kept under surveillance; on the other, that they lead more wholesome lives in the country, and that they can be better fed at a less cost. The *Depôt* Director maintains that the best homes for boarded-out children are to be found in small country towns, places where the schools are fairly good, and yet where living is cheap and there is plenty of pure air. Children who have disreputable friends or relatives in Berlin are always sent into the country. Of the 4327 children boarded out on April 1, 1897, only 1672 were in Berlin, and this included all the blind, and deaf and dumb, who must be there in order to be properly educated. The remaining 2655 were either in small towns or villages—chiefly in Brandenburg. Wherever out of Berlin a single child is sent, a special official—generally



the clergyman or the schoolmaster—is at once appointed to act as its Waisenrath. All boarded-out children must go regularly to a Volksschule, unless they be in some way afflicted. Any foster-mother who allows her charge to absent itself from school may be deprived of her month's allowance.

Many of the women with whom Berlin boards out its children belong to a class that in England would never dream of admitting such inmates into their families: 91 of them are the wives of officials; 97 the wives of tradesmen; 2 of schoolmasters; and 8 of men of independent means. I once saw a number of them at the Dépôt, and they were all well dressed, and, judging by the way they spoke, fairly well educated. In one room were those who, having already established their characters as trustworthy foster-mothers, were come to apply for children. They all wished to have girls, and under two years old. "And, oh! please, Herr Director, do let mine have golden hair and blue eyes," one young woman entreated. She was the wife of a mechanic who, as she explained, was away at his work all day; and as she had no children of her own and felt lonely, she wished for one of the town's orphans. Great was the disappointment among them when it became known that there were not nearly enough children to go round. Tears came into the eyes of the young woman who was lonely, when she was told that she might have to wait for weeks before she could have a little girl, and that even then it might not have golden hair! She refused even to consider the offer of a boy, boys, as she maintained, not being "companionable." Berlin could easily find foster-parents for ten times as many children as it has, providing they were all girls or baby boys. Recently, when the Director had thirty to board out, he received for them three hundred applications. Strangely enough, it is not always the most attractive children who are the most in request. In the Baby Ward there was a poor little being quite terribly disfigured with eezema, but when I inquired whether it would not be difficult to find any one willing to take charge of it, the matron seemed amused. A woman who had been there that morning had picked it out at once as the baby above all others

that she wished to have; and she had gone away sorely disconsolate because the doctor had refused to let her take it home with her. "She is coming again to-morrow in the hope that he will change his mind," I was told.

In another room at the *Depôt* I found a number of Berlin's *Waisen* assembled, each with his or her foster-mother. And a strong, healthy, intelligent-looking set they were, for the most part, with sturdy legs, bright eyes, and rosy cheeks. If, as is probable, they had once been in the physical condition of the poor little things I had seen in the nursery waiting to be boarded out, a marvellous transformation had come over them, one that reflected great credit on their bringing up. They were all spick and span, with well made shoes on their feet, and warm gloves on their hands—it was a bitterly cold day in winter. Without exception they were well and warmly dressed, while some of them wore clothes so good as to seem hardly in keeping with their position. The inspector relates that he once came across a little charge of his arrayed in a costume of purple velvet and pale blue satin—the gift of her foster-parents! Many of these women, it seems, especially those who have no children of their own, let their charges wear the clothes the *Depôt* provides on work-a-days, and buy others much smarter for them to wear on Sundays and high holidays. Yet the clothes the *Depôt* provides are certainly better than those worn by most artisans' children in England.

The mothers who were at the *Depôt* with their charges seemed just as keenly interested in them and their concerns as if they were their own children. One woman had come to find out from the Director what he proposed doing with her foster-daughter, a pleasant-looking girl who, being sixteen, must be put into the way of earning her own living. She was to go into service of course—as a rule all the girls the city brings up are trained to be servants—but where? This was a point on which the woman held strong views. The girl must stay in Berlin, she insisted; she would not hear of her going elsewhere. "I must have her under my own eyes for another year or two," she kept repeating emphatically. "She is too young to be sent

off all alone with no one to look after her. Besides, what would she do with her Sundays off, if she were too far away to come home? No; I have had her ever since she was a baby, and I am not going to give her up now. She must have a place in Berlin. Mein Mann sagt so auch."

There was one foster-father there that day, a better-class artisan, who had sacrificed a morning's wages that he might take counsel with the Director concerning his foster-son's future. The lad had that day completed his fourteenth year, and must therefore forthwith be apprenticed. This special Waise was one of whom any city might well have been proud; for he looked as strong as a young ox, and was evidently intelligent. He had quite made up his mind what he would like to be; and had often talked the matter over with his "father," as he told the Director. Most of all he wished to be a locksmith; but, if that were impossible, well, he would be a mason. This, however, was difficult to arrange, as neither locksmiths nor masons house or feed their apprentices. Ultimately it was settled, to the evident satisfaction of the parties concerned, that the boy should go on living in his old home while learning his craft. The man was willing to keep him for anything the Director chose to give. "I have a lad of my own, you see," he remarked, "and they have always packed in together, so I didn't half like their being parted. Besides, die Mutter would just have cried her eyes out if he had had to go."

Girls who are boarded out remain with their foster-parents until they are sixteen. If they live in Berlin, however, as soon as they are fifteen they leave the Volksschule and go every morning to the special housewifery school organized for them at the Dépôt. There they are regularly trained for the work that will later fall to their lot as servants. They are taught fine laundry too, sewing, darning, and mending; how to cut out and make their own clothes and trim their own hats. Meanwhile, in an afternoon, they help their foster-mother with her house work, do marketing for her, and cook their foster-father's supper. Thus, when the time comes for them to go out into the world, if they are not in a fair way to become expert servants, the fault



lies with themselves. Even when these girls are in service, the city still keeps them under its own control: until they are eighteen they are its Waisen, under the surveillance of the Waisenrätthe, without whose consent they may neither give notice nor, excepting for crime, be dismissed—the mistresses who engage them do so under this condition. Then the Pflegerinnen watch over them—over their mistresses too—and see that they are kindly treated and not overworked. Every Sunday evening an entertainment is provided for them at the Depôt; and at Christmas and Easter there are parties for them there, when they are given presents. If they are overtaken by illness, the Depôt arranges for their admission to some hospital or home; or, if it be a change of air they need, it sends them to the country or the seaside. Then, attached to the Depôt is a servants' home, to which they may go at once should they ever be turned adrift in Berlin. And the Director is always within hail, ready to give them a helping hand, to advise and protect them, and shield them from danger. Certainly Berlin does all that it can to keep its adopted daughters in the narrow path. It does not always succeed, it must be confessed; it would be a miracle indeed if it did, considering the material with which it has to deal.

Berlin has many institutions of which it is proud, but of none other is it quite so proud as of Rummelsburg, the village settlement where it has always some four hundred of its boys being educated. This it regards as a model institution, a perfect ideal of what a training home should be. Every boy who is sent there, it maintains, is given his chance of starting in life on a level with the best. And in its satisfaction at the good work that is being done there, it lavishes money on it without stint. The town vaunts of its thrift, and with good reason; yet it pays the £25 18s. a year—£31 if interest on the money invested in the buildings be reckoned—every boy in the settlement costs it, and never even dreams of grumbling. Rummelsburg is certainly in many respects an admirable institution, thoroughly good alike in organization and in management. All its little inmates are well fed, well dressed, carefully taught, and kindly treated; and

if the training they receive be somewhat too military in tone, too much of a "bell for this and a bell for that," to be quite to English taste, well, it must not be forgotten that it is for life in Germany, not in England, that they are there to be fitted. The settlement is entirely masculine: excepting in the infirmaries, which are open not to the Rummelsburg boys alone, but to all Berlin's Waisen, there is not a woman to be seen. The whys and wherefores of this arrangement are difficult to understand; for, as some of the poor little mites who are there are only six, they would surely be the better, and certainly the happier, for having a few kindly, motherly women at hand to whom they could turn for comfort when in trouble—who would fondle them, make much of them, treat them as the babies they are, in fact, not as miniature soldiers.

There are eight boys' homes at Rummelsburg as well as houses for the director, the clergyman, the doctor and other officials, a school-house, a large gymnasium, workshops, baths, two infirmaries, a chapel, etc.; for the settlement forms a complete community, a village apart from the rest of the world, standing in a large, beautiful garden. In each house there are fifty boys, ranging in age from six to fourteen, who live there as one family, under the care of two tutors, one of whom acts as house-father. They all go to their own school for lessons. The school is practically a Volksschule, but of the very best type, better probably than can be found anywhere else out of Berlin. The director of the settlement is the head-master, and the clergyman and fourteen house tutors are his assistants. The boys spend two or three hours every day in the open air, either in the playground, or working in their own gardens under the supervision of an expert. They spend a fair amount of their time too in the workshops, where they are all trained in some handicraft or other. Should any of them show signs of special talent, they are given the opportunity of cultivating it; they are provided with books, and are prepared for a Higher Grade School.

All the boys for whom Berlin is responsible, whether they be boarded out or at Rummelsburg, are apprenticed as soon as they are fifteen, unless they are either unusually clever or stupid.

For the clever special arrangements are made; while the stupid are left at school for another year if the inspector thinks there is any chance of their profiting thereby. Within certain limits the boys choose their own line in life. Last year some of them were apprenticed to saddlers, others to carpenters, others again to printers, locksmiths, watchmakers, photographers, etc., all to expert craftsmen. Berlin never allows its Waisen to drift into the ranks of the unskilled. They are bound for four years, during which time their masters, as a rule, board and lodge them and provide them with clothes, but give them no wages. A master is responsible to his apprentice's Waisenrath and Vormund not only for his general well-being, but also for his technical training; and he is required to see that he goes to a night school. He must provide the boy, at the end of his four years, with a workman's complete outfit, both clothes and tools. Before any Waise may be apprenticed, he must be sent to live and work for a month with the man to whom it is proposed to entrust him; and at the end of that time he may, if he chooses, refuse to be apprenticed to him. Any apprentice who is ill-treated may have his indentures annulled by applying to his Waisenrath, under whose protection he remains until he is eighteen. The Rummelsburg boys are under the guardianship of the Director of the institution during their apprenticeship; and they often return there for any holidays they may have. From first to last these Berlin Waisen, it must be noted, whether girls or boys, are never brought in contact with paupers or pauper officials.

In dealing with the maimed, the feeble in body or in mind, the advantages of the centralized system Berlin has adopted for the relief of its children are even more apparent than in dealing with the strong. As the whole company of little invalids are under one administration, they can be carefully classified according to their individual defects; indeed, there is no temptation to club unsuitable cases together, as is done by not a few of our English boards of guardians, to the great detriment of their charges, especially where the defect is mental. Every child taken to the Dépôt is carefully examined by the



director and the doctor, both experts in things relating to the young; and if it is found to be markedly below the average in intelligence, it is kept under close surveillance until it can be decided whether it is a case of abnormal stupidity, or of idiocy. If the child prove to be merely stupid, it is boarded out; and, when the time comes for it to go to school, it is sent to one of the special classes which, in a Berlin Volksschule, are now reserved for those who compete with their fellows on unequal terms. There are never more than twelve children in each of these classes, and the teaching is of the simplest kind, the pupils working only two hours a day with their heads, and devoting the rest of their time to learning how to work with their hands. If, however, the child while at the *Depôt* be found to be too deficient for this treatment, to be idiotic, in fact, it is sent to Dalldorf, where the city has a little colony for such patients. There it is taught, so far as it is able to learn, how to use its fingers, even if it have no brain. It is carefully kept out of harm's way, too, and is made as happy as is in its nature to be. If it be an epileptic, it is sent, not to Dalldorf, but to Wuhlgarten, where Berlin has also a children's colony, and there it is under the care not only of nurses and teachers but of doctors, who, as a rule, can arrest the progress of its disease, even if to cure it be beyond their power. And well do these little epileptics repay the attention that is lavished on them; for the majority of them develop into men and women able to support themselves by their skilled labour. Many even of the worst cases learn in time to do useful work as hewers of wood and drawers of water. In England the same class of children drift into the workhouse sooner or later, and remain there to the end of their days, a burden on their fellows.

With regard to blind and deaf and dumb children an arrangement on the co-operative system is in force in Berlin: they are boarded out in the town itself, and go for lessons every morning to their respective institutions, under the escort of the girls who attend the *Depôt* housewifery class, and who call for them and deposit them on their way there. The

Waisen who suffer from chronic disease are sent to the Rummelsburg Infirmary, or some special home; while those who are ill temporarily are either treated in the Depôt sick ward, or are sent to a children's hospital.

Quite apart from taking care of destitute children, the Waisen Department has a very important duty to perform: the State hands over to its guardianship all the little criminals found in the city, as well as the "problematische" boys and girls. Children convicted of crime before they are twelve years old are sent, not to prison, but to the Depôt; and the same treatment is meted out to those who give proof of special depravity in early days. At the Depôt they are kept under close observation until the Director has made up his mind as to whether their evil propensities are the result of the influences to which they have been exposed, or of an innate inclination on their part to do evil rather than good. Those whom he regards as hopeful are boarded out in country districts, with people who can be relied upon to shield them from temptation and guide them with a firm hand, keeping a sharp watch on their doings the while. They go to the ordinary Volksschule, but are always under special surveillance, and at any sign of backsliding on their part are promptly transferred to Lichtenberg, if boys, or to Kleinbeeren, if girls. The specially bad cases are sent direct to these institutions from the Depôt.

In 1897 the department had no fewer than 563 of these unfortunate children under its care—214 at Lichtenberg, 32 at Kleinbeeren, and the rest either in private institutions or boarded out. Lichtenberg is a reformatory organized on somewhat novel lines, for it is only in extreme cases that its inmates are ever punished. Indeed, its Director is of opinion that to punish them at all is practically a waste of energy, as most of them have been accustomed all their lives to worse punishments than any he could inflict. The way to influence them, he maintains, is by showing them kindness, appealing to their ambition, and by trying to arouse any latent feeling of self-respect they may have. He has great faith, too, in improving them morally by strengthening them physically.

Above all he believes in work as a regenerator, holding with M. Zola that if these boys are to be saved, in hard work lies their best chance of finding salvation. Lounging about and loafing he looks upon as the root of all evil, so far as they are concerned. He therefore keeps them so busy the whole day long, either with their heads or their hands, either at work or at play—in the open air whenever possible—that they have practically no time to get into mischief. And certainly, so far as an outsider can judge, his system answers admirably; the majority of the younger boys I saw at Lichtenberg looked not only strong and healthy, but kindly and alert. They had pleasant manners, too, and they could laugh quite heartily—always a good sign. They are divided into three sections, and the boys in each section are kept rigidly apart from those in the others. In the first section are children under twelve, who, if things go well with them, will soon be boarded out; in the second are boys between twelve and fourteen, who will be apprenticed as soon as they can be trusted; and in the third are those who are already above fourteen, and may be detained there until they are twenty-one. These last are for the most part practically hopeless cases; to judge by their faces their chance of ever being turned into decent members of society is *nil*.

As the Lichtenberg Institution was opened only in 1896, it is too early days to speak with confidence as to how the boys who are trained there will demean themselves when in the outside world again. So far, however, such of them as have been apprenticed have, with a few exceptions, done well: their masters are content with them, and they with their masters; and they seem to be both able and willing to earn their own daily bread. Kleinbeeren, where the *Depôt* sends the worst of its girls, is managed on much the same lines as Lichtenberg.

There are in Berlin two classes of children who, although supported entirely or in part by the city, are nevertheless not under the control of the *Waisen* Department. These are those most luckless of little paupers, the in-and-outers, a source of friction and trouble wherever they are found; and the children with parents or other responsible relatives who take care of



them, but who are too poor to support them. These have hitherto escaped the jurisdiction of the *Depôt*, owing to the fact that the relief they receive is technically given not to them, but to their parents; and is therefore paid not by the *Waisenrätthe*, but by the ordinary poor-law guardians. The city is, however, by no means content with this arrangement, and there is every prospect that before long the children for whom these guardians are now responsible will be transferred to the care of the *Waisenrätthe*. Many of them are either illegitimate or fatherless; still, a fair proportion of them have both parents living. The average monthly allowance for them is 6s. 3d. per head. So far as the in-and-outers are concerned, the system in force in Berlin is probably as satisfactory as any system for them can be, short of separating them entirely from their parents. The sort of people who in England resort with their families to the workhouse for a sojourn, from time to time, betake themselves in Berlin to the *Städtische Asyl*, a huge casual ward, where the homeless and destitute may find shelter and food, providing they do not go there too often. A man may stay there for a whole week if he be waiting for a job; or he may leave his wife and children there for the same length of time, while he is off on the tramp in search of work. The children at the *Asyl* live entirely apart from the rest of the inmates, under the care of teachers, who give them regular lessons, and try to do what they can in the way of civilizing them during the short time they are there.

Whatever in other respects may be thought of the centralized relief system in force in Berlin, its advantages from a financial point of view are indisputable. During the year 1896-1897 the city maintained, or helped to maintain, between fourteen and fifteen thousand boys and girls. On April 1, 1897, it was defraying the whole cost of the support of 5363, and was making allowances towards the support of 9397 more. It was also—through paid agents, in some cases—watching over not only these children, but several thousand others, boys and girls of all ages, trying to guard them from harm, and to help the older among them to earn an honest living. Yet, during that year its whole expenditure on the young amounted, roughly speaking,

to only £91,481. And of that sum no less than £11,495 was refunded to it, partly by the relatives of its *protégés*, or in some cases by the communes to which they belong; and partly by the State, which defrays half the cost of maintaining such of them as belong to the criminal or unmanageable class. Thus the cost to the city of the relief of its children was only £79,986! And this includes all the expenses of the administration of the relief, excepting the salaries of certain of the higher officials, etc. Berlin ratepayers are perfect adepts in the art of obtaining good returns for the money they spend; but from none of it, perhaps, do they obtain quite so good a return as from that they spend on their little paupers. In no other city in Europe are destitute children cared for so well and at so small a cost.

I paid a visit one day to a large Volksschule in one of the poorest districts in Berlin. Several hundred children were assembled there, all more or less of the poverty-stricken class, yet they were all neat and clean; alert, too, and with deft fingers for the most part; and there was not one among them who looked hungry. More fortunate than our London little waifs and strays, they had breakfasted before coming to school; and they knew full well that dinners were awaiting them, if not in their own homes, why then in their own special Volksküche. For their fellow-townfolk hold that on the score of economy—to say nothing at all of humanity—children must be fed before they are taught. It is sheer waste of money, they maintain, to pay teachers to try to sharpen the wits of those who are lacking daily bread. Free meals are therefore provided for such of the Volksschule pupils as would, if left to their own resources, fare too meagrely; and the cost of them is defrayed partly by voluntary contributions, and partly by a grant from the town. Again and again one cold winter I was in places where the Berlin poor do congregate, and it was always the same state of things. I saw many a man and still more women within hailing distance of starvation, but I never saw a hungry-looking child. Evidently, in that part of the world, whoever else may go on short commons, there is always enough food for the bairns.

EDITH SELLERS.

## SOCIALISM IN WEST HAM.

I DO not propose to deal in any way with Socialism in the abstract. The theory of Socialism, as I understand it, is simply one of the numerous schemes proposed by those who wish to find a remedy for the inequalities and hardships of social life. So long as poverty and misery exist, so long will earnest men and women seek for means of mitigating both the one and the other. All honour to them for so doing; and, so long as they are sincere in their purpose, the world should be all the better and happier for their energy, even though some of it may be mis-directed. No doubt Socialism will always be attractive to a certain type of mind; but the theoretical Socialism derived from a study of books or pamphlets is very different from the rough-and-tumble Socialism of everyday life, as heard at street corners or displayed in the West Ham Borough Council. It is the latter with which I am the more familiar, having been brought into close contact with it as a member of the Borough Council who has taken a fairly active part in the municipal politics of the borough, and with which I now propose to deal.

For some years past Socialism has found a place in the Council chamber, but it was not until the elections of November, 1898, that it was in any sense a formidable factor. It is true that in the two preceding years it made a good deal of noise and led to long and acrimonious discussions, but that was practically the limit of its powers. However, in West Ham, as in many other places, it succeeded in capturing a control over the trade unions; and this paved the way for an alliance between all the forces favourable to an advanced Labour and Socialist programme, the sinking of all minor differences, and the concentration of the whole strength of these forces in favour of the party candidates.



On the other hand, there was no unity or cohesion between those who were more or less opposed to Socialism and to one another. And hence the natural result was that the unorganized majority were soundly beaten by the organized minority, and the Socialist ranks in the Council were largely augmented, though even then the "Labour group" was still only a minority. But nothing succeeds like success, and they were able to win over certain members of the Council who had not hitherto identified themselves with the party. What the inducements were which were successful with those who did join I do not pretend to know, but I do know of one member of the Council who was promised that he should be made an alderman if he would sign their form of allegiance, but who was man enough to decline to put his conscience into commission by placing his vote at their disposal. Finally, at the triennial aldermanic elections, in which the retiring aldermen—every one of them anti-Socialist—were unable to vote, the group found themselves for the first time in a majority, and used this power to strengthen their position by the election of aldermen whose allegiance they had secured beforehand. It is necessary to bear these facts in mind, because in any other year, or under any other circumstances, the Socialist majority would not have occurred. It existed, not because a majority of the electorate had so willed it, but because of the exceptional advantages which they then enjoyed, and which they knew how to utilize to the full for their own benefit.

Having obtained a majority, how did they use it? I have no hesitation in saying that from the point of view of any one who considers not only the object to be attained, but also the means employed in getting it; who believes in the true principle of representative government; who recognizes that every section of the community has its rights, and that no one section, in asserting its own rights, should infringe upon the rights of others, the policy pursued has been one long failure. It has already done much injury, and, if not checked, may lead to disastrous results, especially to the working population, for whose benefit it was proclaimed. At the very first meeting of the Council, they

deliberately "packed" the committees so as to obtain a preponderance of voting power and the chairmanship.<sup>1</sup> Certain members of their party were placed on four and five committees, while others were only permitted to serve on one; and this policy was so systematically continued throughout the year that one candidate, in his election address, claimed to be a member of fifteen committees, and used this as a strong argument in favour of his re-election! And this from a party which professes to strive for "equality of opportunity"!

They also established a stringent system of government by caucus, by which the decision of a majority at a private meeting of their members was binding upon each and all of them. This has led to important decisions contrary to the general opinion of the Council, as one or two instances will show. Owing to the prevalence of infectious disease in the borough, it became necessary to proceed with an extension of the fever hospital. Plans and specifications had been prepared, and tenders were received and sent to the Council in committee for consideration. Time was considered of such paramount importance that a tender some £12,000 lower than others was almost unanimously set aside because the time required was two years instead of eighteen months, and, after a long and careful discussion, it was agreed to accept the next lowest tender. That is to say, the more reasonable members of the Socialist majority, whilst openly expressing their preference for doing the work without the intervention of a contractor, recognized that it would involve a serious delay. But at a private meeting of the party, held, as usual, just before the Council meeting, a majority decided against accepting the contract; and, in consequence, those who had previously spoken and voted in one direction, found themselves compelled to vote in exactly the contrary direction. The work was given to a *non-existent* works department, without a chief, without a staff and without plant or material, and many precious months were irretrievably lost. In the mean time children might die, the bread-winner might be incapacitated, homes broken up; but the

<sup>1</sup> They failed in getting the chairmanship of one committee owing to the late arrival of some of their members.

sacred principle of having all work done without the intervention of a contractor must be upheld, and that, too, in spite of the protests of the architect, of the heads of their own party, and of a majority of the Council.

A second case is that of the *Freethinker*. For years (as it afterwards appeared) this paper had been regularly posted to the library by some donor, and kept by the librarian behind the counter. It was only given out when asked for by one or two individuals, and no one else knew of its presence. However, in removing from the temporary premises to the newly erected public library, it was placed by accident upon the reading-table. Here it was discovered by some reader, who found a blasphemous parody of a Christian hymn, and informed the public press. The librarian in this way discovered the mistake that had been made, and immediately removed the paper. And though the socialist chairman of the libraries committee insisted that no change should be made until a decision of the Council had been obtained, the committee decided by a large majority to uphold the action of the librarian. But at the usual party caucus held on the eve of the Council meeting, it was decided otherwise (it should be observed that, although the "group" contained a certain number of professing Christians, it also included all the anti-Christian element of the Council, and that this element formed a not inconsiderable portion of its strength); and again those who had spoken strongly and voted in one direction in committee executed the familiar *volte-face* and voted in the opposite direction on the Council. The question, however, was warmly taken up by the public, and religious opinion was aroused. Two Roman Catholic members of the group were promptly reminded of their ecclesiastical duty, and, as a result, the "conscience clause" was inserted in the pact. Finally, to avoid complete disruption, under the pressure of public opinion, stirred to its depths by the flagrant disregard of religious sentiment, the "group" finally gave way, and the *Freethinker* was once more relegated to the obscurity from which it had emerged with such a flourish of trumpets.

Another subject which attracted a good deal of attention



was the division of the borough into twelve wards, each returning one member annually, instead of four wards returning three members. The system of single-member wards was not invented for West Ham. The principle has long been in use for parliamentary elections, and has been adopted by every large municipality throughout the kingdom whenever opportunity offered, and with unanimous approval. It is generally recognized as the most democratic and satisfactory method yet devised for obtaining the real opinion of the electorate by direct representation; but if it had been the most corrupt system designed for the express purpose of smothering public opinion, it could not have been more persistently or more bitterly opposed. Had the positions been reversed, how the street corners would have resounded with denunciations of the reactionaries who were attempting to smother the voice of the people! Yet they forced through, without adequate discussion, memorials to the Home Office, and to Parliament, full of glaring inaccuracies and misstatements; they refused any and every facility to the commissioner appointed to fix the boundaries, and made themselves the laughing-stock and the despair of their own friends in the House.

To my mind this rigorous system of manipulation by caucus strikes at the very root of representative government. It would be sufficiently reprehensible on the part of the most reactionary and autocratic of governing bodies, but that it should be the ruling principle of any body of men professing democratic principles or pretending to any regard for liberty seems to me almost incredible. Still, if they had used the power thus attained to govern wisely, we might possibly forgive them for riding rough-shod over our liberties and their own principles. But have they? They have professed—and I believe sincerely—a great regard for sanitation. With the general approval of the Council, a house-to-house inspection was instituted, and many prosecutions for minor defects were undertaken. But when month after month attention was called to the abnormally heavy zymotic death-rate, and when at the same time it was known that the stench from the street sewers was simply

abominable, and that illness was rife even in the more sanitary and less-congested districts, it became evident that there were other causes at work. However, the dominant party in the Council refused to recognize the patent facts, until once more public opinion made itself heard, and the logic of events compelled attention to the real state of affairs. Now, in fact, the insanitary landlord has few or no friends on the Council. But, in their zeal to exterminate the insanitary landlord, the Socialists persist in ignoring the insanitary tenant and the insanitary streets; they tilt against all landlords, good, bad, and indifferent, with the usual result of such indiscriminate and misplaced zeal, for they harry the better landlords into parting with their property, which thus often falls into the hands of the rapacious house-farmer. If public utterances in the Council chamber and elsewhere be any guide, hatred of landlords is a more potent factor with many of them than love of sanitation. I am, in fact, sorrowfully driven to the conclusion from personal knowledge that, whatever may be the guiding principle of abstract Socialism, class hatred rather than love of humanity is the dominating influence with far too many of the Socialist party.

This inability to recognize any rights but those of a particular section of the community has shown itself in many ways. For instance, a labour clause was adopted so stringent and complicated that self-respecting manufacturers will not enter into a contract of which it forms part. As a consequence, the choice is between doing without the goods wanted or dispensing with the labour clause; hence, as we must have the goods, we are driven to purchase what is required at a higher price without the protection of a contract. The labour clause previously in force provided for a schedule of wages in every contract. All parties to the contract knew exactly how they stood, and the conditions were readily accepted by the contractors, and were easily enforced. Again, workmen who had been for years in the employ of the corporation were dismissed, simply because they were not members of a trade union; and although we have not gone so far as to issue a notice that "none but trade unionists

need apply," it has been shown very clearly that the possession of a trade union ticket makes a marked difference in the prospects of an applicant. The Socialists on the Council have shown unmistakably that their sympathies are not wide enough to cover labour as a whole, but are confined to one section of it; and that they are prepared to deny the right of employment to any who will not submit to their methods of organization.<sup>1</sup> This may be the Socialist idea of liberty, but to my mind the difference between that and tyranny is hardly perceptible.

Further, a great deal of public money has been recklessly squandered. The total expenditure (excluding that of the School Board, which has benefited to the amount of £17,000 per annum by the operation of the Necessitous School Boards Bill passed by the present Parliament) for the year ending March, 1898, the last complete year before they obtained control, has been given as £159,268. For the year ending March, 1899, which contains only a part of their expenditure, it is given as £179,963, an increase of £20,695, or more than 5*d.* in the £; whilst their estimated expenditure for the year ending March next, is given as £197,016, an increase of £37,748, or more than 9*d.* in the £; and there is in prospect inevitable increase due to the large sums already authorized, and the still larger expenditure which has been suggested. Now, this question of rates, about which the Socialists profess to have little or no concern, is vital to the prosperity of West Ham. The borough consists for the most part of manufacturers and workmen, with a small and more well-to-do class resident in one corner of it, at Forest Gate. It is already becoming known as a difficult place for manufacturers, upon whom the bulk of the rates fall. For example, one large firm has just built large extensions outside the district; and unless the upward tendency of the rates is checked, others

<sup>1</sup> At a meeting of the Trades Council recently held, Alderman Hayday, the secretary, is reported as saying, "It was a deplorable fact that members of branches affiliated with the Council—he did not say delegates—had been seen canvassing and working for the Alliance candidates." (A delegate: "One was a gas-worker.") "If it was proved that a member of the Gas Workers Union had so acted against the rules of his trade union, he would no doubt be dealt with accordingly."



will be induced to adopt the same policy. This will entail a great amount of suffering upon the very men for whose benefit the new order of things has been introduced, and who are dependent for their daily bread upon the prosperity of the local trade.

Much might be said about the general behaviour of certain councillors inside and outside the Council chamber, and about the extravagant and abusive language used during the election campaign, but I forbear. Such conduct could not fail to injure the fair name of the Council, but it is charitable to assume that no responsible person would venture to utter a word of extenuation in its defence.

One year of this sort of government proved amply sufficient for the people of West Ham, and at the elections held in November last the Socialist candidates were defeated in nine of the twelve wards by signal majorities, and on the heaviest poll in the history of the borough. One of the causes of this crushing condemnation of the year's misgovernment was the formation of the West Ham Municipal Alliance, whose objects are thus stated in its rules :

“(a) To be absolutely non-political, non-partisan, and non-sectarian. (b) To bring municipal and social questions under public consideration, and generally to raise the standard of the administration of the affairs of the borough. (c) To select and support fit and proper persons as candidates for municipal and other local elections. (d) To carefully supervise the expenditure of all public monies, with a view to prevent wasteful and illegal expenditure. (e) To carefully watch the operation of the Bye-laws and Acts of Parliament relating to the borough, with a view to the good health and general well-being of the community.”

Its programme with which it fought the election was as follows :—

“The West Ham Municipal Alliance ask the support of every elector who is interested in the good government of the borough for the Alliance candidate, who will, if elected, do his best—(1) To secure absolute equality of treatment to all without distinction of party, creed, or class. (2) To secure proper sanitation alike in the houses and in the streets. (3) To secure fair conditions of labour

for workmen employed by the corporation, and for the workmen employed by contractors on its work. (4) To see that proper provision is made for all necessary expenditure. (5) To prevent wasteful and illegal expenditure, remembering that every pound spent unnecessarily means a pound less to spend upon what is really needed. (6) To prevent the proceedings of the Council from continuing to be the by-word and reproach that it has become. (7) And generally in all things to work without fear or favour for the moral and material welfare of the population of this great borough."

Opposed to this was the Socialist programme, which consisted largely of crude and hazardous proposals, and of bribes to a section of the electorate—free concerts, free clubs, *Freethinker*, everything free except freedom. It is true they claimed credit for things done which were initiated by their predecessors, and which would have been as well—possibly better—done if others had been in power, and for things which were done by general consent. The Municipal Alliance and all belonging to it (including its president, Mr. A. F. Hills; its vice-president, Mr. David Howard; its chairman, Mr. Montague Edwards; its hon. secretary, Mr. C. O. Boardman, whose names are known and honoured) were denounced in unmeasured terms, and its programme was subjected to much vulgar abuse.

It was an open contest between the candidate adopted by the Alliance and the Socialist candidate in eleven of the twelve wards. In the twelfth, my own ward, they considered it politic not to oppose me directly, but did so indirectly by supporting my opponent, who, though not a Socialist, went out of his way to oppose the Alliance. The general result was, as already stated, a crushing defeat for the Socialist candidate in eight wards, and an equally crushing defeat for the candidate supported by them in the ninth. But the "group" still remain a majority of the Council.

Will they profit by their experience of the past? Or will they continue the same tactics which have spelt disaster this year, and will probably do so again? It is too early as yet to form an opinion, but so far there appears little or no sign of repentance. The same endeavour to fill the committees with

their own partisans has already manifested itself, and there is no sign that they recognize the true voice of the people—that is, of the community as a whole, and not of one section of it alone—even when it has been so unmistakably declared as at the recent elections. Better counsels may ultimately prevail, and I, for one, sincerely hope so. There are men amongst them with whom it would be a pleasure to work for the common good, if only they could and would free themselves from the party shackles which cramp the sense of individual responsibility, and prevent their acting with others who are just as eager as themselves to remove abuses and promote the welfare of West Ham.

In conclusion, may I say that in what I have written I have not sought to censure in any way the motives of those I have criticized? What I have condemned here and in the borough, by voice and by pen, is the manner in which it has been thought necessary to carry good intentions into practical effect, and in so doing I claim to be a far truer friend of real reform than those who think only of the end to be attained, and nothing of the means adopted for attaining it. I have also purposely refrained from mentioning names; it is the method, not the man, that I criticize. Finally, I have not attempted a reply in the ordinary sense to Mr. Hugh Legge's article,<sup>1</sup> except so far as a statement of facts by one directly concerned is a reply; but I should like to emphasize his concluding paragraph with all the force at my command:—

“According to the Christian doctrine, every man is bound to perform his duty towards God and towards his neighbour; he should love the Lord his God with all his heart, and his neighbour as himself.”

That being so, why should he, why should I, or why should any earnest social reformer seek to go outside this Christian doctrine, which not only can, but does, do more to alleviate distress and raise humanity to a higher level of social life than any “ism” ever evolved from man's fruitful brain?

F. H. BILLOWS.

<sup>1</sup> *Economic Review*, October, 1899, p. 489.



## INDISCRIMINATE INDOOR RELIEF.

IT is obvious that it will be many years before we have old age pensions, and that the present generation of old folks will have died before they are attained. It is, therefore, well to see what can be done under the present law for the industrious worker who has come to poverty through no fault of his own.

Before 1834, the poor law was very badly administered, out-relief being given recklessly to large masses of able-bodied persons in work, and even, in some cases, to those in receipt of fairly good wages. Hence the Poor Law Commissioners of 1833 recommended the abolition of outdoor relief (with the exception of medical attendance and apprenticeship) to the able-bodied and their families. It is often said that they recommended the total abolition of out-relief, but this is a mistake.

Most of the "recommendations" of the commission were adopted by the legislature; and by the great Poor Law Act of 1834, and a subsequent "Prohibitory" Order<sup>1</sup> made under statutory authority, relief to the *able-bodied* and their families is forbidden, subject, however, to a large number of exceptions. These exceptions include "sudden and urgent necessity," sickness or accident, expenses of burial, and the case of a widow within six months of the death of her husband, or if there is a dependent child or children (and no illegitimate child born since the husband's death), for any length of time.

<sup>1</sup> This "Order" applies to most of the unions in England and Wales; the metropolis, however, and some other of the large centres of population, are under the milder rule of the Outdoor Relief *Regulation* Order, which permits (under certain circumstances) outdoor relief even to the able-bodied, who would, under the Prohibitory Order, be precluded from out-relief.

Also, if an able-bodied person requires relief on two grounds, one of them coming within an exception (*e.g.* sickness of a child and want of employment for himself), the guardians may give out-relief to him and all his dependent family. Of course, out-relief may be given to those who, from age or infirmity, are not able-bodied. Hence it will be seen that the guardians have almost always power to give out-relief, where relief is needed at all, except in case of the able-bodied who require it solely because they are unemployed.

The guardians, moreover, have full power to decide—

(1) Whether the poverty of the applicant is such as to entitle him to any relief. It is not necessary that he should be destitute of everything; the lack of any of the reasonable necessities of life according to the normal standard of the times will suffice.

(2) In most cases, whether to give out-relief or offer "the House." They may discriminate according to character.

(3) How much relief they should give. It should be enough to cover rent where the pauper has no means of paying for lodgings.<sup>1</sup> In practice the allowance made varies mostly from 2s. to 5s.<sup>2</sup> Of course, if the relief given was obviously in excess of the requirements of the case, it would be disallowed by the poor-law auditor, but I do not know of any case in which this has been done.<sup>3</sup>

*Adequate* out-relief to the deserving aged poor (where circumstances permit) has been recommended by the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor.<sup>4</sup> "In the great majority of unions, out-relief is given in the case of poor and aged persons who are known to the guardians to be deserving."<sup>5</sup> The exceptions to the rule are some metropolitan unions, and a few others where a school of poor-law reformers, most of them connected with the Charity Organization Society or educated in its principles, are or have

<sup>1</sup> See Instructional Letter of Poor-Law Board, cited in Macmorran, p. 33, note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Booth, *Old Age Pensions and the Aged Poor*, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> I am not referring to "strike" cases or the like.

<sup>4</sup> Page lxxxiii.

<sup>5</sup> Select Committee on the Aged Deserving Poor, 1899, p. 12.

been dominant. The former exception is accounted for by the difficulty of discrimination in London, the influence of the C.O.S., and, above all, from the fact that the London Boards of Guardians receive towards the expenses of their district a subsidy from the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund for each poor person they take into the "House," but nothing for those to whom they give out-relief. So that, in a sense, they are bribed to refuse out-relief.

It may be interesting and useful to students if I give some details, showing the various proportions of out-relief and in-relief in different unions and the relative cost in such unions, taken from a Local Government Board Return dated June 13, 1892 (No. 266). It is entitled—

"A Return showing the Number of Paupers in Receipt of Relief on the first day of January, 1891; the Expenditure on In-Maintenance and Outdoor Relief, and the Total Expenditure on Relief to the Poor, during the Year ended the 25th day of March, 1891, in England and Wales: and also the Ratio of Pauperism and of the Total Cost of Relief to the Population, as given in the Preliminary Report to the Census of 1891; Totals to be shown for each Union-County, and for the whole of England and Wales (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 430, of Session 1888)."

It is important to notice that

"the amounts entered in this Return as the total expenditure on relief to the poor include, in addition to the cost of in-maintenance and outdoor relief, the following charges:—Maintenance of lunatics in asylums, registered hospitals, and licensed houses; workhouse or other loans repaid and interest thereon; salaries, remuneration and rations, and superannuation allowances of officers, assistants and servants; and other expenses of or immediately connected with relief."

Of course, by far the larger proportion of "salaries, remuneration and rations, and superannuation allowances" of officers, etc., arises in connection with in-relief, especially in any union where the guardians minimize the out-relief with the natural result of a large number of indoor paupers. The difference between "in-relief" and "in-maintenance" should be carefully



noted. When in the ordinary Poor Rate Returns and Local Government Board Blue-books we are told that "in-maintenance" costs, *e.g.*, for the year 1895-6, £2,216,231, we must remember that this is "exclusive of repairs and furniture, and the salaries, remuneration and rations of the officers and servants;"<sup>1</sup> otherwise, to ordinary readers the statement is misleading.

This document divides the unions throughout England and Wales into two classes, viz., metropolitan unions and those outside the metropolis. There are 30 in the former class, and about 618 in the latter. It will be convenient for the purposes of this article to divide them into "in-relief" and "out-relief" unions, defining the former as one where there are more indoor paupers than outdoor, and the latter as one where there are more outdoor than indoor. In all unions there are both outdoor and indoor poor. It should be noted that the pauper inmates of lunatic asylums and poor-law schools are accounted as — "indoor."

First of all, let us look at the metropolis. We find that there are only 8 outdoor unions out of the whole 30. The following is a list of these, with the cost<sup>2</sup> appended:—

			<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>				<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Islington	..	..	6	2½	Wandsworth and Clapham	..	7	4½	
Hackney	..	..	9	0½	Camberwell	..	8	5	
St. Olave's	..	..	12	5½	Greenwich	..	10	11½	
Lambeth	..	..	11	0½	Woolwich	..	9	7	

But, it may be asked, "What is the cost at Whitechapel?"<sup>3</sup> Is it not a grand example of economical administration? It has reduced the cost of out-relief almost to nothing." Quite true; but the rise in the cost of in-relief far exceeds the gain from the fall in out-relief, though no doubt this is largely due to better accommodation for the sick, etc. It will be seen at a glance that all the out-relief unions are below, and most of them much below, Whitechapel in cost. As the writer of a very valuable

<sup>1</sup> L.G.B. Report, 1896-7, pp. lxi., lxx.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout this article "cost" means cost per head of population.

<sup>3</sup> Whitechapel has the advantage of having a large population of Jews. These are provided for by the Jewish community, and so do not come upon the rates.

little book, entitled *Plain Words on Out-relief*, has forcibly pointed out, Whitechapel is the ninth most expensive union in the metropolis, and indeed in the whole kingdom.

It will be interesting to look now at the cost of the other metropolitan "indoor" unions. They are—

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Kensington .. ..	12	0	Strand <sup>1</sup> .. ..	45	7
Paddington .. ..	9	3½	Holborn <sup>1</sup> .. ..	18	10½
Fulham .. ..	6	6½	City of London <sup>1</sup> .. ..	67	8
Chelsea .. ..	11	8¾	Shoreditch .. ..	11	3½
St. George's .. ..	15	11	Bethnal Green .. ..	10	8¾
Westminster <sup>1</sup> .. ..	19	1½	St. George-in-the-East .. ..	18	9
St. Mary-le-bone .. ..	16	8	Stepney .. ..	10	9½
Hampstead .. ..	6	5½	Mile End Old Town .. ..	8	8¾
St. Pancras .. ..	12	2	Poplar .. ..	10	3½
St. Giles and St. George,			St. Saviour's .. ..	12	6½
Bloomsbury .. ..	17	5	Lewisham .. ..	9	5½

Comparing the two lists, it will be noticed that in the first one five out of eight are under 10s., while in the in-relief list (22 inclusive of Whitechapel) Paddington, Fulham, Hampstead, Mile End, and Wandsworth are the only unions with cost under 10s.; and that in Paddington and Mile End there is no very large preponderance of in-relief over out-relief.<sup>2</sup> Certainly these figures suggest that even in the metropolis the system of offering the alternative of the "House" or nothing is not necessarily economical.

Outside the metropolis we only find ten unions which, according to the definition given above, are "in-relief" unions. Under these circumstances it may fairly be claimed that the experience and common sense of the nation is against the *excessive* refusal of out-relief. I will proceed, however, to give the statistics of the in-relief unions outside London, omitting Brixworth, which was in 1892 a strict in-relief union, and often

<sup>1</sup> "The City, the Strand, Westminster, and Holborn are altogether exceptional, because the great majority of the day population reside outside London, and consequently do not appear in the census populations on which the burden is calculated for the purposes of the return" (*Plain Words on Out-relief*, p. 9). It would not, therefore, be fair to press these.

<sup>2</sup> Paddington—in-relief, 8 per 1000; out-relief, 6. Mile End—in-relief, 13; out-relief, 10.

quoted as an example by the advocates of that system. It has changed its chairman (Canon Bury) and its practice.

	Population, Census 1891.	Indoor. <sup>1</sup>	Outdoor. <sup>1</sup>	Total.	Cost. <sup>2</sup>
Oxford .. .. .	21,813	1·4	0·8	2·2	<i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> 7
Atcham .. .. .	48,332	0·8	0·4	1·2	4 4½
Birmingham .. .. .	245,508	1·3	0·8	2·1	7 1½
Bradfield .. .. .	18,017	0·7	0·4	1·1	4 1
Faversham .. .. .	25,770	1·1	0·8	1·9	5 5½
Liverpool .. .. .	156,991	2·4	1·9	4·3	10 6½
Manchester .. .. .	145,083	2·4	0·7	3·1	9 4½
Milton .. .. .	24,966	1·1	0·9	2·0	6 11
Reading .. .. .	60,054	0·9	0·6	1·5	4 5
Average for England and Wales (including metropolis)	29,001,018	0·7	2·0	2·7	5 11½

Those who know Oxford will be surprised to see that the population is so small, but the explanation is that one-half of the city is in the Headington Union, which comprises the three populous Oxford parishes of St. Giles, St. Clement, and Cowley St. John, besides a corner near Merton Chapel, as well as the suburb of Headington and a number of country villages. Before going further, it will be convenient to compare these two, as Headington<sup>3</sup> is a union where fair out-relief is given. In Oxford the cost is 6*s.* 7*d.*, but in Headington it is only 3*s.* 10*d.* It would, however, be unwise to press too much the evidence afforded from the metropolis and this single case. Let us examine all the unions, some eighty in number, where the cost is even less than that of Headington. They are situate in various parts of the country, though most are in the north. Some are urban, some are rural, some are large and some are small, but one and all are “out-relief” unions.

<sup>1</sup> These are the ratios per cent. of paupers, of the class named, to population.

<sup>2</sup> This is cost per head of population, *not* cost per pauper.

<sup>3</sup> Headington contains the rural parishes of Beckley, Cowley, Cuddesdon, Denton and Chippinghurst, Elsfield and Woodeaton, Forest Hill with Shotover, Garsington, Holton, Horspath, Horton-cum-Studley, Littlemore, Marston, Stanton St. John, and Ifley. Ifley is, however, partly a suburb of Oxford. The Headington Union also includes Wheatley, which, though legally an “urban” district, is only a large rural village.



COMPARISON OF OXFORD AND HEADINGTON WITH LIST OF UNIONS WHOSE COST  
IS LESS THAN THAT OF HEADINGTON.

Name and County.	Population, Census 1891.	RATIO TO POPULATION OF—		Ratio of cost of relief per head of population.
		Indoor paupers per cent.	Outdoor paupers per cent.	
<i>Oxford—</i>				<i>s. d.</i>
Oxford .. ..	21,813	1·4	0·8	6 7
Headington .. ..	34,612	0·3	1·5	3 10
<i>Northampton—</i>				
Northampton .. ..	79,315	0·4	1·6	3 8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Wellingborough .. ..	43,651	0·3	1·6	3 2 $\frac{1}{4}$
<i>Wilts—</i>				
Highworth and Swindon	47,310	0·4	1·6	3 1 $\frac{1}{4}$
<i>Cornwall—</i>				
Redruth .. ..	49,243	0·3	2·6	3 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Penzance .. ..	48,249	0·2	1·9	2 9
<i>Salop—</i>				
Drayton .. ..	14,196	0·3	1·2	3 0 $\frac{3}{4}$
<i>Stafford—</i>				
Stone .. ..	31,752	0·4	2·4	3 6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Newcastle-under-Lyme ..	37,535	0·6	1·7	3 8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Wolstanton and Burslem	83,652	0·3	2·7	3 2
Leek .. ..	33,405	0·4	2·0	3 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
<i>Warwick—</i>				
Aston .. ..	258,904	0·4	0·8	2 8
Solihull .. ..	29,822	0·4	1·2	3 4 $\frac{1}{4}$
<i>Leicester—</i>				
Ashby-de-la-Zouch ..	36,368	0·3	1·7	3 5 $\frac{1}{4}$
<i>Lincoln—</i>				
Grimsby .. ..	61,691	0·3	1·6	2 11
<i>Nottingham—</i>				
Basford .. ..	154,387	0·2	1·6	2 8
<i>Derby—</i>				
Chapel-en-le-Frith ..	23,656	0·3	1·4	3 1
Glossop .. ..	26,797	0·3	0·6	2 0
Hayfield .. ..	12,873	0·3	1·4	3 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Chester—</i>				
Stockport .. ..	135,276	0·4	1·1	2 11 $\frac{3}{4}$
Altrincham .. ..	65,890	0·3	1·3	3 6
Runcorn .. ..	42,517	0·4	1·7	3 7
Congleton .. ..	37,657	0·5	1·4	3 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tarvin .. ..	10,986	0·2	1·2	3 8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Hawarden .. ..	15,802	0·4	1·9	3 10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Wirrall .. ..	39,623	0·3	0·9	2 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Lancaster—</i>				
Ormskirk .. ..	99,207	0·3	1·3	3 0 $\frac{3}{4}$
Wigan .. ..	166,762	0·2	2·1	2 10
Warrington .. ..	84,922	0·5	1·3	3 6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Leigh .. ..	70,756	0·3	1·4	2 8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Bolton .. ..	226,803	0·4	1·2	3 2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Bury .. ..	137,405	0·3	1·5	3 1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Barton-upon-Irwell ..	93,501	0·3	0·6	2 4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Prestwich .. ..	149,537	0·2	0·6	2 2
Ashton-under-Lyne ..	165,107	0·4	1·0	2 10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Oldham .. ..	201,153	0·5	0·9	2 11 $\frac{3}{4}$
Haslingden .. ..	103,408	0·2	0·7	2 2 $\frac{3}{4}$

Name and County.	Population, Census 1891.	RATIO TO POPULATION OF—		Ratio of cost of relief per head of population.
		Indoor paupers per cent.	Outdoor paupers per cent.	
<i>Lancaster (continued)—</i>				
Burnley .. ..	165,289	0·3	1·1	s. d. 3 9½
Blackburn.. ..	204,903	0·5	0·7	2 11½
Chorley .. ..	55,058	0·3	1·1	3 3
Preston .. ..	143,541	0·5	0·6	3 1
Fylde .. ..	56,299	0·3	0·8	1 11½
Garstang .. ..	12,151	0·2	1·2	3 4
Lancaster .. ..	52,024	0·4	0·7	2 3¼
Barrow-in-Furness ..	51,712	0·4	1·5	3 4½
<i>York., W. R.—</i>				
Settle .. ..	14,071	0·3	1·0	3 4½
Skipton .. ..	38,948	0·2	1·4	3 4½
Wharfedale .. ..	51,256	0·2	1·1	2 5½
Keighley .. ..	69,230	0·3	1·0	2 8¾
Todmorden .. ..	37,585	0·3	1·0	3 6½
Saddleworth .. ..	22,462	0·3	0·8	2 6
Huddersfield .. ..	168,400	0·3	1·2	3 3½
Halifax .. ..	185,272	0·3	1·4	3 4½
North Bierley .. ..	138,906	0·2	1·4	2 11
Bradford .. ..	202,975	0·4	1·3	2 10¾
Hunslet .. ..	70,920	0·3	1·7	3 5½
Bramley .. ..	67,398	0·3	1·2	2 10½
Dewsbury .. ..	162,596	0·2	1·5	2 6½
Wakefield .. ..	99,705	0·2	2·4	3 6½
Pontefract .. ..	56,611	0·3	2·4	3 8¾
Wortley .. ..	41,536	0·3	1·3	3 3½
Ecclesall-Bierlow ..	137,905	0·3	0·8	2 7½
Rotherham .. ..	91,565	0·4	1·9	3 8
Tadcaster .. ..	25,977	0·4	1·2	3 6
<i>Durham—</i>				
Sedgefield .. ..	19,559	0·3	2·0	3 5½
Auckland .. ..	88,998	0·3	2·0	3 8
Lanchester .. ..	65,464	0·3	1·4	2 7
Easington .. ..	45,826	0·3	1·9	3 1½
Chester-le-Street ..	50,594	0·2	1·6	2 8½
Sunderland .. ..	158,642	0·4	1·1	3 4¾
South Shields .. ..	141,493	0·4	2·0	3 5
<i>Northumberland—</i>				
Newcastle-on-Tyne ..	196,839	0·4	1·2	3 5
Castle Ward .. ..	24,316	0·2	1·0	3 0½
Haltwhistle .. ..	7,746	0·3	1·9	3 10
Morpeth .. ..	42,551	0·3	1·7	3 2¼
<i>Cumberland—</i>				
Penrith .. ..	22,576	0·3	1·8	3 8¾
Cockermouth .. ..	71,671	0·4	2·0	2 10¾
Whitehaven .. ..	57,969	0·5	2·5	3 4½
Bootle .. ..	14,877	0·5	1·4	3 0¾
<i>Wales—</i>				
Pontypridd .. ..	146,811	0·2	2·0	3 2
Merthyr Tydfil .. ..	117,194	0·3	2·1	3 5½
Wrexham .. ..	61,795	0·4	1·6	3 6

It should be noticed that the unions which I have denominated “out-relief” include all unions except the excessively “hard”

ones, and that my argument is only directed against the excessive and indiscriminate refusal of out-relief. Moreover, it must not be supposed that I have forgotten that the expenses of a union are greatly increased by the employment of skilled attendants and by greater comforts for the sick, aged, and children; in fact, by better and more humane administration. Also unions differ much as to the poverty and thrift of their population, and as to the means of relief which they possess independently of the poor law. It may further be urged that the history of each union, and of its management, should be taken into account. All this may be granted, but on the other side I may point out that the almost entire abolition of out-relief does not in the least prove that the need for it is abolished or even reduced. The absence of applications for relief proves nothing, for the people in such unions know perfectly well that they will receive no relief except the "House," and they prefer starvation to such a fate.

A few remarks may be made on some of the eight remaining non-metropolitan "in-relief" unions. The total cost in the famous Bradfield Union is by no means low, and I understand that though out-relief is refused, liberal allowances are made to the deserving poor by the charitable inhabitants of that well-to-do district. Also, they have only few officials, and appear to manage their workhouse somewhat economically. The cost in Birmingham, Manchester, and Liverpool far exceeds that of Sheffield (5s. 10d.), which is an "out-relief" union. And this is the more remarkable because the west-end district of Sheffield is in the union of Ecclesall Bierlow (2s. 7½d.). The guardians at Atcham and Stepney are gradually altering their system, and in all probability Oxford will do the same, unless prevented by those guardians, whom, under a Special Act of Parliament, the University and Colleges appoint. On the other hand, no Board of Guardians is converting their union into an in-relief union. It may be assumed, then, that they are convinced of the truth of Mr. Charles Booth's statement as to the aged, that—

"small numbers relieved out-of-doors are connected with larger numbers relieved indoors, and *vice versâ*," and that "the proportion of the old relieved is, on the whole, no more where assistance is principally



given in the form of outdoor relief, than when comparatively little is distributed in this manner.”<sup>1</sup>

Doubtless many cases can be quoted which will show conclusively that anything like a reckless or thoughtless administration of out-relief conduces to great expenditure and to many other evils. No one questions this fact. I only contend that the evidence before us shows that unions which recklessly and indiscriminately refuse out-relief are not necessarily cheap.

And if the “hard” system, as it may not be unfairly called, is not cheap, what possible merit has it? It causes deep misery and keen anger among the poor. Where the House is accepted, the system breaks up families, removes old people from their homes and the tender care of friends, and relieves the younger generation from their duties towards parents and relatives. If it is refused, want of necessary food and clothing too often results; another generation is weighed down by the struggle to provide maintenance for the old; begging for private charity is encouraged; and finally, people really past work are compelled to toil when their strength has failed. I venture to hope that the facts and figures put forward here will make guardians pause before they endeavour to follow in the footsteps of Whitechapel or Oxford.

In any comparison of unions it is of importance to consider, not only the present situation, but also the previous condition, so as to see what has been the rise or fall in cost and number of paupers. This we are enabled to do by reference to the Government Return of 1876 (No. 214), which was ordered by the House of Commons on the application of Mr. Pell, the well-known champion of indiscriminate in-relief. The following description of this Return is given by the author of *Plain Words on Out-relief*:—

“It shows the extent to which, in each union, the ratio of the outdoor to the indoor paupers, and the total cost of relief per head of the population, rose or fell between these years. It was apparently moved for, in the expectation that it would show that where the ratio of the outdoor to the indoor paupers had fallen, the total cost of relief per

<sup>1</sup> *Old Age Pensions and the Aged Poor*, p. vi.

head of the population had also fallen. As a matter of fact, it showed that in a very large number of unions, precisely the opposite result had been brought about, *i.e.* that the cutting down of the proportion of the outdoor paupers had been accompanied by a very considerable increase in the total cost of relief per head of the population."

For further discussion of this Return I must refer to *Plain Words on Out-relief*, but will now extract from it the figures relating to the two unions of Oxford and Headington.

	Year ending Lady Day.	Population according to the Census for the year.		Paupers in receipt of relief on Jan. 1.			Ratio of Outdoor to Indoor (the latter taken as unity).	Number of paupers per 1000 of population.	Cost of total relief to the poor.	Rate per head of cost of total relief on the population.
				In-door.	Out-door.	Total.				
Headington	1850	1851	15,771	119	784	903	6·5	57·2	£ 6,003	s. d. 7 7
"	1860	1861	17,107	64	608	672	9·5	39·2	4,543	5 4
"	1870	1871	21,688	161	961	1122	5·9	51·7	6,266	5 9
"	1874	1871	21,688	130	720	850	5·5	39·1	6,832	6 3
Oxford ..	1850	1851	19,971	No information.					7,532	7 6
" ..	1860	1861	19,960	311	570	881	1·8	44·1	8,491	8 6
" ..	1870	1871	21,016	340	630	970	1·8	46·1	10,003	9 6
" ..	1874	1871	21,016	290	497	787	1·7	37·4	9,383	8 11

There is one more Government Return to which attention should be given, *viz.* that for 1887 (No. 430). The figures are as follows :—

	Population, Census 1881.	Paupers on Jan. 1, 1887.			Ratio to population of—			In-maintenance.	Outdoor relief.	Total relief to poor in same year.	Ratio of cost of relief per head of population.
		In-door.	Out-door.	Total.	In-door.	Out-door.	Total.				
Headington	28,723	136	548	684	0·5	1·9	2·4	£ 1057	£ 2268	£ 6615	s. d. 4 7½
Oxford ..	21,902	294	172	466	1·3	0·8	2·1	2443	507	6899	6 3½

It will be observed that (necessarily) the census of 1871 is taken as the basis of population in connexion with 1874, and that of 1881 with the year 1887; also the difference between "in-maintenance" (which merely means the food, clothing, etc., of the indoor paupers) and in-relief should be carefully noticed.

The following table gives the number of paupers in receipt of relief on January 1st of the year to which they relate.

	Year.	Indoor.	Outdoor.	Cost.
				<i>s. d.</i>
Oxford .. ..	1870	340	630	9 6
	1887	294	172	6 3½
	1892	297	184	6 7
Headington ..	1870	161	961	5 9
	1887	136	548	4 7¼
	1892	97	543	3 10

Comparing, first, the years 1870 and 1892, it will be seen that while the reduction of outdoor relief in Oxford is far larger than in Headington, the reduction of indoor poor is but small compared with that of Headington. In Oxford there is a reduction of about one-eighth, while at Headington the reduction is three times as great. Also, while there is a reduction of cost in both unions, in Headington the proportion is greater. Moreover, comparing the figures of 1887 and 1892, matters look even worse for Oxford. For in that union the number of in-door paupers has gone slightly up, while in Headington it has gone rapidly down.

In the above figures I have taken no notice of the relative alterations of population in the two unions, but on looking at these we find the comparison of indoor pauperism presents an even blacker picture for Oxford; for the population of the Oxford Union has been practically stationary, while that of Headington has increased largely.

	1871.	1881.	1891.
Oxford .. ..	21,016	21,902	21,813
Headington ..	21,688	28,723	34,612

It will be seen, then, that while in 1870 Oxford had only about twice as many indoor paupers as Headington per 1000 of population, it had in 1892 nearly five times as many. Thus, both as regards indoor pauperism and cost, Oxford is not only much worse than Headington, but has rapidly become much worse compared with the standard of Headington. It was worse than Headington in 1870, but has since become worse in a much greater degree. There is, moreover, too much reason to fear that (notwithstanding the great prosperity of trade in the country)



the Oxford Union is still further deteriorating under its present indiscriminate in-relief administration. The chairman of the Oxford Board, in a letter to the Oxford papers of December 2, 1899, stated that the number of indoor poor was 326 in 1870 (excluding vagrants and lunatics in asylums), and 269 in 1898. Also, that the present cost per head of population was 8s. There were, however, 89 Oxford pauper lunatics in asylums on January 1, 1898; so that, if we add the lunatics, as they were included in the returns of 1892 and 1887, we shall find that there were *more* indoor paupers in Oxford in 1898 than in the year 1892 or 1887. And the cost per head of population (8s.) actually exceeds that in the year 1850. It is noteworthy that in 1850 the cost in Oxford (7s. 6d.) and Headington (7s. 7d.) were practically equal. Now the burden in money per head has been largely reduced in Headington, while in Oxford it has even become heavier.

It must be remembered, however, in comparing expenses of unions at different dates, that workhouse accommodation, especially for the sick, aged, and children, has greatly improved of late years; and that the cost of the staff has necessarily increased also. This has no doubt been the case conspicuously at Oxford, and I do not regret any money so spent judiciously. Further, in a comparison of the expenses of the two unions, a little allowance should be made for the large number of tramps who pass through the city; and there are many local circumstances which may weigh on one side or the other, as to the relative poverty of the unions, and the means (independently of the poor law) of coping with such poverty.<sup>1</sup> I do not wish to press the comparison too far. But it seems evident that Oxford can no longer be quoted as showing that a system of almost indiscriminate in-relief is cheap, or that it does not tend to increase indoor pauperism. On the contrary, Oxford experience clearly indicates that the wholesale reduction of outdoor relief means an increase of the indoor poor.

J. THEODORE DODD.

<sup>1</sup> The rapid growth of the rich parish of St. Giles' in the Headington Union must be especially noted. On the other hand, there has been some removal of poor persons from the Oxford Union to the Headington Union in consequence of "improvements" in Central Oxford.

## EXPENDITURE.<sup>1</sup>

I WISH to suggest a few thoughts on the ever-present question of expenditure. At the outset I assume that we are agreed that all alike, rich and poor, are responsible for all they have, powers, opportunities, riches, character, as stewards of the manifold grace of God; that whatever we are, whatever we possess, must be used for the true development of life in ourselves and in others, of the life earthly and temporal as the preparation for the life heavenly and the life eternal, which is even now. The subject is for each one of us of momentous if often unrecognized importance. That its importance should be unrecognized may well fill us with surprise. The prospect of the issues of human action which reflection opens to us is indeed so wonderful in its illimitable grandeur that the indifference with which we regard it, or refuse to regard it, is one of the greatest mysteries of our being.<sup>2</sup>

If my assumption is correct, it follows that we must strive so to live that the conditions and effects of our own lives may be the best possible, and so to use the labours of others that the conditions of their work may serve for their salutary training; so to live, in a word, that the general character of life about us may be raised, that the individual life may gain its highest efficiency, and then minister most completely to the welfare of the whole society.

No doubt, when we come to think of these things we are at once struck by the difficulties which spring from the great inequalities of incomes, in which philosophers from the time

<sup>1</sup> The Presidential Address at the Annual Meeting of the Christian Social Union, held at Liverpool on Nov. 27, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies*, § 108.

of Aristotle have seen the peril of states. It must be enough to say that the problems of the distribution of riches, however urgent, have not yet been solved. At present I only notice their existence, and then set them aside. The question before us is not, "How do we get our incomes?" but, "How do we use them?"

And here, again, I do not discuss one heroic answer to the question. In all ages there have been examples of absolute renunciation of private means. The exceptional obligation has been recognized by the Lord Himself; and where it exists, I believe that it will be brought home to the servant by the Divine voice. I do not, therefore, attempt to determine the circumstances under which it is likely to arise. I consider only the case of those who accept the duty of administering that which is committed to them.

In dealing with this I venture at once to insist on the necessity of a carefully proportioned plan of expenditure. A little experience will enable us to know approximately our resources, our duties, and our needs. We must then take pains to adjust them so that each duty and each need shall be met on a scale harmonious with its relative importance. A well-ordered budget is, I cannot but think, as necessary for a citizen as for a nation. I will go further, and suggest that it is worthy of consideration whether such budgets should not in their main features be public or accessible. In any case, our own should be such that we should not shrink from publishing it.

A complete scheme of expenditure will naturally fall into four divisions: (1) Contributions to public works; (2) Gifts of private munificence and charity; (3) Provision for those dependent upon us; (4) Personal expenditure—food, clothing, shelter, books, works of art, recreation. In due measure and with necessary limitations, all these objects must be considered by every one; and I must think that the first and second form a first claim on our resources. If they are left out of account till every family and personal requirement is satisfied as it presents itself, there is little hope that any residuum will remain to meet them.



1. Some share in the work of foreign and home missions, of church-building, of education, if it only represents the widow's mite, belongs to the essence of the Christian life; and the legislation of the Old Testament suggests the normal amount which each one may be expected to give. If the Jew was required to give a tenth of his income for Divine service, I do not see how a Christian can offer less. But whatever may be the amount which is devoted to these purposes in the light of conscience, it must be rigorously set apart so that it cannot be diverted to other uses. In this way the administration of the fund in detail is made relatively easy, and we have a clear view of what we are able to do.

The acknowledgment of this duty of setting apart a definite portion of our income for public service is of special urgency at the present time. When wealth consisted for the most part in land, the resources and the obligations of the owners were unquestionable, and the obligations were generally fulfilled. But the enormous increase of what has been called "irresponsible wealth" has exempted the larger part of the national income from this open and effective criticism. "The income from land," I read, "was one-fourth of the aggregate [income of the country] in 1862; and in 1889 it was not much over one-seventh."<sup>1</sup> We may perhaps form some rough guess as to the fortune of a millionaire, but no special duties are naturally attached to the largest holders of stocks, and it is evident that public benefactions must be very greatly increased if the old standard of almsgiving is to be maintained.

Nor is it difficult to see how those to whom great fortunes are committed in such a form can use them characteristically. They can gradually "brighten," as has been said, "the common background of life." They can multiply open pleasures, which, like the sunshine and the rain, gladden and fertilize vital powers. They can provide, as some have done, libraries or winter gardens; they can make accessible great works of art; they can gather collections illustrative of nature and life. A park or a pleasure-ground or a historic monument may be so used as to help all to

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Gladstone, *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1890, p. 679.

feel that they have a share in the inheritance of beauty and splendour on which they look.

And here I can speak from experience on a small scale. At Auckland a chapel of unique interest, which was elaborately adorned by my predecessor, is entrusted to my care. No instrument could be more effective for winning the good-will of the people. They visit it in great numbers during the summer months, and as they listen to its story they recognize that they have a share in the treasure. They understand instinctively the continuity of the great life which it represents. They confess spontaneously that it is well that it should be guarded, as it is guarded now, by one who is a trustee for their joy.

Something has been already done in the direction to which I have pointed by municipalities, something by private benefactors, though little in comparison with the obligations of our "irresponsible wealth." But, in any case, such works fall within the power of few, yet to the few they offer opportunities of the noblest satisfaction. For they must be accomplished by gifts, and not by bequests,<sup>1</sup> if they are to have their full effect. And I lay great stress on this. Bequests differ from gifts as death differs from life. Bequests excuse by a semblance of liberality the want of self-denial while there was yet power to exercise it; they win undeserved praise for spurious munificence; they mar in many cases a generous idea by the lack of the wise control of the benefactor who gave it shape; they exclude the sense of joy—expansive in power—which comes to him who has made a sacrifice from seeing the fruits of it.

2. I do not dwell on the provision to be made for the ministries of private charity. These are commonly fulfilled, though, for the most part, without any definite plan and in answer to importunity. Still, the total amount spent in this way is probably adequate to all reasonable demands if it were wisely administered. The poor especially are most generous in helping one another.

3. From the duties of public and charitable expenditure I pass to the duties of family and private expenditure. I should not have

<sup>1</sup> Compare Mr. Gladstone, *loc. cit.*, p. 686.

thought it necessary to touch on the obvious duty which lies on all of making adequate provision for those who are dependent upon them if I had not learnt by most painful experience how constantly it is neglected or even unthought of. Such disregard of an imperative obligation cannot but hinder work by the pressure of self-imposed anxieties. It is not a legitimate exercise of faith, but rather the denial of the revelation on which faith rests (1 Tim. v. 6). It brings reproach on many of those to whom men naturally look for guidance.

4. But it is in personal expenditure that we all find scope for the continuous daily application of Christian principles. And here I will take heart to lay down what I hold to be a fundamental rule, that, while we endeavour to gain the largest and keenest power of appreciating all that is noblest in nature and art and literature, we must seek to live on as little as will support the full vigour of our life and work. The standard cannot be fixed. It will necessarily vary, within certain limits, according to the nature and office of each man. But generally we shall strive diligently to suppress all wants which do not tend through their satisfaction to create a nobler type of manhood; and individually we shall recognize no wants which do not express what is required for the due cultivation of our own powers and the fulfilment of that which we owe to others. We shall guard ourselves against the temptations of artificial wants which the ingenuity of producers offers in seductive forms. We shall refuse to admit that the caprice of fashion represents any valuable element in our constitution, or calls into play any faculties which would otherwise be unused, or encourages industry. On the contrary, we shall see in the dignity and changelessness of Eastern dress a typical condemnation of our restless inconstancy. We shall perceive, and act as perceiving, that the passion for novelty is morally and materially wasteful; that it distracts and confuses our power of appreciating true beauty; that it tends to the constant displacement of labour; that it produces instability both in the manufacture and in the sale of goods to the detriment of economy. We shall, to sum up all in one master principle, estimate value and cost in terms of life, as Mr. Ruskin has taught



us; and, accepting this principle, we shall seek nothing of which the cost to the producer so measured exceeds the gain to ourselves.

This excess of cost over value, in terms of life, offers a general criterion of culpable expenditure. In the case of objects of great rarity, it may be necessary to express the commercial value in terms of life before the comparison can be made; but for the most part the application is direct, and it is universally true that we cannot rightly seek anything which costs more in life than it brings in life to us, or, in the case of expenditure for public purposes, to society.

The rule applies to all our personal expenditure on maintenance, establishments, recreation. It is not possible to trace out its application in detail. I wish only to emphasize the responsibility which it lays upon consumers, in the widest sense of the word, for the articles and services which they demand. Consumers finally determine what shall be done, what shall be produced, and under what conditions. And yet for the most part this diffused sovereignty over the world of labour is unacknowledged. We go with the stream without considering from what source it is fed.

We claim, then, that our ordinary expenditure shall be made with thought and, as far as possible, with knowledge. Nothing in our action is indifferent. Whatever we do or leave undone affects ourselves and others. To make bad things, or even good things under bad conditions, demoralizes the workman; to press for sale bad things, or things made under bad conditions, demoralizes the trader; to buy such things demoralizes the purchaser. A purchase or a bargain is a vital and not only a commercial transaction. We are concerned with the article itself which we buy, and with all the processes through which it passes till it comes to our hands. We must, then, demand good things, and good things made under good conditions; things which, in the making and in the using, tend to support and to develop a life worthy of a man.

The demand for good things involves the knowledge of what is good. In part this is the knowledge of an expert, which all

cannot acquire; but in part also it is knowledge which comes through good taste, sound judgment, a sense of fitness, a study of reality. Such powers are, more or less, within the reach of all who have a single eye. The worst faults which tend to lead us astray in our opinion of commodities come from insincerity in its many forms. These will be evident to the single eye. A true wish to find the good predisposes to the discernment of it. There are desires, like prophecies, which tend to their own fulfilment.

To secure that the good things which we buy are made under good conditions requires effort of a different kind. It is said, indeed, that consumers are powerless in the matter;<sup>1</sup> that it is impossible for them to trace the history of what they buy. I cannot admit the statement. In some cases it may be difficult, but experience shows that even in these, if the information is required it will be forthcoming.<sup>2</sup> In other cases, resolution and a little self-control will check common evils. If goods produced under bad conditions are not bought, they will not be offered or made. Poisonous glazes will cease to be used. Matches will be manufactured only by innocuous processes. And perhaps even Florida will again be peopled, as fifty years ago, with flights of herons.

Various methods have been tried in the United States and in England by Consumers' Leagues and the like to guide consumers in the fulfilment of their obligations. At present there is some difference of opinion as to the wisdom of such combinations; they must be judged by their results. But I cannot think that there can be any difference of opinion as to the necessity of pressing upon consumers the inevitable fact of their responsibility.

Perhaps such requirements as I have indicated may at first increase the price of that which we demand. But we shall have ample compensation for a larger expenditure. Personal money gain cannot be the controlling motive of either buyer or seller; and it is not cheapness as cheapness which is condemned.

<sup>1</sup> Webb, *Industrial Democracy*, p. 671.

<sup>2</sup> Compare J. G. Brooks, *The Consumers' League*, p. 18.

Much of that which is cheapest is both good and made under good conditions. Long hours, low wages, bad conditions of labour, do not as a rule produce articles which are really cheap.

In any case, the honourable purchaser and the honourable seller meet in business for the fulfilment of the work of citizens. Their interest in the highest plane is the same—the right support of life; and there can be no rest till each man, whatever he does, does it with thought, finds pleasure in doing it, and, through doing it, gains a noble character—till each action, in a word, becomes a social service.

As consumers, then, we may all do much to raise the status of labour by sedulously educating ourselves to desire good things, to know good things, and to look beyond every article to the labour of all those who have helped to bring it to us. The duty is laid upon us by the present circumstances of industry. It brings to us a promise of great blessing. A firm purpose to seek justice and to fulfil it in the commonest acts of intercourse brings dignity to our daily life. It makes the simplest buying and selling a moral education. And—

“We need,” if I may quote the words of Professor Marshall, “to foster fine work and fresh initiation by the warm breath of the sympathy and appreciation of those who truly understand it; we need to turn consumption into paths that strengthen the consumer, and call forth the best qualities of those who provide for consumption.”<sup>1</sup>

It has been said with truth “that the future of a people is determined by their use of their means.” The simple duties, therefore, as to our expenditure to which I have pointed involve momentous issues. No doubt the fulfilment of them is, as I have admitted, difficult; but it is fruitful because it is difficult. And we have, if we will, light to guide us in the greatest things, which are often at the same time the smallest. It is the will of God that we should use it, and our constant prayer is that His will may be done. But, as Mr. Ruskin has sadly said, our unbelief is unparalleled.

<sup>1</sup> “The Old Generation of Economists and the New” (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Jan., 1897, p. 22).



"There *is*," we say, "a Supreme Ruler, no question of it, only He cannot rule. His orders won't work. He will be quite satisfied with euphonious and respectful repetition of them. Execution would be too dangerous under existing circumstances, which He certainly never contemplated."<sup>1</sup>

Yet principles must prevail: they are immortal, they are divine. And, as I cannot but believe, the question for the coming generation is how to apply practically the acknowledged truth from which I started, that we hold all our powers and possessions as a trust. The answer will come through a fresh quickening of the Christian life. The Christian life is not simply a logical deduction from the Christian faith. It is a new fact. It comes from the Living One. He only can communicate it through His Spirit; but He uses us as His ministers. His life is manifested through us in whom He lives; and not only must our actions in every relation be ruled by our faith, but in every action we realize (or fail to realize) our own being.

The change for which we look and labour must be slow. Here, as everywhere, we shall win our souls in our patience. Sudden changes in the nature of consumption could not fail to bring widespread distress to workers; but if we agree to recognize the social character of expenditure, we shall prepare the way for a great saving of our resources and a great elevation of our national character: if we keep our ideal before us through every disappointment and delay, we shall feel and we shall spread its transforming influence.

The work is for each one of us a personal one. By striving, and by striving unweariedly, to do our own work rightly, we shall in our measure further the common cause. A steadily enlightened conscience will silently and irresistibly raise the standard of commercial obligation in production and distribution and consumption, and help to form a public opinion strong enough to purify and ennoble the common social life to which we all contribute and in which we all share.

B. F. DUNELM.

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Painters*, v., part ix. ch. xii. § 5.

## NOTES AND MEMORANDA.

PROFESSOR BRENTANO AND THE PROPOSED GERMAN LABOUR BILL.<sup>1</sup>  
—For a foreign reader, Professor Brentano's strongly reasoned pamphlet against the now rejected Government Labour Bill has the disadvantage of not being accompanied by the text or even an abstract of the measure, which he contemptuously designates as the "House of Correction Bill,"—a measure generally attributed to the personal initiative of the Emperor of Germany, and which, whilst professedly framed in the interest of the working class, appears to have met with a chorus of disapproval from working men of all shades of opinion—Social Democrats, Liberals, Evangelicals, Roman Catholics. For instance, the Conservative Roman Catholic Labour-party in Munich threatened the Centre with secession if the Centre should vote for the measure, which Dr. Brentano characterizes as a new attempt to base the mutual relations of the classes of society, not upon contract, but upon force.

The Bill raised previously enacted punishments for injuries to honour, threats, etc., from three months' to one year's imprisonment, and forbade picketing by working men even when unaccompanied by molestation or threats, whilst expressly allowing the circulation of black lists by employers, and punishing with hard labour any strike "constituting a common danger to property."

Dr. Brentano's work (which is in size only a pamphlet, but closely printed on a large page) is divided into six chapters: the first, introductory; the second, headed "What is called National Labour?"; the third, "The Indispensableness of Freedom to combine;" the fourth, "Those that are willing to work;" the fifth, "The Opponents of the Freedom to combine;" the sixth, "The Corporate Organization of Employers and Workmen." Dr. Brentano hears as yet no such "music of the future" in Germany with respect to the mutual relations of employer and employed as he does in England (I am

<sup>1</sup> *Reaktion oder Reform. Gegen die Zuchthaus vorlage!* Von Geh. Hofrat Dr. Lujo Brentano, ord. Professor an der Universität zu München. [60 pp. 8vo. 80 pf. Naumann. Berlin, 1899.]

*Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 4 Oktober, 1899.

afraid English ears are still themselves very dull to it). He asks, in the first place, for the abrogation, throughout all the states of Germany, of all laws forbidding as political societies unions of workmen for the improvement of the conditions of labour. Next, he asks for the repeal of the existing law in respect to conciliation, and the enactment of a new one, which he would have similar to our Conciliation Act of 1896. His third proposal would be that the regulation of the labour contract through the organization of both interests should be accepted as binding. Finally, he would have para. 153 of the "Gewerbeordnung" amended so as to punish, in conformity with the provisions of the German penal code in reference to physical compulsion and threats, all attempts by physical constraint or by the threat of unjustifiable action, to determine either employers or employed to take part in, or to withhold them from taking part in, combinations or agreements having for their object to exercise an influence upon labour or wages.<sup>1</sup>

I regret that space does not allow me to deal at length with a pamphlet more full of matter than many a ponderous volume, but I cannot but refer to Dr. Brentano's generous characterization of Mr. Frederic Harrison as "the man whose restless, brilliant activity is more to be thanked than all others for the repeal of laws similar to our House of Correction Bill in England, whereby the workers have recovered that feeling of identity with the community and with its interests on which rests the progress of modern society, and even, according to the testimony of Prince Bismarck, the strength of states as towards the outer world" (p. 7).<sup>2</sup>

Some mention must also be made of Dr. Brentano's singularly brilliant address at a meeting of National-Social representatives in Göttingen, printed in the *Kölnische Zeitung* of October 4, 1899. I give an extract from it:—

"We are all proud of our Fatherland. For the last thirty years we have seen fulfilled the dream of our fathers. We see it brought back

<sup>1</sup> It will be observed that Dr. Brentano takes no notice of the interest of a third party very vitally concerned in the labour-contract, viz. the purchaser or consumer of the product.

Incredible as it may seem to an Englishman, under the paragraph above referred to, a workman on strike, telling a blackleg that he will no longer play cards with him, or that he will not allow his daughter to dance with him, may be punished with three months' imprisonment.

<sup>2</sup> In Germany, as well as in France or England, this appears to be an era of neologism. The word "cartel," for instance, losing entirely its original meaning of challenge as derived from the French, has come for Germans simply to mean combination—obviously a purely artificial sense, and unjustified by derivation. The reader of Dr. Brentano's work will have to bear this in mind.



to that first place among the nations, which it had lost since the days of the Othos. Nor is it only that we have politically soared above all those opponents who for centuries have forced us into the background, but an economic upheaval, such as the German nation had never yet seen, gives us the assurance that the political status which we have reached shall be a lasting one. Our wealth has grown with giant steps, and the nations which till now were economically the leaders, feel with dread on their necks the hot breath of our world-wide competition. And in all this happiness, these blessings, this wealth such as has never existed among us, we hear now of a sudden the lament that the millions, whose true and honest assistance we have to thank for all this progress, they by whose labour those brilliant cities were built, for which other nations look on us with astonished envy, they who have manured with their sweat every acre of this blooming land, they without whose help neither those goods which have made the German name known in the most distant parts of the world, nor yet the ships which from hence have carried them there, could possibly have existed, they through whose unremitting co-operation this land has been made a thought of power and magnificence for all times and for the whole world,—that these millions are dangerous to this very power and magnificence, because they desire a share corresponding to their co-operation in the rising yield of the common production. We hear with dread that the millions, who were so necessary and indispensable for our making in time of peace such overwhelming strides forward, and who must be ready and are ready to give away their goods and their blood in war for the defence of such peace, are to be placed under an exceptional legislation, which denies them the right, like all other citizens of the State, of defending their interest in the struggle to obtain the best possible price for the commodity by the sale of which they are compelled to live.”

Stirring rhetoric for a Privy Councillor and Ordinary Professor, and which might easily transform him into a formidable popular leader.

J. M. LUDLOW.

OLD AGE PENSIONS IN ITALY.<sup>1</sup>—While we have been discussing old age pensions for the deserving, *i.e.* the provident, poor, Italy has been taking action in the matter, and has passed its own little measure, which,

<sup>1</sup> *La Cassa Nazionale di Previdenza per la Invalidità e per la vecchiaia degli Operai.* Per Dott. Vincenzo Magaldi, Membro del Consiglio di amministrazione della Cassa Nazionale. [16 pp. Svo. Casa Editrice Italiana. Roma, 1899.]

*Cassa Nazionale di Previdenza: Legge, Statuto e Regolamento tecnico,* Ministero di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio, Divisione Credito e Previdenza. [58 pp. Svo. 1 lira. Treves. Roma, 1899.]

though we could not think of copying it, may be worth noticing. The idea put into practice is a favourite one of M. Luzzatti's, of which he told me as long ago as 1893 or 1894. M. Luzzatti wanted the workmen to lay by towards old age pensions out of their own earnings. To enable them the better to do this with confidence, he has persuaded the Government and the Chamber to extend the power of the *Cassa Nazionale*, which he caused some of the great savings banks of Italy to endow years ago, by means of grants, for insurance against accident; and that *Cassa*, being, not properly a State institution, but an independent establishment, has accordingly been authorized to issue policies for old age pensions. Any workman or working woman has a right to insure, as a rule up to forty, paying as a minimum six lire per annum, in whatever way may be most convenient—as a maximum one hundred lire. To enable older people to insure, it is provided that up to fifty-five they may take out policies, paying what are regarded as “arrears” from forty onwards (or whatever the age may be), *plus* interest. The annual premiums paid in, being laid out in Government funds only, accumulate in course of time to a small capital with which, the general idea is, a life-annuity will be bought when the policy matures—that is, either after twenty-five years of insurance, or at the age of sixty. However, insurers are given limited power to claim payment of all or part in money down. In the event of the insured person's death before maturity of his or her policy, it is provided that insurers may at their option reserve the payment due for their heirs, or may, by a “mutual” arrangement with a number of others, convert it practically into a tontine, by which the survivors benefit. The *Cassa* will pay what it can, laying out its funds to best advantage, but it does not guarantee any specific rates of payment. It is placed under the management of a council of twelve, nominated by the Government, of whom three are to be workmen chosen among the insured.

So far the *Cassa* is really nothing but an ordinary insurance society. But it seems to have been thought that, without some further inducement to attract them, the number of insurers was likely to be small. Accordingly, the Government has created an endowment fund, fixed originally at 10,000,000 lire, which money has been collected by scraping together in all sorts of offices every variety of unconsidered balance unappropriated. The profits netted in the Post Office Savings Banks answer for something. The rest is made up of forfeited deposits, lapsed Treasury notes, and all sorts of Treasury windfalls. The idea appears to have been to make the public believe that here is not a formal grant, voted in Parliament, and involving direct responsibility to the taxpayers, but some good fairy gift of which no account need

be rendered. Ten million lire, £400,000, is not likely to go very far. However, the sum is to be increased. There will be further automatic additions from the same sources, never very large, but expected to tell up in course of time. The great savings banks—Milan, Rome, Turin, Imola, Forlì, etc.—have been asked to make new grants, and have responded to the call. As Dr. Vincenzo Magaldi states in the admirably clear and instructive pamphlet in which he, as one of the Council of Administration of the *Cassa*, and also head of the Department of Credit and Provident Institutions in the Italian Ministry, sets forth the provisions of the new law with all the authority of his position, the endowment fund already amounts to about 13,000,000 lire, and is expected within the first decade of its existence to increase to 20,000,000 lire. However, what is £800,000? Our advocates of the “deserving poor” talk of £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 *per annum* as a beginning! In Italy the endowment capital itself is not to be touched. It will be laid out in Government securities, and out of the interest, first of all, the expenses of management will be paid. Next, a reserve fund is to be formed, and a fixed portion of the income is to be carried to capital account. The balance will be distributed, according to each year’s results, in equal quotas, among all the insured, the same amount being carried to the man who pays only six lire as to him who pays a hundred lire. But it is provided that during the first lustrum the annual amount carried to the credit of each one account shall not exceed twelve lire.

M. Luzzatti has acted as leader of several great enterprises which have begun on an infinitesimal scale, but have grown to gigantic size. Take his People’s Bank movement, which began with £28 share capital. He appears to be sanguine that this new *Cassa* will grow like the People’s Banks. Public spirit is being appealed to, and private capitalists and public institutions are asked to add to the endowment, so as to make it equal to its task. At the present time it certainly is not so equal; and at first sight it must appear a little doubtful if capitalists and institutions will come forward very readily with their grants. For the new law, by implication, lays a very heavy burden upon them, with which they are not likely to be impatient to saddle themselves. It gives to every workman and working woman a *right*, not only to be insured, but to draw a subvention from the *Cassa*, and it places the liability of meeting this expense upon the public and the State. The first subventions, or bonuses, will be paltry. What will even the full twelve lire per annum amount to, converted into a pension? Say, after twenty-five years, it will represent a capital of 300 or 400 lire, which, to a person of sixty, will purchase an annuity of 12s. or



16s. But that is a maximum not likely to be reached. However, you cannot "of your great bounty" give the large working population a grant and then make that grant illusory. The endowment will have to be increased, and that will mean taxation. In any case, it will be interesting to watch the results of the measure. It begins work with a very capable administering body, which is sure to do its best.

HENRY W. WOLFF.

THE PLYMOUTH TRADE UNION CONGRESS.—In order to appreciate the significance of the last Trade Union Congress, it is necessary to call to mind the various congresses that have been held since 1869. The original object of this assembly of working men was to obtain the complete legalization of trade unions, and no doubt it was largely responsible for the victory achieved in 1875. For about ten years following the Parliamentary Committee wielded considerable power, and permitted no contentious question to come before the delegates. The Congress thus became practically an expression of the opinions of trade union officials, who were strongly opposed to legislative interference with the hours and conditions of labour.

About the year 1885, however, discontent was making itself manifest in the Congress, and it was easy to see that the front bench of the Labour Parliament were out of sympathy with the aspirations of their constituents. The last great trade depression, with the prolonged distress it involved, supplied the Socialists with a striking object-lesson of the results of our industrial system. They urged the necessity for political action, and the common ownership of all the means of production. An impetus was given to the new movement by the investigations of Mr. Charles Booth, and the widespread popularity of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* gave a political direction to the minds of those in search of a remedy. The artisans were thus ultimately convinced of the inadequacy of the policy of the Parliamentary Committee, and a nine years' conflict ensued between the rank and file of the trade union world and the officials of the Congress. The organization of the unskilled workers, which followed the London Dockers' strike in 1889, was also an important factor in the change. A new set of men was thus brought into the Congress arena, and after many vehement discussions the "New Unionists" achieved an unqualified victory at the Norwich Congress of 1894.

The final result of all this has been to convince the Congress that general resolutions in the direction of complete Socialism are quite as impracticable at the present time as waiting for voluntary action; in fact, the advantages are with the latter. And, therefore, during the

past four years, the Congress has been more and more moderate in its resolutions. This tendency was the characteristic of the Plymouth Congress. There was not a single resolution passed at this Congress which was not within the range of practical politics ; and it is significant to note that an amendment moved by the Socialist section, to the effect that "the social and economic problem can only be solved when the means of production, distribution, and exchange are held as common property," was negatived by a large majority. Not, however, because the Congress is opposed to the principle of common ownership, but because it is convinced that its attention should be devoted to questions more open to immediate solution. Thus the Plymouth Congress will be remembered for the practical character of its resolutions, and may prove to be the beginning of another period in the history of organized labour.

The Congress programme was exceedingly long and varied. It began on Monday, September 4, with an official welcome from the mayor and corporation, and the five days following were occupied by the president's inaugural address, the consideration of the Parliamentary Committee's Report, the discussion of seventy-nine resolutions and nineteen amendments, the reception of deputations from Denmark, America, and the Co-operative Union, concluding with a plea for a peaceful settlement of the Transvaal difficulty.

The president in his address imitated his predecessors, and gave a rambling discourse on many topics. He made an eloquent appeal for the direct representation of the artisan classes in the House of Commons, and told the delegates that it was their fault that social reforms of pressing importance could not be obtained.

The manner in which the delegates discussed the Parliamentary Committee's Report was most disappointing. This committee is appointed to give effect to the resolutions passed at the Congress, and to promote the interests of trade unionism generally. Each year a report of their work is presented, which is discussed and adopted in about two hours. It is very clear that if trade unionists desire their executive to be an active and vigorous body, it will be necessary to devote a larger portion of the time of Congress to criticizing its conduct. For, it should be remembered, this committee is the most important part of the Congress machinery, and its annual report should not be lightly passed. Criticism is all the more necessary in view of the manner in which the committee is constituted. A large portion of its members hold high official positions in trade unions, the work of which alone, if faithfully performed, must occupy the whole of their time ; while a few are also members of Parliament. There is a natural limit

to man's capacity for work, and it would appear that after the Parliamentary Committee have performed their duties as M.P.'s, or as secretaries or chairmen of trade unions, they have little energy left for the work relegated to them by the Trade Union Congress.

Although the discussion of the Parliamentary Committee's Report is most inadequate, yet the assignment of duties to this committee occupied the greater part of the Congress week, many of the resolutions being of a most important character. It is apparent that the Workmen's Compensation Act is not regarded as an ideal measure by the artisans. Ten resolutions were submitted by different trade unions, calling attention to some of the absurdities of the Act and the immediate necessity for its amendment. One of the resolutions stated that the Act "should be so amended as to give a clear interpretation of its original spirit, instead of the present indulgence in legal quibbles and conundrums worthy of the interlocutor of a negro minstrel troupe!" The eight-hour-day question is a "hardy annual," and this year six resolutions were submitted in its favour. The Congress unanimously decided that an eight-hour day is highly necessary for workers in asylums, bakehouses, and sewages; but differences of opinion prevailed as to the advisability of a general eight-hour day, and, although the resolution was carried, yet it seems to be a question for local option. Five resolutions on Monetary Reform were on the agenda, but, in spite of the free tea provided for the delegates by the Bi-metallic League, they were not discussed, the Congress evidently not possessing sufficient knowledge on this intricate subject to express an opinion. On the question of Old Age Pensions, the Congress unanimously condemned the proposal to make the pension dependent on previous thrift, and was also of opinion that incapacity to work should be a sufficient qualification for the pension. There were five resolutions setting forth the grievances of post-office employees, who claimed, among other things, direct representation in the House of Commons. The erection of municipal dwelling-houses, with the purpose of solving the housing problem, was agreed to, as well as the municipal ownership of bakeries, "for the provision of the people's bread supply at cost price of manufacture." The Congress rejected the principle of compulsory arbitration, probably believing its application to be impracticable in this country. Sunday trading was condemned on the ground of the increased labour it involves, and the Parliamentary Committee were instructed to demand the abolition of child-labour in factories. The unanimous adoption of a resolution in favour of the principles of labour copartnership is a new departure for the Congress, which demonstrates the advance which these principles are making among the artisan



classes. Trade unionists would, indeed, do wisely by devoting more of their energy to the practical advocacy of labour copartnership, for here they undoubtedly have an opportunity for building up a new industrial system which would solve many of the problems now agitating the labour world.

The above statement gives some idea of the variety of questions with which the Congress attempts to deal. It should be observed that nearly the whole of the resolutions have reference to legislative interference either by the Imperial Parliament or by the municipalities ; and, therefore, if these resolutions are to be placed on the statute-book, it is necessary to have members of these bodies who will directly represent the interests of the working classes. This question has produced many discussions in the past, but with little practical result. However, its importance is now fully realized, and a resolution was passed instructing the Parliamentary Committee to call a conference of representatives from trade union, socialistic, and co-operative organizations, to devise ways and means for securing the return of an increased number of labour members to the next Parliament.

The Trade Union Congress is undoubtedly capable of becoming an effective medium through which the artisan classes may educate and influence public opinion, but its full power cannot be exerted without certain improvements in its organization. In the first place, the Parliamentary Committee should be composed of men who could give their undivided attention to the work of the Congress ; at present we hear of the Parliamentary Committee but once a year, whereas its operations should be continually before the public. Secondly, although this may appear rather trivial, the present method of selecting the chairman of the Congress is very unsatisfactory. The success of a gathering depends largely on the skill of the chairman ; he should be a man of wide experience and reputation, and not chosen simply as possessing local influence. Thirdly, the number of questions discussed at the Congress should be considerably limited. It would be wise at future congresses to select one or two subjects of urgent importance for special consideration ; and, even if no decision could be arrived at, the educational value of a thorough discussion would be a real gain. Finally, whatever the decision of Congress on any question, it should demand a satisfactory account from its responsible officials.

WALTER J. DAWE.

THE CO-OPERATIVE FESTIVAL OF 1899.—The co-operative movement shows its vitality in many ways, but in none of them do its social enjoyments appear greater than at the Crystal Palace

Co-operative Festival. It is here, too, where the skill of co-operators in fruit and flower rearing, in artistic and technical photography, and in music is tested, and, of course, where the highest success is rewarded. The Festival serves to rebut the taunt that co-operation is merely a somewhat fussy method of furnishing working men with cheaper butter and tea. The popularity and success of the Festival seems attested by the vast crowds who assemble from all parts of the co-operative world. It was estimated that upwards of thirty thousand people visited the Palace on Saturday, August 19th.

The musical contests, and the huge musical festival, in which some seven thousand voices joined, were perhaps the most imposing and attractive parts of the Festival. But the exhibition itself was larger and more successful than in former years, and gave evident signs of steady growth. The flower show and the exhibits of the Agricultural and Horticultural Association were as excellent as ever; and the entries of flowers and fruits represented over 5,206 exhibits, and occupied a mile of tables. The exhibition of co-operative productions, organized by the Labour Association, is improving from year to year, and last time was a creditable and instructive exposition of what co-partnership societies are accomplishing in productive enterprise.

The exhibition was formally opened on Tuesday, August 15th, by Mr. Gerald Balfour, Chief Secretary for Ireland. Mr. Maddison presided at the opening ceremony, and the company on the platform included Lady Betty Balfour, Miss Gurney, Mr. J. G. Holyoake, Lord Plunket, Lord Monteagle, the Earl of Stamford, Mr. H. Vivian, Mr. R. D. Anderson (of the Irish Agricultural Association), Mr. W. L. Charleton (of the British Agricultural Association), Mr. E. D. Greening, Mr. Hamond, and others. Mr. Balfour's address showed by its knowledge of facts and principles that he had paid the advocates of labour co-partnership the compliment of having carefully studied their system, both as to its ideals and as to its practical applications. The speech was characterized by frank criticism and well-directed counsel, given in a spirit of encouraging conviction, that recognized both the strong and weak possibilities in the future of co-operative production. His chief criticism turned on the large part which the skill of the organizing employer played in modern industry, and the reluctance of working men to pay the market price for the business capacity that is necessary in their productive enterprises. It may be doubted, however, whether he took sufficient note of the growing simplification of the factory system, which is the result of a graduated system of management, and the grading of goods for the market. He spoke more hopefully of Irish co-operation as applied to agriculture;

he believed it was almost certain to succeed if reasonably managed, and should not be surprised to find the small cultivator in a better position than the large farmer.

Another function of the Festival is the annual meeting of the Labour Association. The retiring president, Mr. Maddison, M.P., gave an address, in which he dwelt on the righteous discontent that was rife in almost every workshop and factory. He contended that co-operation is not merely a means to an end, but an end in itself, inasmuch as it satisfied the craving of the workman for self-emancipation, and offered a complete solution of the labour problem, by giving him the necessary opportunity and education for becoming master of himself. Earl Grey was elected president for the ensuing year, and Mr. Gerald Balfour added to the list of vice-presidents together with Mr. Maddison.

R. HALSTEAD.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN.—Under this title there was a series of meetings, beginning on June 26 last, and extending over ten days. These meetings consisted of the reading of papers, followed by debates, in several public buildings in London, and also of social gatherings of a more private nature. The subjects of discussion were divided into sections, such as professional, political, industrial, etc.; and, the number of speakers being necessarily very large, the procedure was minutely organized, resulting in short speeches, simultaneous meetings, and great complexity of matter—facts which make any full criticism impossible. For, as can be easily imagined, the scope of the Congress was too large to allow of any definite conclusions. Twenty-eight nations were represented, and much discussion was begun under all the different sections; but, owing to limits of time, and to national diversities, these debates seldom got beyond preliminary vagueness, and were merely a collection of disconnected ideas, some suggestive, others visionary.

Such failures were at once pointed out by critics, for they were sufficiently obvious, and perhaps inevitable; yet, in spite of them, good was doubtless achieved in two main directions. In the first place, a spirit of co-operation and mutual good-will was furthered by social intercourse, and particularly exemplified in the opening speech of the President, the Countess of Aberdeen. While, secondly, several papers of special interest were read:—*e.g.* Mrs. Sidney Webb's on "Provident Schemes," Mr. Gilbert Parker's on the "Housing of Educated Working Women," Mr. Lethaby's on "Art-work," and Mr. Sadler's on "Examination Systems." All these papers deserve special attention, and should be studied in connexion with the subjects to which they refer.



Mr. Gilbert Parker has raised a question of urgent importance, though his method of answering it might possibly have the undesired effect of lowering women's salaries. The general moral effect of the Congress is less easily estimated, but its value need not be discounted by undue insistence on certain indiscretions. These naturally arose in the prevailing enthusiasm, and included old-worn comparison between the sexes, political tirades, national boasting, and various wild schemes of social reform; but they hold no essential place in the general plan, and are hardly worthy of serious comment.

Adverse critics have dwelt upon these, almost to the exclusion of yet another point, which seems to me of paramount importance, viz. the imperfect representation of England at the Congress. Is it a good or a bad sign that in most cases only extreme English opinion was represented? Our leading workers and reformers of moderate views in all the different sections were for the most part absent and unnamed. This is misleading to the foreigner, and it led to many unjust statements concerning English institutions which were only partially refuted. Doubtless such criticism is better than self-satisfaction, and though it contains much unfairness, is not likely to have anything but a good effect. Yet it is such a common feature in our social discussions, that it is worthy of note. Only a close study of the anomalous systems of this country can enable a critic to do justice to them; the foreigner can only see their imperfections, and wonder at the results.

Full reports of the Congress are now being issued, and will be added to the mass of literature bearing upon modern social life. As regards practical usefulness, they may be disappointing, but, on the other hand, they will add to mutual understanding, and they contain many suggestive ideas. In order to gain any advantage from such a mixed record, it must be studied with tolerance towards its omissions and defects, yet with a breadth of view which does not mistake the actual Congress for what it professed to be, viz. a meeting representing the leading women in all departments of life in Europe and America. Some good can be gained from it as a contribution to social and economic knowledge, without either a participation in undue enthusiasm, or, what is worse, a contempt for these enthusiasms.

M. W. MIDDLETON.

THE INVESTIGATION OF RETAIL PRICES.—It may be said without exaggeration that the most pressing want of the historic statistician is information as to retail prices. A great deal is known about the present and past wages and manner of life of most sections of the working classes, but very little about the purchasing power of their

wages. Till this defect is remedied, statements as to money wages, however detailed and accurate they may be, are deprived of much of their value. There can be little doubt that retail prices do not follow exactly or even very closely the course of wholesale prices; but, if we could find the relation between the two, we could at once make use of the precise and trustworthy index-numbers which are already calculated for the latter. Such an investigation, of course, will involve difficulties. For instance: (i.) The retail price of the same commodity varies greatly from town to town, from town to country, and even from part to part of the same town. (ii.) Very few retail commodities are so definite in character that we can be sure that any two given prices refer to exactly the same class of goods, whether in two different places or at two different dates. (iii.) Retail prices are often kept stationary, while the commodities are slightly altered, without the knowledge of the consumer, in accordance with a change in wholesale prices. (iv.) Retail prices of the same goods are not the same for different classes of consumers.

It may be that the answer to the question, "How has the purchasing power of earnings changed?" is beyond the grasp of statistics; but, if we could obtain accurate statements of retail prices from many localities and for many classes of purchasers, it is probable that they would furnish trustworthy averages. And, if we could further obtain precise statements of the variation of the prices of typical commodities for the last five, ten, twenty, or thirty years, it is possible that, by careful comparison of the data, we could find, approximately at least, the relation between the courses of retail and wholesale prices.

For the first of these purposes it is only necessary that statements should be sent as to the following particulars: date, place, class of customer, very exact description of the commodity, and price. The following commodities may prove to be sufficiently capable of definition: bread, the ordinary 4-lb. loaf; milk, with full cream; butter, the best fresh, and the kind most usually sold; eggs, best new-laid; sugar, lump; tea, the kind or kinds most usually sold; cheese, "American Cheddar;" sausages (the quality probably varying with the district); meat, beef, mutton, bacon (the joint being carefully distinguished). All these could be easily entered by any intelligent housekeeper as the result of a little conversation with the local tradespeople, and a few hundred returns of these prices would almost certainly prove of value.

For the second purpose it is necessary to particularize all the points mentioned above, and, in addition, the prices of exactly the same commodities at all the former dates for which they can be given. Reference

to well-kept housekeepers' books, and a little cross-examination of well-disposed tradespeople, would probably produce a good many lists. The information, however, will be valueless unless precise, and unless it refers throughout to exactly the same commodity. Hearsay and casual information are not sufficiently trustworthy. Even a few accurate lists, in combination with the new data as to current prices and with information already extant, would furnish most valuable information. Figures relating to working-class districts are more valuable than others. Contract prices for institutions and semi-wholesale prices are valuable, but should be distinguished as such.

I shall be glad to supply blank forms for this information to any one who will apply to me at The London School of Economics, 10, Adelphi Terrace, London, W.C.

A. L. BOWLEY.

THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF TOYNBEE HALL has recently been published, and seems to show a quiet development of work in every direction. As the Warden remarks in a brief introduction to the report, "Toynbee Hall stands for the way of life as distinct from the way of machinery," and consequently its progress is not to be judged so much by any list of fresh organizations, or by the numbers of attendants at lectures or club-meetings, as by the undefined friendliness between its residents and the other inhabitants of the neighbourhood. A reader of the report, then, may justly find cause for congratulation when he realizes that it is just this closeness of relation which seems to mark the year's activities in every direction. If we take, for instance, the educational side of the work, an excellent account of which is contributed by Mr. Urwick, we notice that there is a decided tendency for the centre of interest to be shifted from the hall to the class-room; attendances at lectures have slightly fallen off, while there is a distinct increase in the number of students at classes and reading-parties. Mr. Urwick is inclined to regret this, but an outside critic is surely justified in seeing in it a desire for closer relations between teacher and pupil, which is to be welcomed, not merely on general grounds, but even from the purely educational point of view, as likely to produce greater individuality in teaching and sounder permanent results.

Again, we learn that during the year public attention has been called to the excessive rents charged by landlords in Whitechapel, and that the outcry has led not merely to the institution of a Tenants' Defence Committee, which has its headquarters in Toynbee Hall, but to a voluntary arrangement on the part of a barrister associated with



the Hall, who has attended once a week in order to hear cases and give advice to those unable to afford legal assistance in the ordinary way. Two more of the special developments of the year seem to show a tendency in the same direction: the students of Balliol House have opened and are themselves managing a boys' club, while the women-students have formed a Guild of Compassion, and have taken a house at Hampstead, where "a few children might receive training, the tired be taken in for rest, and the unwanted find a home." In both cases we have those who have themselves benefited by the working institutions of Toynbee Hall attempting to pass on something to others, and so forge new links in the chain of personal friendship.

Once more, we might form the same deduction from a consideration of the balance of interests in the report as a whole. A few years ago there were critics who complained that Toynbee Hall was degenerating into a mere educational institute, and that the social side of its work, which must represent its closer intercourse with its neighbours, was being neglected. No one reading the present report could find justification for such a criticism as this. Lectures and classes there are, of course, but the bulk of the report speaks of social as distinct from educational activity. It is especially interesting to read of the prosperity of the Old Boys' Clubs, composed of ex-students of the neighbouring board schools, who meet for educational and athletic purposes, and still more to keep up the school feeling of *esprit de corps*. These clubs have now been growing for some years, and they are apparently being confronted with the difficult problem which was bound to arise as soon as the discrepancy in age became marked between the original and recent members. It will be interesting to see how this difficulty will be met; as it is, the "Old Rutlanders" have apparently a senior and a junior section, but even this arrangement does not seem to be finally successful, and the managers will have to find some other solution.

The report contains extremely interesting notices of the meetings and discussions of Co-operative Societies, Trade Unions, and Friendly Societies held at Toynbee Hall, and of conferences on outdoor relief and other subjects. The Hall seems to preserve its character for affording a welcome to all kinds of interests, and encouraging the free expression of every type of opinion. But certainly the most prominent note throughout is that of a closer relation with its neighbours; and so long as this approximation is every year more marked, one may contentedly believe in the greater usefulness of the Hall without demanding striking developments or "record attendances."

CYRIL BAILEY.

THE FOURTEENTH REPORT OF THE LABOUR ASSOCIATION (1898-99) is a record of steady progress. Although the societies affiliated to the association are far from including all that more or less carry out its principles, the number of such societies has risen, between the dates of the tenth and fourteenth reports, from forty to sixty-one, an increase of over 50 per cent. in four years. Besides new editions, a number of new publications have been issued, among which may be mentioned, *What Co-operation will do for the People*, and *The Relation of the Church to Co-operation*, by Earl Grey; *The Store, the Workshop, and the Trade Union*, by Mr. F. Maddison, M.P.; and *Thirty Years' Experience of Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration*, by Sir W. Dale. To the London centre of work have now been added three provincial centres—the Lancashire and Yorkshire centre, with Mr. R. Halstead (well known to readers of the *Economic Review*) as secretary; and the Newcastle and Derby centres; whilst at Oxford Mrs. Arnold Toynbee and Mr. Sidney Ball have undertaken to act as joint secretaries.

Among new societies that have been advised are the Newport Builders, the Maison Espérance, Ltd. (dressmakers), the Halifax Cabinet-makers, Tyneside Builders, Plymouth Printers, and Bone Brush-makers. The Kettering Corset Society, which had just started work at the date of the last report, is employing over a hundred workers, and has had to extend its premises. The (London) General Builders, Ltd., have built new workshops, and have secured contracts from the Office of Works, the London County Council, and the London School Board. The association has been consulted by several employers desirous of adopting its principles, and a special pamphlet has been prepared by Mr. Aneurin Williams to meet such cases.

Mr. Livesey's paper *On the Profit-sharing Scheme of the South Metropolitan Gas Company*, read at the "Copartnership Conference of the Labour Association" at Newcastle-on-Tyne, October 14, 1899, belongs to a later year of the existence of the association than that treated of in the report just noticed. It is an extremely interesting account of what appears to be one of the most successful experiments hitherto known in the direction of harmonizing the interests of employer and employed between themselves, and those of both with that of the consumer. For Mr. Livesey claims to have suggested what is now the law, the varying in an inverse ratio of the price of gas and the rate of dividend, the latter rising with a diminution of price to the consumer, falling with an increase. In October, 1869, a strike being "imminent at any moment," "a suggestion was made at the Board" (I presume by Mr. Livesey himself) "that it would be better to make

friends with the men than to fight them," and a profit-sharing scheme was adopted, which was accepted by about a thousand of the workers, but refused by the Gas-stokers' Union, the result being a serious strike, and eventually a declaration by the company that they would not employ members of the union. It would be impossible to go into the details of the conflict on the *ex parte* statement of an employer, but since Mr. Livesey tells us that when the company took over the Crystal Palace District Gasworks, and introduced a similar system of profit-sharing in 1894, "the men were distinctly and emphatically told that they were perfectly free to continue members of the Gas-workers' Union or of any union," the inference seems irresistible that the permanent lock-out of the Gas-stokers' Union men at the main works was either unnecessary, or had practically broken down. (Mr. Livesey tells us that "in a lifelong association with workmen," he has "found that where confidence is given it will be returned;" but the Gas-stokers' Union would appear to be tacitly excluded from the benefit of this statement at the company's headquarters.)

For the purpose of profit-sharing "2s. 8d. was taken as the standard price of gas, and for every penny below that figure at which gas was sold, the officers and workmen were to be entitled to an annual bonus of 1 per cent. on their salaries and wages. The standard price was fixed at this figure in order to start with a bonus of 5 per cent. (the actual selling-price at the time being 2s. 3d. per 1000, or 5d. below the standard), and to allow for a possible increase of price without reducing the bonus to vanishing point." All who accepted the proposal were credited with a "nest-egg," being the bonus they would have received on the above scale during the three preceding years, but which was not to be payable till 1894. The annual bonus, on the other hand, might be left on deposit, repayable on a week's notice at 4 per cent. interest. "Rather more than half the profit-sharers," however, withdrew their bonus as soon as declared, others investing it in a building society, others in the purchase of the company's stock, the remainder leaving it on deposit. The scheme stood, after two years, a reduction of bonus to 3 per cent., consequent on a rise in the price of gas. But after five years' working "it became clear that simple profit-sharing was . . . only a step on the road . . . for unless it leads to actual shareholding it halts where it should make its greatest advance. In 1894, therefore, the directors proposed to increase the rate of bonus from 1 to 1½ per cent. on salaries and wages per 1d. on the price of gas," on condition that one-half of the bonus should be "invested in the company's ordinary stock at the market-price of the day." The result has been that during the ten years the plan has been in operation,



£52,006 has been invested in stock worth £96,000, by about 2800 employee shareholders. On the other hand, owing to the rise in the price of gas stocks, the average rate at which the company raises capital not being much over 3 per cent., the rate on deposits above £20 has been reduced to 3 per cent. after full explanation to the profit-sharing committee and the men, and "not one withdrew his money because the rate of interest was reduced." (The profit-sharing committee, it should be explained, consists of eighteen workmen elected by ballot by their fellows, and eighteen nominees of the directors, the chairman of the board being chairman of the committee.)

The last step remained to be taken, that of admitting the workers to a share in the management. The authority of Parliament was required for this purpose, and when the consent of the Board had been somewhat reluctantly obtained, an Act was passed giving power to elect employee directors when the aggregate amount of stock held by profit-sharing employees exceeded £40,000 nominal value—a consummation reached in November, 1898, when two workmen took their seat at the Board. The salaried officers have also the right to elect a director, but have not exercised such right as yet. But the Act limits to three the number of employees' directors, one retiring every year.

The result is, so far, from a moral point of view, eminently satisfactory.

"I have been," Mr. Livesey says, "in the company's service in various capacities since 1848—assistant to my father, then as engineer, next engineer and secretary, then director, and for fourteen years chairman. I remember well the old friendly relations when every man was known personally, and the kindly feeling that then existed, but never have the relations of employer and employed been on such a footing of mutual confidence and good will as during the last ten years. Each feels quite free to speak to the other with the respect due from man to man on any subject, and reason rules on both sides."

From a pecuniary point of view, the result is equally satisfactory. The rates of wages paid to stokers by the three London gas companies being the same, the cost of wages was about 1s. per ton less in the South Metropolitan, owing partly to the better working of the men, the price of gas charged by the company being the lowest of the three, and having fallen in ten years from 2s. 3d. per thousand feet to 2s. 1d., whilst it has risen in both the others. Nearly every man in regular employment is a shareholder, and 2800 men hold nearly £100,000. On the other hand, to compel thrifty habits, those who till now have withdrawn everything they could, were told that at the distribution in July, 1900, "they would be credited only with the half bonus invested in stock, unless they saved week by week an amount equal to a week's

wages by the end of the profit-sharing year," the notice, however, not applying to those who had withdrawn their money for saving or investment in any other way.

Thus, in a great metropolitan gas company, profit-sharing, coupled with the admission of the workers to a share in management, has been so far a thorough success. But it would not be fair to draw too general conclusions from the fact. The three London gas companies enjoy a practical monopoly each within its field, subject only to the control of Parliament, and each field is a vast one. So far as the sale of their main product is concerned, there is absolutely no competition, and the householder supplied by one company, who pays a higher price for a worse article than his friend in a different quarter who is supplied by another company, has no remedy. So long as this state of things continues, a resolute, well-meaning man like Mr. Livesey is pretty sure to have his way, and the practical certainty of a dividend on capital is one of the best of lubricants for the wheels of any social machinery he may employ. Whether, in a trade subject to fierce competition, the same success would have attended his efforts, is at least doubtful. Indeed, in any concern of a more speculative nature it could hardly be expected that the workers should invest so largely as the South Metropolitan gas-workers have done in the capital of the company, nor would it be fair to require them to do so. In many cases, I am afraid, the scrutiny of working-men directors would be anything but welcome to the board. As respects the interests of the workers themselves, even in the South Metropolitan Gas Company it appears to me far from certain that, if Mr. Livesey's influence were removed, it would be sufficiently replaced by that of two or three working-men directors.

Whilst, therefore, joyfully recognizing the success of Mr. Livesey's experiment, we must not, I fear, regard it as a solution of the problem of industrial partnership, *i.e.* the partnership of employer and employed. But, with due modifications, there is at least no reason why the same principle should not be applied to all forms of commercial activity which enjoy a practical monopoly within certain limits—such as water companies, railway companies, canal companies, dock companies, etc. And for that purpose the rules appended to Mr. Livesey's paper, drawn up under the authority of the company's "South Metropolitan Gas Act, 1896" (59 & 60 Vict. c. cxxvi.), will be found very useful. It may be observed that these rules embody a privilege long confined to the members of friendly societies, but since extended to co-operative bodies and other working-class organizations, and greatly appreciated by working men—that of nomination in writing in lieu of a will.

J. M. LUDLOW.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION IN SWITZERLAND.<sup>1</sup>—Following in the footsteps of the countries which surround it, Switzerland has, last October, adopted an Act which provides for the compensation of workmen in cases of accident. The struggle for its adoption has been a long and a tough one. Switzerland, as Dr. Zacher shows in the admirable sketch of the history of legislation for the protection of working-men in that country, which he prefixes to the text of the Act, has long been in advance of the rest of Europe in respect of the rights of compensation accorded to workmen, mainly by way of plaint. Factory inspection has since 1877 been more thorough and systematic in Switzerland than elsewhere. The abomination of "contributory negligence," under employers' liability, which has done so much to defeat workmen's rights in this country, has in Switzerland never been known.

In addition to this, provident institutions carried on under the voluntary system, providing for sick and burial benefits, and even old age pensions and allowances for widows and orphans, have, since "the sixties," been extremely popular and become numerous. There were in 1880 no fewer than 1085 such friendly societies in the little Republic containing a population of only about three millions. It is true, the membership was small. There were 500 societies with less than 100 members each, and the aggregate roll of all did not exceed 209,920. However, so firm a hold had these societies acquired upon the affections of the working population, that, in December, 1894, M. Numa Droz explained to me that in his opinion their opposition must shipwreck any attempt at fresh legislation, which legislation, he, for one, did not desire. As late as the autumn of 1897, Nationalrath Forrer, who has all along been the leader of the movement in favour of fresh legislation, wrote to me despondingly, in practically the same sense. He apprehended that at any rate the proposed law would not be passed without recourse to the referendum, which must mean a canvass in every parish. Nevertheless, the law has, in the last stage, been carried with comparative ease. This result is manifestly due to the fact that public opinion had become satisfied that the incompleteness of existing provident insurance, which leaves the majority of working-folk unprovided for, constituted a serious drawback, and to the circumstance that the popular tendency became strong in favour of taxing the community for this purpose.

<sup>1</sup> *Bundesgesetz betreffend die Kranken- und Unfallversicherung mit Einschluss der Militärversicherung vom 5 Oktober, 1899.* [Official Publication.]

*Die Arbeiter-Versicherung im Auslande, Heft XI. Die Arbeiter-Versicherung in der Schweiz.* Dr. Zacher, Kaiserlicher Geheimer Regierungsrath im Reichs-Versicherungsamt. [Troschel, Berlin, 1899.]



The Swiss measure, as it stands, is out-and-out the longest Act on the subject adopted anywhere. It consists of just 400 clauses. Of these, however, 216 deal with sick insurance, which, like accident insurance, is made compulsory, and towards which, in addition to a grant by the State of at least one centime (ten to the penny) per working day for every person insured, the employers are required to contribute an equal amount to that paid by the workmen and workwomen. The two species of insurance are, indeed, altogether of a piece and supplement one another. For, during the first six weeks of disablement, claimants under the law are referred exclusively to the sick funds. In respect of the principles and methods adopted, the Swiss law is shaped altogether on the model of the German. Of course, in a small country, with about one-seventeenth of Germany's population, a much simpler procedure has proved possible. It deserves to be remarked that, although readily adopting German methods with regard to sick and accident insurance, Switzerland has drawn the line at old age pensions, which, as a matter of fact, all countries of the Continent, however prone otherwise to imitate German example, have declined to accept at the hand of their would-be master. For the two old age pension laws actually in force, the Danish and the Italian, differ in character very widely from the German.

There is another rather striking difference between German and Swiss legislation on this matter, namely, that whereas Germany throws the entire burden of accident insurance upon the employer, Switzerland makes the workman pay twenty-five per cent., and adds a further quota from the federal exchequer. As a set-off the employers are made to pay 50 per cent. towards sick insurance. There is more elasticity about Swiss working-men's insurance than German. The grant payable by the State towards sick insurance is indeterminate, and to be fixed by Parliament year by year. Under the same class of insurance, "free" insurance institutions, that is, friendly societies, are, under certain limitations, allowed alongside of the institutions of the State. And once they consent to be "registered," which places them under closer supervision, they become fully equal in rights to the Government offices. Working folk are also permitted to insure at their option for merely curative benefits, or else for curative benefits plus sick pay. And under both forms of insurance the insuring bodies or offices are given latitude to increase the sick or disablement allowances from the regulation 60 per cent. of the ordinary wages (which rate the Government may raise, if it so decide, to  $66\frac{2}{3}$  per cent. throughout the country) to a full 100 per cent. in cases of special need and destitution. Moreover, local offices are allowed discretion to regulate matters

according to local circumstances, provided that the central authority approve. The right and liability to insure begins at the completion of the fourteenth year, for every man and woman in employment, whether domestic, agricultural or otherwise, and no matter whether working alone, or together with a number of other workingfolk.

The central supervising body is a Government Board, consisting purely of civil servants, and has its seat at Lucerne. To assist it in such matters as the preparation of a scale of danger risks, the ordering of preventive measures, and the calculation of the capital values of pensions awarded, the Federal Council, *i.e.* the Government, is to appoint an Advisory Council, consisting of from nine to fifteen members, three at least of whom are to be workmen and three employers. Under the direction of the Central Board, the Republic is to be divided into a number, not fixed, of "inspection districts," according to local requirements. The district boards at work in these are to be appointed by the Central Board. The contributions required are to be levied from the employers, according to the requirements ascertained by the Central Board, in sufficient amount to provide for capitalizing at once each pension liability, and leaving over a balance to make up, gradually, two reserve funds, *viz.*, one for ordinary purposes and one for catastrophe risks. Such contributions have to be paid every month in advance, except in cases where the employer chooses to make an adequate deposit and open a current account with the local office. Every contribution is fixed with reference to the two distinct data of the particular danger risk (which may be fixed for the whole establishment or for distinct groups of workmen within the same) and of the amount of wages assumed to be paid. For this purpose every workman is supposed to be employed 300 days in the year. The employer is entitled to deduct 25 per cent. of the contributions actually paid from his workmen's wages, every man having for this purpose a separate account; but he has no right to recover otherwise than by deduction from wages due. The contribution by the State is one-fifth of the compensations paid, in addition to a proportion, to be settled by Parliament, of the expenses of administration and whatever Parliament may choose to allow towards fresh inquiries, experiments with respect to preventive measures, and the like.

In the event of an accident occurring, immediate notice is to be given and inquiry to be made. Should disablement extend beyond six weeks, the Insurance Board becomes liable to pay a pension at the rate of 60 per cent. of the wages, or less if disablement should be only partial. But a workman who would in the ordinary course of things have been promoted to a higher grade of pay a short time after his

disablement, becomes entitled to compensation in proportion to the higher rate from the day when he would have become entitled to it. Apprentices and other persons working without money remuneration, or for less than their work would entitle them to, are to be compensated according to the lowest rate of wages actually paid in their particular class of employment. Pensions are unassignable and unattachable, and are to be paid free of charge every month by the Post Office, at the post office of the district. Should the accident result in death, burial money will, as a rule, be payable (at the rate of from twenty to forty francs) by the sick fund, otherwise a sum of forty francs will be paid by the accident fund, and allowances up to 50 per cent. of the wages of the deceased will become payable to his family, in the proportion of 30 per cent. to the widow, 20 to the widower, 15 per cent. to each legitimate child up to sixteen, and 20 per cent. to each "ascendant." Widows remarrying are to be paid off, once for all, at the rate of three years' pension, and so may be, at the option of the Insurance Department, pensioners entitled to less than a hundred francs a year, at the same rate. In exceptional cases pensions may be commuted into a lump-sum payment, should the pensioner apply for this. All pensions and compensations are liable to be reduced by at most one half of their normal amount, should it be shown that the accident which occasioned the injury was brought on by the victim's own "gross negligence;" and they may be entirely disallowed if it should be proved that they were brought on intentionally, or in the course of the commission of a crime, or by *dolus malus* on the victim's part. As already stated, in cases of exceptional distress the compensation paid may be raised considerably above the regulation amount. To adjudicate in cases of dispute a distinct tribunal is appointed, for the whole of the Republic, consisting of seven judges and five substitutes. There is rather a severe code of penalties for non-observance of duties imposed by the law, and some special provisions are appended, applying specifically to men disabled while in military service. The law is, generally, very clear in its provisions and diction. It remains to be seen what its result will be in practice.

HENRY W. WOLFF.



## LEGISLATION, PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRIES, AND OFFICIAL RETURNS

THE three commissions, or, to be accurate, the one commission and two committees which have been appointed, we need not say to consider, but at all events in connexion with old age pensions, will be known to history, like many others, by the names of their chairmen—Lord Aberdare, Lord Rothschild, and Mr. Chaplin. Lord Aberdare's commission (see *Economic Review*, July, 1895, pp. 406–414) were “to consider whether any alterations in the system of poor-law relief are desirable in the case of persons whose destitution is occasioned by incapacity for work resulting from old age, or whether assistance could otherwise be afforded.” Lord Rothschild's committee (*Economic Review*, October, 1898, pp. 533, 534) were “to consider any schemes which may be submitted to them for encouraging the industrial population, by State aid or otherwise, to make provision for old age, and to report whether they can recommend the adoption of any proposals of the kind.” Mr. Chaplin's committee, which presents us with the *Report from the Select Committee on Aged Deserving Poor, with Proceedings and Minutes* (House of Commons Paper, 1899, No. 296, fol., 266 pp., 2s. 2½d.), were “to consider and report upon the best means of improving the condition of the aged deserving poor, and for providing for those of them who are helpless and infirm, and to inquire whether any of the bills dealing with old age pensions, and submitted to Parliament during the present session, can with advantage be adopted either with or without amendment.” Lord Aberdare's commission could not devise a satisfactory scheme of old age pensions, but thought another committee might. Lord Rothschild's committee could not devise a scheme which would satisfy the absurd terms of their reference, and did not believe any one else could. And now we have Mr. Chaplin's committee light-heartedly recommending for British use a scheme which a single witness alleges to have been working satisfactorily for a few years in a country with half the area and population of Scotland, and containing only one great town no bigger than Leeds—and that, too, with a modification which, in vulgar phrase, knocks the bottom out of it.

The country is, of course, Denmark, and the single witness on Danish pensions was Mr. James Davy, one of the General Inspectors to the Local Government Board, and not, as might have been expected, the author (well-known to readers of this *Review*) whom the blue book in one place calls "Mr. Flucks of Manchester," and to whom Mr. Davy acknowledges considerable obligations.

Under the Danish law, as described in the report, applications for a pension are made to the communal authorities, who, however, are supervised by a county officer appointed by the central government. The applicant must be a native-born subject, over sixty, "without the means of providing himself or those practically dependent on him with the necessaries of life, or with proper treatment in cases of sickness." He must not have undergone sentence for any transaction accounted dishonourable, nor have received poor-law relief within the last ten years. His destitution must not have been caused by a disorderly and extravagant mode of life or other misconduct, or by gifts to children or any one else. The amount of the pension is settled by the communal authority on just the same principles as those followed by an ordinary English board of guardians in giving outdoor relief, *i.e.* the applicant's total income is made up to what it is considered he can live on. Half the pension is derived from the locality and half from the State. The committee find it "difficult to see what substantial difference there is in practice between the pensions given in Denmark and the out-relief given in this country to the deserving poor, except that in Denmark such relief can be claimed as a matter of right, and conveys no civil disqualifications." With the Danish plan the committee compare the pension schemes of the Charity Commissioners, and find them equally good. These usually require the would-be pensioner to be poor, of good character, and reasonably provident, resident in the parish for five years; he must not have received poor-law relief during that period, and must be "wholly or in part unable to maintain himself by his own exertions, by reason either of old age, ill health, accident, or infirmity." The trustees of individual charities are allowed to vary the amount of the pension within certain limits, and it is left to them to decide what is meant by poverty, reasonable providence, and good character. Witnesses who had to do with the construction or working of these schemes of course declared that they worked well.

From these rather slender data, in addition to the evidence taken in the two earlier inquiries, the committee derive the opinion that it is practicable to create a workable system of old age pensions in the United Kingdom. They cannot deal with Mr. Booth's scheme, because

the scope of the inquiry is limited "by the reference, to the aged and deserving poor." Compulsory insurance on the German model is rejected because the operation of the scheme would be delayed for many years, and because the working classes would not like contributing.

The plan proposed by the committee is that a pension shall be given to any claimant who is a British subject, sixty-five years of age, who "has endeavoured, to the best of his ability, by his industry or by the exercise of reasonable providence, to make provision for himself and those immediately dependent on him," but has not 10s. a week from any source, nor been sentenced to penal servitude or imprisonment without the option of a fine, within the last twenty years, or "received poor relief, other than medical relief, unless under circumstances of a wholly exceptional character," within the same period. The amount of the pension is to be determined apparently in each individual case by the authority granting it.

The amazing character of some of these requirements has scarcely been adequately appreciated. We hear occasionally of the desirability of restricting alien immigration, and here we have a committee gravely proposing to give a pension to every otherwise qualified man and woman in the world who regards it as a good investment to reside a few years in the United Kingdom and pay a very few pounds for naturalization. Yet the committee had before them the Danish requirement of birth in the country. The provision with regard to penal servitude, too, is rather startling. Obviously a convict undergoing sentence can easily endeavour, to the best of his ability, to make provision for the future, since his ability is nil. So any rascal who has been sentenced at fifty to twenty years' penal servitude will be entitled to receive a pension on his release from the local authority of, say Portland, provided only that, before being sentenced, he was endeavouring to make provision for the future—an endeavour which may very well (if misdirected) have been the cause of his incarceration. And what can be the meaning of "endeavouring by his industry, or by the exercise of reasonable providence, to make provision for himself and those immediately dependent on him"? Can you endeavour to make provision "by industry" without "providence" or not?

It appears to be a contradiction in terms to answer this question in the affirmative, and the context rather suggests that the "or" between industry and reasonable providence is simply a mistake for "and," as the committee go on to attempt to define reasonable providence without saying anything about industry. A definition is certainly very much needed, for we want to know whether a man or woman who has



spent the earnings of industry in educating his or her children and advancing them in the world, in the expectation that they will keep him or her in his or her old age, will be entitled to a pension (*a*) if this expectation is fulfilled, and (*b*) if it is not fulfilled? The committee explain that in neither case will such a person be entitled to a pension. "With reference to the exercise of reasonable providence," they say, "we think that the authority should be bound to take into consideration whether, and how far, it has been shown either by membership of a benefit society for a period of years, or by the endeavour of the applicant to make some provision for his own support by means of savings or investments, or some other definite mode of thrift." Now, till this question of old age pensions began to be discussed, every one knew that "thrift" meant frugality, an economical way of living, as opposed to waste or extravagance. But in the course of the discussion the word seems to have been perverted from its old meaning, and it is now treated as a synonym for saving in the largest sense of the word. The intention of the committee clearly is to indicate that the deserving poor are in their opinion only such as endeavour, and not only endeavour, but endeavour with such a measure of success that "definite" traces of their action can be seen, to save before the age of sixty-five.

Of any conception of what most people would imagine to be the very obvious fact, that the creation of State granted or aided old age pensions involves a negation of the principle that every one ought, by saving in his youth or his prime, to support himself in his old age, the committee appear to be perfectly innocent. They cheerfully propose to strengthen people's desire to save for old age by giving those of them who can be proved to have attempted to do so, but have failed to acquire 10s. a week, a pension in proportion to the extent of their failure, since there seems no doubt that under their scheme the pensions will be grants in aid of income, so that a man with 1s. a week of his own will get a larger grant than one with 6s.

Why did not the committee follow their own model, the Danish scheme? That, according to their own account of it, considers a person to have led a deserving life, not, like the committee, when he has put money by regardless of every other test of good conduct, but when he has not led a disorderly and extravagant life, or been guilty of other misconduct. Provided a man has at some time put by a small amount of money, the committee will give him his pension, though he has fallen into poverty through drunken and otherwise dissolute habits.

It is high time that the attempt to put Mr. Booth's new wine into the old bottles of the "strict" poor-law enthusiasts should be dropped.

If we are to have free and honourable outdoor relief to moderately respectable old people, let all those who advocate it join the honest party which advocates it openly. If we are prepared to throw a large part of the burden of supporting old age on the community at large without the demoralizing influence necessarily connected with adding to incomes in proportion to their deficiency, let us face the necessary taxes. And while we are making up our minds, let us have no more commissions and committees with references carefully constructed to drive them along the particular lines approved of by this or that individual minister.

The Royal Commission on Local Taxation has issued the *Memoranda chiefly relating to the Classification and Incidence of Imperial and Local Taxes* (C. 9528, fol., 250 pp., 2s.), otherwise known as the "Experts' Examination Paper." The Commission issued a paper of questions to a number of persons who were considered to be "economic experts," though they would not all agree to accept the denomination as appropriate in every case. There is at least one contributor who would not get a single vote from the others. The list (following the apparently chance order adopted by the Commission) is as follows:—The late Lord Farrer, the Right Hon. Leonard Courtney, Sir R. Giffen, Professors Sidgwick, Marshall, Edgeworth, Bastable, and Gonner, and Messrs. Cannan, Price, Blunden, Sargant, Mackay, Gomme, Callie, and Sanger. The volume also contains a Memorandum by Sir Edward Hamilton, in his capacity of Assistant-Secretary to the Treasury, which was sent to the experts, and afforded most of them a text and all of them much useful information. The first two questions were whether the classification of taxes in a table drawn up by Sir Alfred Milner was "correct." There is no doubt as to the preponderance of expert opinion here. The classification is torn to shreds. The next question asked whether the net revenue of the Post Office should be treated as a tax. Here an overwhelming majority vote for treating it as a tax, but Sir R. Giffen and Mr. Cannan decline to recognize the implied distinction between the part of the charge for carrying a letter, which is supposed to provide the net revenue, and the remainder of the total charge. The fourth question is a more popular one: "In considering the equity of any tax or system of taxation, what tests should be applied?" It may be true that "'What is Equity?'" is a question which has exercised the minds of philosophers for many ages, and is likely to do so for many more. It will not be finally settled, it is safe to say, by the present or any other Royal Commission." But there is a good deal of agreement in the answers to this question. It is clear that it is now well recognized that there is a large and possibly increasing scope for

the benefit or joint-stock principle. In regard to the taxes or charges to which this principle is not applicable, Ability is the favourite principle, and is not quite so differently interpreted as might be expected. Professor Edgeworth and Mr. Cannan, approaching the subject by very different ways, agree in favouring reduction of the inequality of incomes. Questions 5, 6, 11, 12, and 13 relate to the question of incidence, and overlap a good deal, having probably been suggested by different members of the Commission. It is difficult to generalize about the answers ; it seems, however, that the best economic experts have now grasped the fact that a local or general tax on buildings discourages building, just as a local or general tax on the production of any other commodity discourages its local or general manufacture. A recognition of this fact effects an entire revolution in the discussion of the incidence of rates. Questions 7 and 8 ask how to divide expenditure which should be raised locally from expenditure which should be raised by national taxes. Of the answers to these questions it may be said that most of the examinees seem to consider it easier than they really are. Question 9, which asks whether local rates should be divided between owners and occupiers, and if so, on what proportions, admits of a plainer answer than most of its predecessors. A clear majority, consisting of Lord Farrer, Mr. Courtney, Professors Marshall, Edgeworth, Bastable, and Gonner, and Messrs. Price, Blunden, and Mackay, say yes ; but they do not agree as to the proportions nor as to the treatment of past contracts, and Mr. Mackay insists on the proportionate representation of owners in local government. Mr. Gomme thinks the owner of the site should pay all, while Sir Robert Giffen, Mr. Cannan, and Mr. Sargant are uncompromising opponents of any change. Professor Sidgwick is somewhat undecided. To the first part of the tenth question, "Should ground values be separately rated?" the answers may be put shortly, as follows: Lord Farrer, "On the whole, no ;" Mr. Courtney, "Yes ;" Sir R. Giffen, "No: whole thing a misunderstanding ;" Professor Sidgwick, "Yes, so far as new loans for urban improvements are concerned ;" Professor Marshall, "A fresh-air rate ;" Professor Edgeworth, "Yes, in theory : query, practice ;" Professor Bastable, "No good ;" Professor Gonner rather doubtfully, "Yes ;" Mr. Cannan, "No good whatever ;" Mr. Price doubtfully, "Yes ;" Mr. Blunden cordially, "Yes ;" Mr. Sargant firmly, "No ;" Mr. Gomme, "Yes, and no other rate." In spite of the apparent majority, a perusal of the affirmative answers makes it very clear that the assenting experts would be nearly unanimous in opposing any bill for the purpose that would rob the ground-owner sufficiently to be considered worth supporting by "that crafty and



insidious animal" whom Adam Smith called a statesman and whom we call a politician. The second part of the question, "and if so, on what principles," seems to have been forgotten by the experts giving affirmative answers. It is, of course, impossible to summarize the answers to questions which give so much scope for different views on all kinds of subjects as the two last, which ask for suggestions of means of raising revenue otherwise than by rates, and for any other suggestions.

Though some of the experts have treated the questions rather too much as if they were candidates in an ordinary examination, and have consequently fallen into the mistake of writing at length on matters in which they were not really interested and on which they had nothing original or important to say, the bluebook, on the whole, is a very valuable work. The immense advance shown by it over Mr. Goschen's report of 1870 should be a revelation to those who still appeal to that work as an "authority."

*Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission on Local Taxation, vol. iii.* (C. 9319, fol., 312 pp., 2s. 6d.), contains Scotch evidence. Carefully studied, it will settle many questions as to which English students of local taxation are often puzzled. It scarcely bears out the impression which prevails in some quarters that they manage these things better in Scotland. The belauded division of rates, for example, appears to be anything but a simple matter, and the varieties of division appear to be founded on no principle whatever.

The Labour Department's *First Annual Abstract of Foreign Labour Statistics* (C. 9442, 8vo, 158 pp., 8d.) consists of statistics of wages, hours of labour, trade disputes, and co-operative societies. Germany contributes 26 of the 116 tables, the United States 19, Austria-Hungary 17, France 16, and the rest come from the three Scandinavian countries, Holland and Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, and Russia. The new annual is doubtless destined to increase in bulk and comprehensiveness.

The Foreign Office Reports on *Commercial Education in the United States* (Misc. Series, No. 504, 8vo, 55 pp., 3d.) and *Commercial Education in Sweden and Norway* (Misc. Series, No. 508, 8vo, 13 pp., 1d.) continue a series which will interest not only teachers of commercial subjects, but that larger body which is always trying to discover the causes of what they are pleased to consider the want of success which has always marked the attempts of this country to engage in profitable commerce.

EDWIN CANNAN.

## REVIEWS.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH THOUGHT : A Study in the Economic Interpretation of History. By SIMON N. PATTEN, Ph.D., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Pennsylvania. [vii., 415 pp. 8vo. 10s. net. Macmillan. London, 1899.]

This book is a representative type of a kind of which there is just now a remarkable output in the United States. It is, in short, one of the many attempts that are being made in the name of Sociology to find a ready and simple formula for the explanation of social phenomena. The present contribution is perhaps more original and ingenious, if it is certainly more bizarre and fantastic, than others of its kind. It is sincere, and it is not infrequently suggestive to students who have some experience of the data it handles ; but it certainly is not a book to fall into the hands of the uninstructed reader. No such clever and in many respects able book contains more typical examples of all the faults to be avoided by a professedly scientific treatise—whether from the point of view of simplicity of style, exactness of knowledge, precision of thought, sound methods of reasoning, or careful handling of evidence. The book is for the most part a fabric of perverse and unprofitable ingenuity, and it is indeed lamentable that the author of so much suggestive work in economics and sociology should have constructed such a house of cards. It is not that there is not much truth underlying Professor Patten's theories, or that his book has not important merits ; but if the book is to be judged as a whole, and not by its parts, more especially if it is to be judged from the point of view of its own valuation, the candid critic must be reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the study of sociology, as made easy by Professor Patten, is of very doubtful value.

The book is described as an attempt to present a theory of history through concrete illustrations, the illustrations being, as a matter of fact, confined to English history, on the ground that "the conditions and circumstances isolating England for many centuries have made English thought more normal and more uniform than that of her

continental neighbours." The theory "is scarcely open to question," though some of its corollaries may not be evident.

"Survival is determined and progress created by a struggle for the requisites of which the supply is insufficient. These requisites are the goods for which men strive or the means by which they may avert evils. A group of such definite objects upon which the life and happiness of each race depends, always exists. The environment formed by this group of economic objects surrounding and supporting a given race changes with the several objects in which the interests of the race are centred. With the new objects come new activities and new requisites for survival. To meet these new conditions, the motives, instincts, and habits of the race are modified; new modes of thought are formed; and thus by the modification of institutions, ideals, and customs all the characteristics of the civilization are reconstructed. These changes take place in a regular order; the series repeats itself in each environment. In its amplification and illustration lies the economic interpretation of history."

It must occur to the reader that such a "theory" is more like the statement of a problem than its solution. It is elaborated, however, at great length in the opening chapter, which contains an explanation of the psychological theories underlying the whole argument. The psychology is familiar, if the phraseology is novel. We have a kind of fusion between the conceptions of "environment" and "adjustment" on the one hand, and of "sensory ideas" and "motor-reactions" on the other. "Environment" determines sensory ideas which constitute knowledge; character is formed by the "motor-reactions" which are created by the perception of certain sensory ideas—that is, "those ideas that indicate the presence or absence of requisites of survival," which alone "lead to some activity, improving the adjustment of man to his environment." These "requisites of survival" are further defined as those which the "local environment furnishes," though the theory also recognizes the modifying influences of other nationalities. Professor Patten further explains that "adjustment" to any given "environment" is not a sign of progress; on the contrary, progress is due to the "breach between the national character (as inherited) and the present environment."

"Two elemental forces are thus always at work—those due to the national character, and those due to the present economic conditions. If these two elements harmonize, the race is adjusted to its environment, and remains static. If the two are out of harmony, a period of transition ensues, in which a readjustment takes place between the important objects in the environment and the inherited motor-reactions



which make up the national character. When this adjustment is imperfect, the race ideals must be modified, or freed from the particular associations which earlier conditions have imposed on them."

It cannot be said that there is anything (except, perhaps, the phrasing) which is particularly novel in this account of the relation of "character" to "environment:" the relation is conceived in the mechanical way characteristic of an uncritical psychology. It can hardly be regarded as an explanation of social events or as a substitute for detailed investigation: it is simply a description of what has taken place when it has taken place; but the effect of such formulæ is to create the impression that when you have used phrases like "adjustment," "motor-reaction," and "environment," you have done

The most remarkable part of the theory is devoted to the "stratification of society," and the classifications of social "types." Classifications of society based on wealth or social position are rejected as superficial; they should be based upon psychic characteristics. Localities with restricted food-supplies develop a timid, conservative type of man, and the name "clingers" is applied to this group of men because they depend on others for support and leadership. When the local conditions improve, a class of "sensualists" is developed; they indulge a few dominant passions, and therefore, like the oligarchic man of Plato, exercise control and discrimination. They are the "risk-takers and adventurers of society," and "are as naturally tribute-takers as the clingers are tribute-givers." Sensualists include warriors, priests, and capitalists. "These two classes are prominent in the struggles of all early nations;" but in advanced nations a third class is developed. These are called "stalwarts" from "their love of doctrines, dogmas, and creeds, and from their inclination to subordinate policy to principle." They are literalists in religion, ascetics in morality, democrats and utopians in politics, frugalists in industry. Calvinists and Methodists represent different types of stalwarts: at present trade unionists are the dominant type. Finally, in nations of abundant wealth and leisure, we have the critical and analytical type of man; they are cosmopolitan in their sympathies, advocates of compromise and policy in politics, sceptical in thought, and agnostic in belief, and may be called "mugwumps." These are the four prominent types of society to which all others can be reduced.

Lastly, the history of thought has four stages, each of which has peculiarities of its own, and must be studied by itself.

"The economic stage comes first, because its aggregates are the smallest and most capable of substitution. The æsthetic stage follows, in which the increments of economic welfare are united into harmonious

groups. Later, the environment is conceived of as a unit, and its relations, when perceived, become moral rules. And, finally, other environments peopled with dissimilar beings are recognized, and upon this basis religion grows up. When a new environment is entered, this series of changes repeats itself. They cannot, however, appear in so simple a form as at first, because the concepts and ideals of the preceding epoch remain, and are displaced or modified only with great difficulty. The economic stage now becomes doubly important. . . . It is followed by a reaction which may give to the higher forms of thought an even greater place than they had before the transition to the new environment."

We are further told that "in studying an epoch the economic conditions must be studied first, then the economic doctrines that follow from them, and last, the æsthetic, moral, and religious ideas which follow from them," and each "group of ideas" must be explained not by its connexion with previous ideas of the same order, but by the economic conditions of its own age. This procedure leads Professor Patten to some truly astonishing reconstructions of English philosophers, such as Hobbes, Locke, Hume, and Adam Smith, which must be read to be properly appreciated.

The theory is followed by a number of chapters showing its applicability to the development of English character; they present a remarkable medley of shrewd observation and wild assertion. He first deals with "the antecedents of English thought," beginning with "the early Germans," and ending with the Reformation (ch. ii.): from this point the professor divides the history of England into three stages—first, that of the Calvinists, stalwarts in reaction against the sensualists, with Hobbes and Locke (a typical mugwump) in reaction against the stalwarts in their turn (ch. iii.); second, that of the moralists, with Mandeville, Hume, Adam Smith, and the Methodists (ch. iv.); and third, that of the economists Malthus, Ricardo, and the two Mills, with Darwin, the English poets of the beginning of the century, and the Oxford Movement (ch. v.). The concluding remarks include such subjects as "the harmony of religious and economic concepts," the influence of science, socialism (which is regarded as an ideal of rest and therefore of stagnation), and the future generally. The professor foresees the coming triumph of stalwartism, which will make character a test of citizenship, will exalt women and womanly standards, and intensify the "home" ideal. The book closes with the assertion that the theory presented harmonizes natural and revealed religion.

The above sketch gives only a faint idea of the remarkable character and contents of this extraordinary book. It would be tempting to

quote samples of the professor's new readings in the history of philosophy, economics, and social development. But one would hardly know where to begin and where to end. All I have tried to do is to give the reader some means of gauging the general character of what is, with all its faults, a thoughtful and strenuous book. How far Professor Patten may be said to have "contributed a helpful draft, however rough," to the philosophy of economic history is a question which the individual student can only decide for himself.

SIDNEY BALL.

THE SCIENCE OF FINANCE: AN INVESTIGATION OF  
PUBLIC EXPENDITURES AND PUBLIC REVENUES.

By HENRY CARTER ADAMS, PH.D., LL.D., Professor of Political  
Economy and Finance at the University of Michigan. [xiii.,  
573 pp. 8vo. Holt. New York, 1898.]

This is one of those works which are too big to be really reviewed except by an omniscient reviewer in a magazine of which the size was infinite and the circulation *nil*. The author complains that Professor Bastable's *Public Finance* "fails to impress upon the student that sense of solidarity which alone may be urged as an apology for an independent treatment of financial questions." I am sorry to say that study of Professor Adams's book has not impressed upon me any new sense of solidarity in financial questions. The greater solidarity would, we might suppose, be indicated in a different and superior arrangement, but Professor Adams's arrangement is very much the same as Professor Bastable's, except that, instead of treating "financial and administrative control" after expenditure, revenue, and debt, he introduces budgets and budgetary legislation as a sub-heading under "Public Expenditures." This is not an improvement, as it compels, or should logically compel, him to treat only of one side of the budget—the estimate of expenses—and to neglect the estimate of receipts. My impression of the solidarity of the science of finance, too, is scarcely deepened by a discovery of its almost exclusively American character, at all events as expounded by Professor Adams. We have, quite rightly in my opinion, given up legislating for the inhabitants of Jupiter and Saturn, but we might, I think, still properly expect the writer of a great book on this subject to be so far "abstract" as to assume that nations can legislate as they please. Throughout most of the discussion of revenue the reader has an uncomfortable feeling that the author is, perhaps unconsciously, endeavouring to make the science of finance answer questions in such a way that the American student who applies his knowledge to American finance shall not be forced to



the conclusion that the American constitution ought to be altered. It is impossible not to observe that the author's condemnation of a general income tax, and his advocacy of a monstrously absurd corporation tax, are inspired chiefly by his avowed desire (p. 484) to find a workable system of taxation within the limits of a document which is sufficiently condemned by the fact that it is already a century and a quarter old. The grounds on which he condemns the English income tax strike the English reader as quite insufficient. He complains that the principle of self-assessment is admitted into schedule A in the shape of the allowance for repairs and insurance, not being aware that this allowance is a fixed percentage in no way dependent on the particular amount expended. Obviously without any knowledge of the subject, he endeavours to give the impression that British professional and business men are generally both willing and able to cheat their fellow-citizens by declaring their professional or business incomes at nil or very far below their actual amount. That such cases occur every one knows, just as they know that smuggling occurs, but to suggest their universal prevalence on *a priori* principles without any inquiry into the elaborate ramifications of the income-tax assessing and collecting machinery is inexcusable. It is difficult to satisfy Professor Adams. After complaining that professional and business incomes cannot be tapped at their source, "Is it quite honest," he asks, "for example, for a government to keep back part of what it has promised to pay a pensioner and annuitant, or the holder of public obligations? Is it reasonable to tax public salaries when the result of such a tax is to increase the expense of administration without increasing by one penny the clear income to the government. Can a man who knows how contracts are drawn between debtors and creditors be convinced that equity is the result of attempting to tax a money-lender through the agency of the borrower?" The first of these questions ignores the very fact which gives the income-tax its strength, namely, its universality: to put a special tax on pensions or interest of debt would of course be dishonest; of their being taxed along with all other forms of income nobody ever complained. The second question ignores the fact that salaries are fixed, whereas the income tax moves up and down. Why should public officials alone be guaranteed a tax-free income, so that, for instance, they should bear no extra burden in time of war? I can imagine such a system leading to all sorts of evils. The third question is founded on an observation in a note which lets the cat out of the bag. "In the United States, at least, this plan of getting at mortgages has always failed, and under existing inter-state credit relations one cannot hope from it for any

degree of success." The experience of English mortgagees is that it meets with complete success. There is no difficulty at all. The mortgagor pays income tax, at say 8*d.* in the pound, on the full value of the property, and deducts 8*d.* in the pound from the interest he pays to the mortgagee. Contracts to pay the interest free of tax are, I suppose, void, like contracts to pay rent free of tax. I never heard of one.

In place of a general income tax, the treatise approves a system which makes use of the land tax, the corporation tax, and the taxation of personal incomes. Now, supposing this system to be properly worked out on the basis of income, and the rates of the three taxes to be the same, it would be an income-tax system in all but the name. The omission of the name, however, would have one very important result : it would prevent the suggestion of any system of progression or digression. In the first place, no such system would be thought of except by theorists, and in the second place Professor Adams would object that it would introduce the iniquitous principle of "self-assessment" which his whole plan was constructed to avoid. In this country about half a million persons (all the income-tax payers except the infinitesimal minority who have over £700 a year, and the perhaps more considerable number who are too lazy or ignorant to make their claims) send in returns stating their income from every source. Professor Adams does indeed state that progression is possible under his system, but the only sort of progression for which he actually finds a place is some undefined progression in the taxation of corporations, the nature of which may be dimly inferred from the praise given to Michigan for dividing railways into three classes according to their net earnings per mile, and imposing a different rate on each class.

In connexion with this subject of progressive taxation, I cannot refrain from criticizing a passage in which the author essays the somewhat thankless task of teaching socialists their business. An extreme socialist, he says, is absurd and illogical if he supports progressive taxation : as a socialist he ought to believe in centralization of industrial power ; progressive taxation obstructs that, and consequently hinders the attainment of his ideal. But whatever nonsense about the rights of labour and surplus value he may have talked, the socialist has always been aiming at equality at any rate for equal degrees of industrial merit (or something of that kind, whether chimerical or not). His ideal has never been centralization with a billionaire in the centre. The revolutionary socialist has sometimes wished for that, but only as an intermediate stage. The non-revolutionary socialist now on the top of the wave, having more of the true historical spirit, is perfectly logical

and not the least absurd in supporting a system of taxation which tends towards equality. Reduce the riches of the rich, he may quite reasonably say, and their opposition to socialism will diminish. It is a far more hopeful plan than that of the revolutionist, who always forgets that the billionaire would take care to keep on foot a safe majority of conservative working men. "Modern states," says Professor Adams, in reference to another matter, "are consciously or unconsciously returning to the method of procedure in mediæval times." I doubt if things are quite as bad as that, but in a sense history does repeat itself. American financiers are now finding out by experiment on a large scale many of the things which parish overseers found out by experiment on a very small scale in seventeenth and eighteenth century England. They would do well to consider whether some lessons are not conveyed by the general fact that the income tax has succeeded perfectly in Great Britain, though a parish income tax or general property tax had previously failed as completely and in much the same way as the American general property tax. There is no use blinking the fact that State rights, as at present conceived and enforced, are an insuperable barrier against the introduction of a sound system of direct taxation into the United States. The increasing homogeneity and mobility of the human race renders locally independent systems of taxation more and more inconvenient. A century ago the difficulty was between the English parishes; now it is between the states of the American Union. Next century it may be between even larger areas occupied by English-speaking people, or between the different European states.

I have treated Professor Adams's book rather scurvily in not attempting to follow it over the wide field which it traverses, much of it with success, and the whole with a suggestive originality, but I am consoled by the fact that he remarks (referring to the difficulty of obtaining a hearing in the House of Commons), "A healthy Englishman is by nature impolite."

EDWIN CANNAN.

# ERBRECHTSPOLITIK, ALTE UND NEUE FEUDALITÄT.

VON LUJO BRENTANO. Gesammelte Aufsätze. Erster Band.  
[592 pp. 8vo. Cotta. Stuttgart, 1899.]

This collection of Dr. Brentano's essays on the Law of Inheritance, from the economic and political points of view, consists largely of reprinted essays, lectures, or speeches, published or delivered during the years 1883-98. This does not, however, apply to the first and most considerable portion of the volume, covering 178 pages, headed



"Das droit d'aînesse unter der Restauration und seitdem," which does not appear to have been before published. It is at the same time the most interesting section of the book, partly through its subject, partly because it is not immediately controversial. A doughty champion, armed with weapons of keenest edge and finest point, Dr. Brentano is always ready to ride full tilt against that neo-feudal tendency which has become so powerful in modern Germany, one main aim of which is, on the entirely mistaken plea of restoring the ancient Teutonic law of inheritance, to secure the transmission on death of at least agricultural land to a single heir. But when he finds himself challenged on the way by some individual opponent, his ardour to despatch the latter is so great that all else must yield to that object. This applies especially to the last series of essays in the book, "*Die feudale Grundlage der schlesischen Leinenindustrie*," full of the most curious and interesting matter, and which would have even surpassed that on the *droit d'aînesse*, had the development of the story been continuous, but the interest of which is marred, at least for the foreign reader (to whom probably Dr. Brentano's opponents are but names), by its controversial character, and by the necessity he feels under of swerving from or even returning on his course, to run this enemy through or slash off another's head, instead of going straight to the goal. Thus, although the concluding chapter of the book, on "Frederick the Great and Damask-weaving," is a tragi-comedy of the first order, the reader feels almost affronted by having to go back to the last century after having read of the final abolition in our own days of the state of things which alone made such a tragi-comedy possible.

Reverting, however, to the first essay, Dr. Brentano is to be specially congratulated on having brought out the interest which attaches to a period of French history so overshadowed by those which precede and follow it—the first French Revolution and Empire on the one hand, the July and February revolutions and the second French Empire on the other—as to attract generally little attention. Yet the fifteen years, 1815–30, covering the duration of that which is emphatically called the Restoration, have a momentous weight in the history, not of France only, but of all continental Europe, not to speak of their influence on that of our own country. For they represent the great parliamentary struggle between the old and the new—between the spirit of feudalism seeking to recover its past empire, and the spirit of equality before the law maintaining its rights as secured by the first Revolution, and embodied, strange to say, by the hand of a despot in the Code Napoleon. Dr. Brentano's subject

is indeed confined to the struggle of the feudalists to restore entails and the devolution of landed property to the eldest son, but he shows to demonstration how vital was the struggle, and with what ability on both sides it was carried on, till such time as the feudalists, as we may call them, despairing of restoring the "Ancien Régime" by any constitutional means, resorted to a *coup d'état* in the shape of Charles X.'s famous "Ordonnances," and found themselves suddenly, king and ministers, flung to the other side of the Channel or of the frontier, or within the walls of a prison, by the "Three days" of July, 1830. Incidentally, Dr. Brentano discusses at length some of the doctrines of a writer whom Englishmen are perhaps disposed to overestimate, Le Play, calling upon us, however, to distinguish in him between the man whose systematic application of a new method, the descriptive one, marks a new era in social science, and the practical social reformer.

The second essay, on the law of inheritance and condition of the peasantry in England (*Erbrecht und Bauernstand in England*), being the reproduction of a lecture delivered before the Political Economy Society of Berlin, has not the vividness of its predecessor. Nor does it bring out the peculiarities of our law, which keeps, as it were, almost continuously superposed in the land the abstract right of primogeniture in the owner, and the equal division at death of the tenant's rights of possession, but subjects both to almost unlimited rights of distribution by will or settlement—whatever limits exist not applying, moreover, in anywise to the land as a quantity, but to its disposal, *e.g.* the legal impossibility of tying up any kind of property by deed or will for more than, in legal phrase, "lives in being and twenty-one years after,"—whilst more recent legislation has been all in the direction of giving larger powers to the tenant for life. This is one of the points on which the foreign student will find in us still the "*toto penitus divisos orbe Britannos*."

I will not here dwell on the essays following the one last referred to, dealing with the land laws and condition of the land in Bavaria and Prussia (merely pointing out as specially new and interesting the chapter on "Justus Möser, the father of the newest Prussian agrarian reform"), but will pass at once to the concluding chapters, already alluded to.

Till the beginning of the nineteenth century, spinning was in Silesia solely a subsidiary industry, carried on almost exclusively by "vassals." At first the spinners were only the wives and children of the vassals. But Frederick the Great, having taken into his head to promote the Silesian linen industry, besides setting up spinning-schools, and requiring all children that could be spared from the work of the household to spin whenever there was no ordinary school open, and especially in

winter from 6 to 9 p.m., compelled even men to learn. No youth or maid under thirty was allowed to marry until he or she had learnt to spin. Even in callings or positions at first exempted, the bricklayer, the carpenter, the soldier and the soldier's wife, were in time compelled to spin. Nay, in 1766, in order to increase still further the number of spinners, the king called upon the tradesmen of Hirschberg to send to Silesia a thousand children between the ages of ten and twelve, and was enraged when they declined to do so. Yet so far from any pains being taken to improve the methods of work, although the spinning-wheel had been invented in 1533, nothing but the primitive distaff was used, so that only the coarsest kinds of Silesian linen stuffs could fairly meet competition.

Weaving was at first a taxed calling in the towns, and only found its way into the villages of Silesia after the Thirty Years' War, by agreement of the feudal lords with the towns. When practised by vassals, these, besides their usual feudal services, paid toll either in linen or money, whilst the free workers paid the weaving tax; the latter producing the better qualities of linen, the "hörige" or vassals only the coarser articles. But weaving is dependent on spinning, and the spinners, in their abject subjection to their feudal lords (who would make them sell to them their yarn for next to nothing), resorted to all sorts of tricks, which the law was perpetually trying to check by new punishments; and the feudal lords were in turn the great dealers in yarn, so that the weavers, even if freemen, were largely dependent on them. Eventually there seems to have been little to choose between the condition of the spinners and that of the weavers. In times of dearth they would feed upon carrion, or upon a sort of bread made of Iceland moss. But the feudal lords, the various officials charged with the oversight of the linen industry, the merchants, made good profits, and could afford to sell cheap to Dutch and English purchasers. When Frederick the Great conquered Silesia, there were 110 very well-to-do linen and yarn merchants in four mountain towns. From their ranks the Silesian nobility was largely recruited. Yet even upon them feudalism weighed so heavily that in the last years of Frederick the Great's reign, the son of a considerable merchant, literally on the morrow of his return from travelling through England, France, and Spain, was, by order of a count, his feudal lord, sent through the police to serve as swineherd, and was only released through the personal intervention of the king's minister. Nay, as late as 1816, a high official of humble extraction, on going to visit his grandparents, poor weavers in Langenbielau, was asked by his feudal lord, a Count Sandretzky, how he could have presumed to study



without his lord's permission. The educated son of the richest merchant in the Silesian hills was considered bound by his vassalage to menial service towards his lord for a certain period.

Incredible as it may seem, it was only in 1807 that a "subject" was allowed in Silesia to learn a handicraft without the consent of the feudal lord. But then the possessor of a *rittergut* could alone allow the carrying on of any business, and the permission to do so had to be bought of him. In like manner there could be no transmission of such business, partly through want of money, partly as being contrary to the vassal's subjection to his lord, which allowed of no free ownership. And although vassalage was abolished in 1809, and the freedom of industry enacted in 1810, the feudal lord continued to levy rent or toll (*weberzins*) on every loom (the feudal dues amounting sometimes for a weaver to over one-eighth of his whole yearly income, besides the obligation of from three to five days of manual labour) till 1848, when the *weberzins* was at last abolished—one is happy to see, without compensation to the exactors.

As already mentioned, the book concludes with the really comical story of Frederick the Great's efforts to establish damask weaving in Silesia, and to compel a demand for its products by the most anti-commercial means, such as quartering soldiers upon the merchants till they should buy what they could not sell, and when this failed, establishing a company to carry on the trade, obtaining capital by forcing convents, towns, merchants to subscribe for shares, and eventually simply confiscating the investments of convents, whilst paying off the rest of the shareholders in—damasks!

I must observe, finally, that Dr. Brentano's volume labours under one great disadvantage. Full of valuable matter as it is, it has no index, whilst its table of contents is far from being sufficiently copious to serve as a satisfactory clue to the reader through its nearly six hundred pages.

J. M. LUDLOW.

#### THE RIGHT TO THE WHOLE PRODUCE OF LABOUR.

By ANTON MENDER. Translated by M. E. TANNER. With an Introduction and Bibliography by H. S. FOXWELL, M.A. [cxviii, 267 pp. Crown 8vo. 6s. net. Macmillan. London, 1899.]

It was time that Professor Menger's work was translated into English. In political economy, more than in most subjects, there is a large public that reads no German, or none readily, and yet is well qualified to profit by German books. In its English form, the book falls into two nearly equal parts, due to Professor Menger and Professor

Foxwell respectively. The best account of Professor Menger's work will be given by quoting a few sentences from Professor Foxwell.

"The work before us, then, is at the same time a history and a criticism. It deals . . . with a single claim or first principle of Socialists, the asserted right of the labourers to the whole produce of industry ; or, if we prefer to express it in its negative form, the denial of a right to 'unearned' income" (p. vi.). "It is this famous but ambiguous claim, lying as it does at the root of all modern Socialism, strictly so-called, which forms the central subject of Dr. Menger's inquiry ; though he has a good deal to say of another claim, perhaps more familiar in actual history, the right to subsistence. To both these claims, but especially to the first, he gives a most searching scrutiny from the standpoint of jurisprudence. That is to say, he studies them in their relation to other claims asserted by the same school of writers, and generally inquires how far they could form part of a consistent system of legal right upon which it would be possible to base the economic relations of an actual human society" (pp. xvii., xviii.). "Dr. Menger works out this conflict of discordant elements with great patience, acuteness, and research. . . . Upon the whole, he leaves us with the conception of two great principles which dispute for primacy—the right to subsistence, and the right to the whole produce of labour. These two claims he clearly shows to be inconsistent both in theory and in practice, in spirit and in effect ; and after an interesting review of the degree of success with which they have respectively figured in socialistic projects of law, he comes to the final conclusion that it is the right to subsistence, rather than the right to the whole produce of labour, which social development tends to realize. In other words, we are tending more towards communism than anarchistic individualism" (p. xx.).

Professor Menger does an indispensable work in drawing out the exact consequences of the maxim that "every man ought to receive the total product of his own labour, and nobody else has any claim to be supported out of it," and showing that (1) in most cases it is impossible to ascertain what the product of any one man's labour is ; and (2) even if it was possible to ascertain it, the valuation of the products of one kind of labour against those of another would be hopelessly difficult ; but if you gave up the attempt, and said, "A day's work is a day's work, whether it is a ploughman's or an oculist's," you would have given up the "right to a man's own product," and substituted "right to an equal dividend in the collective product ;" and (3) on either principle, the people that cannot work, or cannot work up to the average efficiency, are either not provided for at all, or

anything that is done for them makes a further breach in the principle. In short, the right of the single labourer to the product of his single labour cannot be put in practice at all, and the right of the collected labourers to their total collective product cannot be put in practice without a good deal of modification. But even so, I am inclined to think that Professor Menger is too much inclined to throw it aside as a weapon that has done its work. It is quite true that it is mainly a fighting principle, all powerful to demolish the *status quo*, with its "rights" of property-owners as such; but as a fighting principle, it has plenty of work before it for many a long day. The "rights of property" are not yet dead, however much we may be sure that the brains are out of them; until they die, it must be somebody's business to press the principle that pulverizes them, to the exclusion of all the other principles that limit and supplement it. And further, its value as a fighting principle is not confined to its use as a weapon for the attack. It is also a solvent, undermining the defence. The real hope of Socialism for the future is not in the growth of a Socialist party; it is in the conversion of ordinary people to the ideals of Socialism under other names; and one main stage of the conversion is the uneasy feeling of the prosperous man: "Why should I be paid for doing no work? Why should my work be paid so much when my neighbour's work is paid so little?" That uneasy feeling is the prosperous man's acknowledgment of the "right to the total produce." When he once feels that, he goes on resisting Socialism *pro forma*, but all the heart is taken out of his resistance, and at the first real crisis he surrenders.

To most English readers, the historical side of Professor Menger's work will be even more interesting than the critical side, because so much of it is occupied with the restoration of forgotten English pioneers of Socialism. "I shall show in this book that Marx and Rodbertus borrowed their most important theories without any acknowledgment from English and French theorists. Indeed, I do not scruple to assert that Marx and Rodbertus, whom many people would fain regard as the creators of scientific Socialism, are really far excelled in depth and thoroughness by their predecessors" (p. cxv.). "The first scientific advocate of the right of the whole produce of labour, known to me, is William Godwin" (p. 40). "So much of the socialist philosophy as centres in the right to the whole produce of labour is completely expounded in the writings of William Thompson. From his works the later Socialists, the Saint-Simonians, Proudhon, and, above all, Marx and Rodbertus, have directly or indirectly drawn their opinions." But the work of piety to our English fathers is done



chiefly by Professor Foxwell. How much it wanted doing, one little fact is enough to show. Of the six writers whom Professor Foxwell has selected for special notice, only Godwin and Charles Hall have places in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. There is no mention of John Gray, John Francis Bray, William Thompson (three other William Thompsons are given, one of them the "pugilist known as 'Bendigo'"), nor even of Hodgskin, who must have come under the notice of the authors of several articles in the dictionary, *e.g.* those on Brougham and James Mill. Why have these pre-Marxian Marxians remained so generally unknown? Partly for the reason that Professor Foxwell gives (p. cii.). After 1852 "the next twenty years were years of rising prices and unprecedented prosperity. Trade advanced 'by leaps and bounds,' employment was abundant, and the condition of the people rapidly improved. The rise of prices was as fatal to revolutionary Socialism as it was favourable to the more pacific and commercial methods of co-operation and trade unionism." People were too prosperous to ask questions : οὐδεὶς ἀκούει τὰ τὰ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων. But the Crimean War and the Cotton Famine came within this period, without any effect in reviving the memory of the early Socialists. There must have been some further reason why they were forgotten. It lay in the political situation. So long as the purely political machinery of democracy was only half-finished, the people who were doing the work of progress could have no eyes for anything else. When the democratic goal was nearly reached (of course we have not quite reached it yet, so long as we have a House of Lords and a seven-years' parliament), people had leisure to look round and see how far short it was from the real goal of social well-being. Then the forgotten Socialist was remembered again ; but even then it was the foreign Socialist that had the public ear ; a few antiquarian economists knew better, but it was reserved for Dr. Menger and Mr. Foxwell to bring our own long-neglected prophets into the broad daylight of common knowledge.

T. C. SNOW.

ENGLISH POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY FROM HOBBS TO MAINE. By WILLIAM GRAHAM, M.A., Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy at Queen's College, Belfast. [xxx. 415 pp. 8vo. 10s. 6d. net. Arnold. London, 1899.]

This book is in reality a series of studies on six typical English political philosophers—Hobbes, Locke, Burke, Bentham, J. S. Mill, and Maine. To those students who are desirous of an introduction to the works of these writers without the labour of first-hand study, Professor Graham's meritorious and careful compilation will serve as a

convenient guide ; although the method adopted prevents the work from claiming to be a serious or original contribution to political speculation. By far the most valuable portion consists in the elaborate analyses, which, so far as they go, are sound and conscientious, and, supplemented as they are by copious quotations, place the reader in immediate contact with the *ipsissima verba* of the subject of each chapter.

The same praise, however, cannot be accorded to the rest of the book. The historical background is sometimes inadequate, and the want of close and independent study often betrays the author into loose writing and error of detail ; the verdicts passed on the philosophers reviewed are sometimes wanting in sympathy and balance ; the criticism with which the analysis is interspersed and complemented, wherever it aspires to more than commonplace, is not always either lucid or profound. An examination of the chapter on Hobbes will serve to support the first assertion. "It may appear a strange thing," says Professor Graham, "that, before Hobbes, no original and independent work had appeared, for nearly two thousand years, on such important subjects as ethics and politics—none since the time of Aristotle, if we except some of the writing of St. Thomas Aquinas and the *Republic* of Bodin (1576)" (p. 2). It is certainly a strange thing to say, and the names of Marsilius of Padua, Machiavel and Althusius, Languet and Hotman, and Grotius, at once rise to challenge it in the sphere of politics alone. Hobbes was in no sense Bacon's pupil (p. 4). Of Hobbes's *De Cive* one is surprised to learn that it "made no great impression" (p. 4). There is no evidence that Cromwell was encouraged by the *Leviathan* to seize the helm of government (p. 47). It is slightly misleading to speak of the period of the last two Stuarts as "the time for Hobbism, full and complete ;" still more so to assert that "the principles of Hobbes were largely identified with principles of the exiled family" after the Revolution of 1688 (p. 49). Hobbes did not imply that the King of England was, when he wrote (the *Leviathan*), in the position of a sovereign (p. 44). He was perfectly aware of the theory deriving government from primitive patriarchal authority ; it was the commonplace of the day (p. 16). His view on the right of the majority Professor Graham appears to misunderstand (p. 146) ; and the profound and subtle chapter on "The Liberty of Subjects" has somehow escaped notice altogether. Hobbes never recognizes "the fact that a society is an organism" (p. 46) ; he always construes it as a corporation. Professor Graham would Bowdlerize Hobbes. "If we strike out his historical error as to the origin of governments, and again his error that they should govern doctrines, and correct his

picture of man as by nature a selfish and an unsociable animal, which affects some but by no means all of his ethics, there remains a great book of a great creative intellect in a great century" (p. 4). We might call the residuum by whatever name we pleased, but we should have emptied the baby out with the bath.

In support of the other assertion, let the reader examine carefully Professor Graham's attitude to "natural law" and "natural rights" (pp. 377-388). "The ignoring or denying natural rights, alike by the analytical school of Bentham and the historical school of Maine, is, in my opinion, a fatal omission in their views of the science of jurisprudence" (p. 386). Now, in the first place, the *argumentum ad verecundiam* proves nothing. The fact that a cloud of witnesses from Aristotle to Herbert Spencer have endorsed the term "nature" merely shows, on closer inspection, what surprisingly various connotations that protean word can assume. In the second place, Professor Graham has not even defined the sense in which he uses it. Natural law, natural justice, natural rights, somehow hang together—that we see; but what exactly is their common element—Nature? Without further demonstration, the proof seems somewhat circular. Only one thing we are assured, viz. that the law of nature might be turned against the "levelling or confiscatory ideas" of the working classes. Finally, it is surely too much to ask of Bentham the admission of a "natural" law—even a little one. For even Professor Graham admits that in the last resort natural law must bow to considerations of utility, must be shown to be in conformity with utility and necessity—and Bentham asked no more than the admission of utility as the ultimate test. Professor Graham would sympathize with Bentham's distrust of "vague generalities;" can he not therefore pardon him his attempt to root out of the language a set of phrases which had become hopelessly entangled with misleading and mischievous associations? And as for Maine, had he been content with the standard of a "law of nature," it must be perfectly obvious he could never have earned his place in this volume as the founder of the historical method. The historical method can never afford to neglect ideals; on the contrary, it writes their history and explains their influence, and for that very reason cannot accord to any formula, however abstract, a final value. "The great defect in Maine's conception of jurisprudence" is the key to his method, the foundation of his fame.

This book deserves criticism both for its merits and for its defects.

W. G. POGSON-SMITH.



L'ŒUVRE ÉCONOMIQUE DE CHARLES DUNOYER. Par EDMOND VILLEY. [338 pp. 8vo. 7 fr. 50 c. Larose. Paris, 1899.]

Dunoyer represented the reaction from the first spring-tide of Socialism. He was a stalwart Individualist, and really believed in liberty—"liberté complète, absolue, laissée à l'homme, sauf repression en cas d'abus, voilà toute la politique sociale de Dunoyer." Or again, as his amiable critic, M. Edmond Villey, says, "Il veut que la police judiciaire remplace absolument la police administrative ; sa théorie est, à la lettre, celle qu'on a qualifiée de '*nihilisme administratif*.'" It is an ideal from which we have drifted a long way now, compared to which it is true that "we are all Socialists." Dunoyer would not even allow such things as the control of the labour of women and children in mines, though he would have the State punish those who employed them injuriously. Similarly, he is opposed to the roads being taken over by the State. "Why," he asks, "should not the users of them pay for them?" Such a man has, no doubt, a great deal to remind us of, and it is therefore a fair ground of complaint against M. Villey that he does not give us enough of Dunoyer in his desire to correct Dunoyer's errors. M. Villey is a thoroughly lively writer, as a Frenchman only knows how to be, but he has the defect of his quality in introducing the personal opinion as too large a part of his criticism. It is not of so much interest to the world to know what M. Villey, or even Dunoyer, think, but why they think it.

Of the book, possibly on account of the reader's infirmity, the earlier part seems distinctly the best. Dunoyer had a remarkably large idea of the scope of political economy, coming back almost to the old Aristotelian conception of it. The consequence is that in the earlier part we get some most interesting chapters on anthropology, physiology, and other subjects. Dunoyer had written his book with the title *La Liberté du Travail*, and he defines liberty thus: "Ce que j'appelle Liberté dans ce livre, c'est le pouvoir que l'homme acquiert d'user de ses forces plus facilement à mesure qu'il s'affranchit des obstacles qui en gênaient originairement l'exercice." He sets aside, surely quite rightly, the question of free will as irrelevant and belonging to metaphysics. But this M. Villey will not suffer, apparently because he confuses Determinism with Fatalism. The consequence is that metaphysics has to be added to Dunoyer's already long list of sciences subordinate to political economy. But it is all such pleasant and easy reading that the student has not much to complain of.

This treatise on Liberty, then, with such a definition of the word, becomes, in fact, an inquiry into the evolution of man from the savage

to the civilized Parisian. We get some interesting chapters on savage life, and of that patriarchal society which Le Play, as he observed it on the steppes which border the mountains of the Altaï, thought the highest type of human existence with which his great experience had acquainted him. There follows a very stimulating account of how the guild system arose out of the decay of slavery. Then came the time when "chacun donna le nom de liberté aux privilèges dont il jouissait au détriment de tout le reste" (p. 102). By the breaking down of these monopolies we are brought to the dawn of modern industrialism. Dunoyer examines the present conditions of labour, sounding the individualistic note at each opportunity. Two of the last chapters on "L'Education" and "Du Sacerdoce" decide that religion is not economically necessary. Since things are not right because God orders them, Dunoyer argues that they will not cease to be right if we cease to believe in God, and so the only necessity for religion, namely as a sanction for morality, is gone. It will be seen from this that Dunoyer is not a very dispassionate thinker. For, even if things were as he states them, it might be necessary to embody truth in a tale before it could "enter in at lowly doors." And also it is, of course, ridiculous to say that because morality does not depend on the arbitrary fiat of God, that there could still be morality if there were no God. Dunoyer would seem to have some such limited idea of God as is expressed by Heine's famous cynicism, "Dieu me pardonnera, c'est son métier." But the Deity has other functions than that.

To pass from Dunoyer to his critic. Dunoyer had protested against introducing discussions of what *ought* to be into political economy. One doesn't speak, he says, in mathematics of what *ought* to be, but of what is. "Le physicien observe que l'eau soumise à l'action du feu passe à l'état de vapeur ; mais il ne dit pas qu'un *des droits* de l'eau est de se transformer en gaz." On which M. Villey very pertinently remarks that "the conclusion would have force only if man were a purely material being, like gas ; it is inconclusive if you admit that man is a free agent" (p. 13). This is one of the best criticisms in the book. It is applicable to all opponents of the theory of natural rights, who are always, acknowledged or not, Determinists.

Another good point made is the defence of civilization. Le Play had maintained that vice grew with the growth of civilization. Superficially this seemed to condemn civilization. M. Villey takes surely a more correct and a deeper view. Civilization means the satisfaction of man's wants, *i.e.*, inevitably, the expansion of them. It may therefore be defined as an "increase of life." Now, life needs rule, and the increased life needs more rule. Hence the facts which seem to

condemn civilization merely mean that modern life has outgrown its childish dress and has not yet found another to fit it (p. 55 ff.). And he sees, further, that this is "diametrically opposed" to what he calls Dunoyer's dominant thought, that man, the more he advances, has less need of government (p. 332). It is surely just this capacity to carry about with us all our life that fabric of rules and adjustments, but to do so without feeling the weight of it, that marks the amazing difference there is between the savage and the civilized man.

These are some of the good things in M. Villey, and there are not a few. He has the art which fortunately few Englishmen possess of taking you through a subject so smoothly that at the end, although you fully assent to the conclusion, you are only in the vaguest way conscious of the grounds for it. The consequence is that the easiest authors to read are the hardest to reproduce. It is only on re-reading M. Villey that you discover there is more in him than meets the eye. It should be added, finally, that this book has had the honour of being "recompensé par l'Institut."

LAWRENCE PHILLIPS.

**LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND STATE AID.** An Essay on the Effect on Local Administration and Finance of the Payment to Local Authorities of the Proceeds of certain Imperial Taxes. By SYDNEY J. CHAPMAN, M.A., Lecturer on Political Science in the University College of South Wales. [142 pp. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. Sonnenschein. London, 1899.]

Mr. Chapman's main thesis is to the effect that all subventions are objectionable unless they represent payment for work done—unless, that is to say, they cover either the cost of functions properly belonging to the Imperial Government but better discharged by local bodies, or else the proportion of imperial to local interest in such matters as elementary education, police, poor-relief, and sanitation, which concern the nation as well as the province. The former are "State" functions, the latter are called "compulsory," and both are distinguished from the "optional" activities which regard only the public convenience or culture, and have no claim at all on the Exchequer. Technical education, for instance, would be an optional subject, though Mr. Chapman does not clearly delimit the spheres. To the objection that a grant may serve for a stimulus, and can be justified by the amount of public life and intelligence which it calls into play, he objects that the use of a stimulus implies ignorance of the disease and impairs as often as it recruits vitality, that in any case it should only be administered for a



time, and experience shows that temporary expedients have a tendency to become permanent.

Turning to the objections to these views, he examines the taxing capacity of local bodies, the incidence and equity of the present taxation, and how far differential rates are a ground for differential relief. Briefly, his conclusions are : 1. That rates are a sufficient, and must always be the principal, source of local income. 2. That in the long run the incidence of the single tax on occupiers is threefold ; it falls in different degrees on landowner, occupier, and consumer. It is required, then, to tax these three classes of persons in such a way that incidence shall follow close on impact. 3. This would not be feasible unless it were possible to value sites separately ; but this is quite possible and often done. So that sites should be taxed in proportion to the value given them, residential occupiers according to ability, and business occupiers—*i.e.* of course ultimately consumers—according to the share which local government services contribute to production. The tax on building land must be laid in the first instance on the owner of the building, and he should be empowered to deduct from the ground-rent a portion of the tax equal to the portion of entire ground-value which the landlord enjoys under the contract. Similarly the farmer is to pay the tax intended to fall on the landlord, and deduct it from his rent. 4. The only ground for differential relief from the Treasury is low rateable value. Mr. Chapman proposes to extend universally the principle of the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund and the Equalization of Rates Fund, *i.e.* to lay uniform rates over large districts for certain purposes of local government, and out of the money so raised to make grants to the component communities on the basis of need or population. This would bring into effect a principle which has hitherto escaped the politicians, but which would “eject a good half of those puzzling inequities which trouble many a practical man, and drive him to attach himself to the vague agitation for some reform of some character in local finances.” “Both these funds represent organized subventions *which are not imperial but local*. In a word, they are the systematization of neighbourly or provincial assistance grounded on the admission of a large common responsibility. They mean a first step from the conception of society as made up of rigid mutually exclusive local units to that of an organic nation of organisms.” And such an hierarchic ordering of the local government bodies and their powers is further recommended by the fact that interest and responsibility diminish with distance from the scene of work. With this improved and productive system of taxation, then, and with the licenses made over to the districts to which they belong, there is no reason

why the local community should not "live of its own." Finally, Mr. Chapman passes under criticism the whole series of Government measures which relate to this subject—the subventions prior to 1888, the Local Government Act of that year and its sequel in the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act of 1890, and the Agricultural Ratings Act. The points of the argument are admirably illustrated by a number of statistical tables. In fact, the essay touches in passing with a good deal of suggestion most of the difficulties which are known to local politics.

Mr. Chapman is well aware what are the objections to his views, and he generally states and considers them; so that the reviewer is free from the dangerous task of criticism on a work of great grasp and knowledge. Possibly, if we are to aim at creating a strong local interest in local government, it would not be a good thing to complicate the machinery: and this Mr. Chapman is very ready to do (see p. 74, among other instances). It is also a little inconsistent to say first that imperial subventions must be proportionate to imperial interests in the localities, and then that the money measure of these interests will vary with rateable value, "because of the diminishing utility of money," *i.e.* that while absolutely they will be the same, relatively and in cash they will be different. The fact that the essay was originally written for a prize at the Owens College, Manchester, explains the free use of technical terms and the general difficulty of the expression. A little more simplification would be a great improvement.

A. M. D. HUGHES.

# LE CORPORAZIONI PARMENSI D'ARTI E MESTIERI.

Per GIUSEPPE MICHELI. [138 pp. 8vo. Battei. Parma, 1899.]

An explorer of the history of old arts and crafts, which has become so favourite a subject alike with economists and historians, could scarcely have hit upon more promising ground to investigate than that which Dr. Micheli has selected, *viz.* the ancient city of Parma, the flourishing Chrysopolis of mediæval times, in which the trade guilds have since early days played a most important part, helped to make and unmake dynasties and constitutions, and managed to hold their own as a democratic force against a powerful aristocracy. Muratori, in *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Ævi*, fixes the time of the first formal legislation on the *Artes et Mysteria* and the powerful *Mercadancia* somewhere in the twelfth century. However, Dr. Micheli will have it that as early as the year 49 of our present era, *collegia* of smiths (*fabri*) and shipbuilders (*dendrophori*) existed, as is said to be

evidenced by an inscription of Roman date on a marble slab still preserved in the Parma Museum. A later Roman inscription records the existence of *sodalitates* of *lanarii* (which subsequently grew to be a most important guild) and *carminatores*. Certainly by an early date in the thirteenth century, which was for the city of Parma the most eventful century and most pregnant with political and economic change, the guilds had developed great power. They already held very valuable real property, and were masters of the local trade in the surrounding territory. More particularly were the butchers, the shoemakers, the blacksmiths and armourers, and the fellmongers, who together were popularly known as the *quattro arti*, highly influential; and when Giberto da Gente set himself to pursue his ambitious course which led to the downfall of the republic, he began by cultivating the favour of these guilds—more particularly the butchers—and first had himself elected *Potestas Mercadanciæ*, after which he succeeded easily in having himself proclaimed *Podestà del Popolo*.

There appears to have been an instinctive disposition to combination for the vindication of common interests innate in the people of Parma of all classes. For we read of “colleges” of judges and advocates and medical men, as well as of common labourers, all of them organized on practically the same lines, having their elected *antianus* or *rector* to govern them, with the help of a number of consuls varying according to the size of the guild. Some important guilds even had a *podestà*. But the names of the guilds seem constantly changing. The *cambiatores*, *napparii*, *boaroli*, etc., disappear, and new guilds crop up in their places. There was a very powerful guild of cattle-dealers once, exercising much influence and possessing much wealth, but this in course of time entirely disappeared. The guilds appear to have fared badly under the government of the popes, and possibly still worse under that of Lewis of Bavaria and John of Bohemia, when the protectionism previously jealously fostered and maintained for their benefit was deliberately discarded, and foreign producers were carefully attracted. However, through rough times and smooth, they managed to maintain their spirit of “solidarity,” and it is interesting to know that one or two of them have, after a fashion, lived down to the present day.

For most people the greatest interest attaching to Dr. Micheli's history of these corporate bodies will be found to consist in their quaint, old-world regulations and customs. Of these our author, in a volume which is intended rather as a summary than as a complete chronicle, gives some well-chosen details. Of course, religion played a leading part in the life and organization of the guilds. Every one of them was sworn to keep every one of the Church's holidays. Every



one of them had its own particular patron saint, whose calendar day was kept in great style, in addition to the calendar day of Saint Hilary, the patron saint of the city, on which all guildmen were bound to march to the cathedral in procession, exhibiting all their insignia. The jobmasters, it may be interesting to note, had selected Saint Richard for a patron saint, on the ground, not conclusively proven, that he, being an Englishman, at one time or other "kept a riding school." The sandal-makers, who were also tanners, looked to Saint Anthony for protection, and were strictly forbidden at any time to tan pigskin. The *Cassonieri*, who in Latin are called *Asinariî seu Somariî*, and whose *universitas* enjoyed *immunitatem et exceptionem ab omnibus consulatibus et custodiis*, in consideration of carrying a hundred cart-loads for the city for nothing, took refuge under the shadow of Saint Hilary. Every obligation was sworn to on the sacrament, even such things as that the carpenters and masons or bricklayers would pay or take neither more nor less than the regular daily wage. And really nothing was done without an oath, though swearing in the popular meaning of the word was religiously tabooed. Thus the *osti*, or *tabernarii*, or innkeepers, whose houses are carefully distinguished from the inferior *bettole*, or "bush-houses," and who, for some reason or other, had the *Madonna dei sette dolori* for their special saint, were sworn on the sacrament to keep out of their houses and refuse to serve all "*ganæ, ruffiani, gaiuffi, latrones et alii mali homines*," which oath it must have been rather difficult to observe, as well as to abstain from selling *vinum adaquatum*. One of the rather curious guilds which have lived down to the present day are the *brentatori*, or "wine-porters" (carriers of wine in a vessel called *brenta*), who, together with the ordinary porters, or *facchini*, were bound to act as fire brigade for the city. This guild, the *brentatori*, enjoys the distinction of having provided its own patron saint out of its midst, in the person of the wonder-working San Alberto da Bergamo. They were allowed to sell wine of their own, but not to buy and re-sell. The *facchini* were legally authorized to boycott any customer who did not pay one of their number.

There appear to have been squabbles sometimes inside the guilds, as between the surgeons and barbers, who were grouped together in one guild, and required, among other things, to set leeches only in "canonical" fashion, and never to shave any but a stranger on a saint's day; and again between the shoemakers and cobblers, likewise unequally yoked together under the patronage of Saint Crispin, whom the cobblers did not consider good enough, wherefore they proposed to select Saint Berthold. However, the authorities would not hear of

separation. The ordinary bakers—for there were two kinds—do not appear to have stood well in official favour. For a customer's oath to the effect that his bread had been badly baked, or that part of what he had delivered had been abstracted, was declared sufficient proof of guilt to warrant a fine; and they were fined likewise for appearing barefoot at a guildsman's funeral. These guild funerals were great functions, from which no member was allowed to absent himself. Of course the guilds served, very effectively, as provident societies, and were required to provide pensions for necessitous members. They were also bound to practise charity. However, with advancing time such charity appears generally to have taken the shape, not of a gift to a special fund, but of the marriage and endowment of a girl "of the trade," or else her consignment to a convent. Dr. Micheli gives some particulars about the capital invested in various trades and the taxes paid by the several guilds, which indicate their financial importance. Of course, out and out the most important in the district, whose wealth in excellent sheep both Columella and Martial have placed poetically upon record, was the guild of the woollen trade.

Dr. Micheli's little book will distinctly repay perusal.

HENRY W. WOLFF.

THE BRITISH TAXPAYER'S RIGHTS. By H. LLOYD REID, F.S.S. [xvii. 298 pp. 8vo. 12s. Unwin. London, 1898.]

"In a previous work, *The British Taxpayer and his Wrongs*, published in 1888, under the *nom de plume* of 'Finance,' I promised to bring out a second part dealing with the 'rights and remedies' of taxpayers." The present book is not the whole of the work thus promised, but only the half dealing with the "rights." The "remedies" are postponed to another treatise. But in discussing the rights and ways, Mr. Reid lets it appear very clearly what the remedies would be. Taxes ought to be paid on "realized wealth," or "realized property," and on almost nothing else. Income-taxes are unjust, because the same income represents very different degrees of ability to contribute, according to its sources; taxes and rates on occupancy of premises are unjust for the same reason; and taxes on commodities are unjust, because people can escape them by not using the commodity. Mr. Reid is very bitter against all the drink duties, because they are an attempt to discourage a certain kind of consumption on moral grounds. Three other things, and only three, rouse Mr. Reid's indignation to an equal extent. Two of them, as might be expected, are graduated taxation and public expenditure in the way of free education, libraries, baths, etc. So far, he is a very ordinary Wemyssian or Donisthorpian.

But on the third point he breaks away from classification. He is very strong against the powers of landowners, and desires "a gradual conversion of private ownership into national or Government property whenever possible in the usual course of administration," and, in the meanwhile, the creation of land courts to reduce excessive rents.

Mr. Reid shows great knowledge of the actual working details of taxation, and wide reading in economic literature. But I am afraid that the quantity of his reading has been a snare to him. Whatever he has to say is buried under a mass of quotations. On one page (p. 6), we read that "Aristotle . . . remarked, . . . the late Professor Bonamy Price observed. . . . As Professor Sheldon Amos has remarked . . . As M. Charles Ganilh has written." On another pair of pages (pp. 10, 11), his successive authorities are Nassau Senior, Bentham, M. Gandillot, Bastiat, Amasa Walker, J. S. Mill. If he really surveyed past literature, or traced the literary history of any single point, he would merit nothing but praise. But he does not do anything like that; he simply strings quotations together, standing in no organic connexion with his book, and with no discrimination of the comparative values or historical setting of his authorities. His technical economics share the same looseness of grasp. After his enormous reading he can say (p. 34) that high rents "unduly raise the cost of British products and manufactures, leading to the importation of foreign goods at favourably competing prices. British labour, in many industries, thus becomes unduly handicapped, obtains lower profits and wages, and in time is driven out of employment." In that case, how do the high rents get paid? Mr. Reid does not ask the question, and cannot be credited with the conceivable answer, that in the end they do not get paid, and the landlord ruins himself as well as his tenants. So, also, I cannot reduce Mr. Reid's view of the nature of paper securities to any coherence. Sometimes (p. 27) they are *in no true sense wealth, or justly taxable as wealth* (the author's italics); sometimes (pp. 46, 51, 52), they are partly wealth and partly not, wealth so far as they represent present assets, and not wealth so far as they represent claims on future profits. But his last word (p. 28) seems to be "actual visible wealth, not securities, orders, warrants, etc., for it, promises or contracts concerning it, or any other symbols of, or substitutes for it." And the matter is of special interest, because all the taxes are to be levied on this "visible wealth." If Mr. Reid meant the literal meaning of his words, he would mean that mortgagees, debenture holders, and owners of consols are to pay no taxes at all.

The chief interest of Mr. Reid's book lies in these economic and



social inconsistencies. He starts from the tradition of the respectable business man, freedom of contract, sanctity of property, no taxing of one class for the benefit of another, and all the rest of it ; and then the kindness of his heart and his observation of life make the most serious breaches in his tradition, and all the while he does not know that it is breached. And that is what makes him typical of the average serious Englishman. So long as you will let him denounce those wicked Communists, he is ready to do all their work for them better than they could do it for themselves.

T. C. SNOW.

**INDUSTRIAL CUBA.** By ROBERT P. PORTER. [428 pp. 8vo. 15s. Putnam. New York and London, 1899.]

There must be a considerable amount of general interest attached to a book dealing with Cuba, even though that book is of a semi-official character, and has a distinctly practical purpose. The Spanish-American war is still sufficiently recent to leave a curiosity throughout Europe concerning its ultimate issue, so that the present book is eminently a topical one for all readers, as well as an appeal to American citizens to examine their duties and opportunities in a new sphere.

Yet it is somewhat surprising to find an official Report, by a Special Commissioner, on the state of Cuba got up in book form with over sixty illustrations, beautifully prepared from photographs, and statistics blended with graphic descriptions. This mixture of character is unfamiliar to English readers, and one cannot help thinking that the Report would have been more effective if issued in a less imposing style, and with no pretensions to being generally attractive. However, in spite of the illustrations, the book will be found more useful as a report on industrial conditions than as a descriptive work on Cuba, for in the latter character it is undoubtedly heavy.

Its production shows great thoroughness and care : there are several maps, numerous quotations from local authorities, and full evidence of personal observation on the part of the author. Mr. Porter is sanguine, outspoken, vigorous. He is anxious to point out those directions in which American enterprise may find abundant scope ; at the same time he does not spare Spain in his denunciation of her mismanagement and greed ; he dwells on the high responsibility of America as a nation, and the wondrous possibilities of this fruitful but oppressed island. There are thus two aspects presented by the Cuban question to the American nation : Cuba is a trust to be disinterestedly helped out of its present misery by the great Republic ; and it is also a land full of industrial possibilities for American energies. These two ideas

are not incompatible ; but again it would have been better to keep this Report strictly to industrial conditions, rather than to have confused these definite statements by vague declamations on the elevated vocation of the United States, and her worthiness of her new mission. Some of these remarks are akin to boasting, and seem out of place in an official Report.

The subject itself is one of great importance in political history ; but the author points out that economical restoration must come before any political settlement ; and he only mentions his own opinion that annexation would be the best future for Cuba. This, he says, would be a gain, and not a loss in dignity for Cuba. But recent developments seem to be opposed to this issue, and Mr. Porter does not press the matter.

The book opens with a description of the natural advantages of the island, and its present miseries—due not so much to war as to preceding misrule. In chap. ii. there is a short *résumé* on each of the subjects afterwards treated separately. Another chapter deals with Jamaica as a model of disinterested colonial government. The questions of labour, sanitation, and currency are next dealt with. Labour presents great difficulties ; and Mr. Porter advises immigration of Southern races, thinking that this is not a suitable field for American energy. The problem of sanitation is already being attacked with success, though the present conditions must be deplorable. The currency question is thoroughly discussed, much wisdom and moderation having been used in this direction by the American Government. Several chapters deal with the question of revenue ; and here the author is not quite clear in stating how far the United States gain any advantage by the amended tariff. It is quite certain of course that America does not seek to sacrifice Cuba to her own advantage ; but, having emphasized this fact, Mr. Porter need not shrink from stating how far the new tariff does give to American trade a preferential benefit.

The chief industries of the island are then taken in order and fully described. Sugar and tobacco are the leading ones, and both full of the brightest promise under stable political conditions and economic freedom. The case is made as clear as possible to American colonists, and full statistics added. A successful future is also foretold for agriculture, mining, and timber exportation. The author then goes on to show the necessity for improved methods of communication by sea and land. All these points are intended to attract American enterprise ; while in the chapter on education and religion, Mr. Porter returns to the directly Cuban point of view—showing the inadequacy

of the present educational system, and the necessity for the extension both of education and of religious toleration.

So far the book alternates, as I have said, between the attractive topical illustrated volume and the official government Report; also between the account of an oppressed people to be saved by a great nation, and the description of a new field for American enterprise. The next chapter almost descends to the level of a magazine interview. It is an account of the author's visit to General Gomez, the Cuban commander, for the purpose of explaining the good-will of the President in arranging to supply some payment for the support of the Cuban troops. The point at issue is a significant one, and exemplifies the difficult position of the United States in their settlement of Cuba. But Mr. Porter dwells at unnecessary length on unimportant personal details, and throws too much interest into trivial conventionalities which ought to be taken for granted. However, he is right in emphasizing the ultimate good understanding between the parties. There is indeed every reason for a hopeful view; and his final chapter, which sums up the whole investigation, and repeats the practical conclusions, ends with encouragement for the future.

The design of the book is in fact pre-eminently practical: it contains little economic theory, though the advice contained in it shows a sound understanding of industrial problems; for instance, Mr. Porter very wisely urges the development of production as the basis of all permanent success, and deprecates premature commercial undertakings. Here he points out a real danger; and his whole work of investigation shows the same thoroughness and accuracy—he never avoids difficulties, though his tone is confident. The only want of clearness is on the free-trade question, and the chief need of the work is compression.

The book is essentially one of the hour, but it is on a subject involving great political and economic issues. It is addressed to a new nation at a momentous juncture of its history; thus, though the book itself may have no abiding place in literature, yet in spite of literary deficiency it will have been a factor in a great movement.

M. W. MIDDLETON.

THE PEASANTS' WAR IN GERMANY, 1525-1526. By E. BELFORT BAX. [xii. 367 pp. 8vo. 6s. Sonnenschein. London, 1899.]

This volume belongs to a series in which Mr. Belfort Bax reviews the social side of the Reformation in Germany. The economic and political dislocation, which he considers to have been the enabling condition of Protestantism, has been already described in *German Society*



*in the Middle Ages*, and its more prominent features are here summarized as the looseness of imperial control, giving to the great feudatories larger and more centralized power within their own territories, and aiding the decline of the lower nobility ; the rise of a world market, and with it a division of the towns between a patriciate of merchants and a proletariat of artisans ; the growth of an independent professional class capable of thinking for itself, and able to diffuse its ideas through the invention of printing ; and a dearth of money, due to the rapid discontinuance of exchange in kind, and resulting in a general dearness of prices. Moreover, the cry against ecclesiastical abuses and against the drain of wealth into Italy through ecclesiastical channels had grown in volume with the advent of Luther, and one finds that the exasperation of the revolted peasants, and of the few knights who led them, was discharged in an especial degree on the property of the Church.

From the beginning of the fifteenth century the general mind of Germany had been working itself into a state of excitement and expectancy, which appeared first in a mystical notion of some imperial Messiah, who should come to centralize Government and establish just laws, and afterwards, when successive emperors had disappointed the hope, in a conviction that the common man must right his grievances by his own arm. There were current a number of ideal constitutions, ascribed to the different emperors, and enjoining a return to a primitive communism and such particular reforms as the opening of roads, the abolition of taxes, dues, and levies, restriction of trading capital, uniformity of weights and measures, and, in fact, a thorough demolition of the feudal structure, together with the debarring of Roman and Canon law, and the secularization of Church fiefs. These demands, and others belonging rather to the religious movement, are to be found in the various schemes for remodelling society which came from the leaders in the Peasants' War,—in the "Evangelical Divine Reformation" of the Empire conceived by the Franconians Weigand and Hipler, in the religious communism of the Thuringian Thomas Münzer, and in the vision of a simplified peasant-state which floated before the most gifted and interesting of them, the Tyrolese leader, Michael Gaismayr. Lassalle has remarked that, in so far as the idea of the movement was communistic, it was out of line with historical development and with Protestantism itself, and therefore doomed to failure.

But these political ideals, long as they had been in the air, do not seem to have appealed to the peasantry, nor were they really popularized among the town proletariat, which forms a distinct

section of the revolt. The men who formulated them were mostly ex-priests and theological professors, and born in a higher station of life than the mass of their followers. The famous "Twelve Articles" of the Swabian peasants demand only the abolition of customary burdens and restrictions, with the right to choose their own clergy, and the appeal is always to the Bible. "We are in no doubt but that ye will, as true and just Christians, relieve us from villeinage, or show us out of the Gospel that we are villeins." One might say that the peasants took the ideas of the Reformation, as the French afterwards took the theories of the philosophers, and, in De Tocqueville's phrase, "adjusted them to their passions," expressing by "Divine Justice" what was afterwards called natural rights. The war itself is a miserable story. The revolt began in the early spring of 1525, with a disturbance in the Black Forest, spread from mere contact over the whole of central Europe, from Styria to Lorraine, and before the end of June was crushed in detail by the Swabian League. There was scarcely any organization, or discipline, or concerted action; except in the Tyrol, none of the objects of the war were achieved; and the excesses with which it began are some faint excuse for the cruelty with which it was suppressed. We learn once again that the common people cannot make a revolution of themselves. Mr. Bax wants that scientific possession of his subject which is needful for good and suggestive history, and his narrative suffers somewhat from the disjointed nature of the action. He has allowed his indignation to break through the restraint proper to an historian, and his discursions on the wickedness of governing classes are not useful. But the general reader, for whom he has intended to write, will find this account of the Peasants' War clear, interesting, and sufficient.

A. M. D. HUGHES.

## SOME RECENT CRITICISMS ON THE NEW TRADES COMBINATION MOVEMENT.

SINCE the appearance in this *Review* of a series of articles on the above subject and their recent publication in book form,<sup>1</sup> a good many newspapers, magazines, and trade journals have taken notice of the scheme itself, and also of the manner in which it has been explained to the public. These notices have not been confined to this country ; for, in fact, other countries, and especially the United States of America, have suffered from the stress of unrestricted competition no less than ourselves. It is not my intention, however, to fall foul of my critics ; indeed, so far from that, I wish to express my thanks for the pains which have evidently been taken to understand this new development of combination, in some cases even to the extent of translating the articles. I had not the least idea ten years ago, that a scheme which was not quite in accord with the old economic teaching as to the relative positions and claims of Capital and Labour would, during the period of my own life, engage the attention of so many thinkers and writers. But no one can deny that during recent years considerable modifications have taken place in the opinions generally held in regard to these practical questions. Old notions die hard in England, and we seldom learn except by bitter experience. But it has been found impossible to ignore the lessons which strikes and lock-outs with their inevitable consequences have forced upon us. The methods I am testing may be condemned by some people, but it seems to be acknowledged that they cannot be laid aside

<sup>1</sup> *The New Trades Combination Movement: Its Principles, Methods, and Progress.* By E. J. SMITH. With an Introduction by the Rev. J. CARTER, M.A., Bursar of Pusey House, Oxford. [xxiv., 96 pp. Crown 8vo. 2s. Rivingtons. London, 1899.]



as unworthy of notice. I have naturally been interested in reading the opinions which have been expressed in so many quarters, more especially those of a critical character, and which give evidence of a desire to understand the subject and to treat it fairly, no matter how severely. I have had very little to complain about in this respect. With the exception of one provincial daily newspaper, my modest endeavour to explain the plan has been received in a spirit with which I cannot find fault.

It has been somewhat instructive to watch the effect of the suggestion of a scheme like this upon the minds of representatives of the various interests concerned. No matter how much some people may try to deceive themselves, the dividing line between theory and practice is becoming more accentuated every year. What is called free competition (an attractive but most misleading term) has had a fairly generous and complete trial in this country. Until a few years ago one could more safely declare himself an infidel as to the Christian faith than a doubter as to free competition in trade. And indeed there was every reason for it. It is not the phrase, or the idea it is intended to convey, with which one can find fault. It is in the application of it that we have gone wrong. We have trained a good horse to death. It is all very well for the veterinary surgeon, even when supported by the trainer, to go on declaring that the horse is all right; but it is the jockey who has to ride the horse, and the owner who has to suffer because it is beaten, who are to be the final judges. Free competition is accepted by all as a grand doctrine while they are buying, but when they happen to be selling they are apt to regard it differently. The belief that manufacturers ought to be philanthropists is easy of acceptance by all but the manufacturers themselves, and those whom they have to compel to join in their philanthropy. But notwithstanding the hold which the theory of free competition has obtained in this country, and the thorough trial it has had, we are to-day face to face with the fact that we shall have to choose in the future between "rings" and "trusts" which aim at a complete removal of all competition whatever, or some more

just and reasonable method whereby each person may get what fairly belongs to him and no more.

That this is being generally recognized is evidenced by the way in which my articles have been received. The economists, and some who would pose as such, seem to be divided in opinion. Generally speaking they have so far treated the proposal as one worth discussing; but, as is perhaps only natural, their conclusions seem to depend largely upon their preconceived opinions. One can scarcely expect those who have established a reputation as the able exponents of a theory that one ought to sell at the best prices one can get, whether there is any profit on them or not, to forfeit any portion of that reputation by acknowledging that there is common sense in a proposal which would compel all to sell at a profit. I shall have something to say in answer to a representative of this school presently. On the other hand, I have received from a large number of economists of the new school the most encouraging letters and offers of help. I have evidence that in nearly every university in the world the principles of trade combination are being discussed, and lectures have been given on this particular scheme in Denmark, Germany, France, and America. Further explanations are frequently invited, and whatever may be the ultimate result, the interest is no doubt spreading. So far this is satisfactory, and to me at least it is gratifying from the fact that the support comes principally from those who try to do something more than teach in a merely academic fashion—that is to say, from those who mix with practical men, who are able to judge for themselves as to the effects of cut-throat competition, strikes, and lock-outs.

Of the daily newspapers I have little to say; they are no doubt waiting for results, and do not generally commit themselves beforehand. Their chief object at present seems to be to report such records of the doings of the several associations as they may be able to gather from any casual source of information; but the result is seldom helpful to those who really wish to understand the movement. To most of the trade journals, however, I owe my sincere thanks for the trouble they

have taken in collecting information which has enabled them to arrive at just conclusions as to the working of the scheme wherever it has been thoroughly adopted. Here, again, we have the people, who being brought into daily contact with manufacturers, workmen, and dealers, have learned the difference between theory and practice.

It is my intention in this article to reply, so far as I am able, to some of the questions sent to me by letter, or put forward in published reviews of the scheme. I shall select only those of importance, and which probably represent the feeling of many persons from whom I have not heard. To those who suppose that I am an enthusiast only I have nothing to say. They may be right, and I am the last person to appeal to on this question. To those who say I am interested in this movement purely from pecuniary considerations I can only say that they are wrong. But I do not see how this concerns any one excepting the people who pay. One thing no one can deny—I have tried my best to give a thorough explanation of the scheme, so as to make every one independent of its originator.

In turning to a much more serious and honest kind of critic, I may be allowed to make a modest declaration as to a former utterance. Much has been made of the fact that I have disclaimed any pretensions to a profound knowledge of economic science. This does not mean that I have not read what economists have written. I am afraid I shall make matters no better when I say that for the last thirty years I have tried my best to follow them. With much that they have said I entirely agree, but mine has not been the part to argue only. There were certain evils to be remedied; and these evils had to be faced, and some remedy found at once. Moreover, any practical experiments in this direction should be no less interesting to the theoretical economist than to the man of affairs. But, of course, in launching a new scheme I could scarcely expect to come off scot free, and so I have to answer some criticisms which appeared in the March issue of the *Economic Journal*, by Mr. Edwin Cannan. And since so many of the criticisms which have come from other quarters are embodied in this statement,



I might almost confine myself to it. There are, however, a few objections which even he has overlooked, and which I will include in what I am about to say.

Mr. Cannan's first stricture is on the title of my book. He objects to the word "new," because "it implies the expectation that there will never be anything newer." No doubt I am responsible for adopting such a title, and there is no excuse in the fact that this name was given to my work by my critics long before I published my book. But I do not see the point of his remark, and in any case it is extremely unimportant. Surely the last thing is always the newest; and even he does not try to prove that there is anything newer at present. Bad or good, if it is the last it is the newest. To conclude that to call a thing new presupposes that "there will never be anything newer" is quite in keeping with some of the other arguments used. He says, for instance, he will not explain the details of the system because he has—

"no desire to render Mr. Smith the smallest mite of assistance in his work of enabling a few small trades to improve the condition of their members at the expense of the millions who consume their products."

This means that he will give his own interpretation of the scheme and its consequences without describing it, and then ask his readers to accept his conclusions without being in a position to judge for themselves. It is a common enough form of argument, but I should like to ask his readers whether this is quite what they want. Again, Mr. Cannan says that he "could not if he would explain the scheme." He will forgive me if I accept this as it stands. But one wonders, naturally, at the courage of a man who condemns something which he confesses he cannot explain. Mr. Cannan pays me a compliment in regard to my power of "oral exposition," but laments that I do not make my "written account" . . . "sufficiently clear." My mouth is closed here, and I can only refer to scores of other reviews which say just the opposite. But, after all, it is Mr. Cannan's power of comprehension with which I have to deal. His comprehension of trading matters will be clearly

enough seen by his use of the word "small" in the sentence I have quoted. The trades carrying out the system include amongst them the metal rolling trade, the electrical fittings trade, the bedstead trade, and the fender and fire brasses trade. Mr. Cannan, who knows nothing about any of them, calls them "small." But if there could be taken out of his life all that these four trades bring to him, he might be more economical, but he would certainly be much less comfortable.

I have no fault to find with his definition of the scheme, except with one word, which he uses because he must. I give his definition in full:—

"Suffice it to say that Mr. Smith bases his association of manufacturers and workmen in a particular trade on two main principles: (1) no manufacturer is to sell an article at a price below what the association are pleased to consider the proper cost of production, plus what they are pleased to consider the proper profit; (2) the workmen are to be guaranteed at least the existing wages, and to be given in addition a bonus varying with the percentage of profit, in return for which they are to support the association by striking against any manufacturer who sells below the proper price."

Now, the word I object to is "pleased." It presupposes that manufacturers can do whatever they like in the matter—which is not correct; and that they would be fools enough to ruin themselves if they had the right to do so—which they have not. In the first place, profits are fixed by a percentage on the dead cost ascertained by the whole trade, and afterwards printed and circulated throughout the trade; and, secondly, these profits have to be approved by the workpeople, who will not consent to any artificial price which would be likely to drive away trade. Mr. Cannan has read all this in the book he reviews, so he evidently thinks it is of no consequence. But he ought to know something of the working of the scheme he condemns. Will he point out a single trade working under the system which has been "pleased" to put on a profit which is unfair in the economic sense? This would be useful, as I have never yet seen an economic definition of fairness as applied to a manufacturer's profits. I mean that, while none is bold enough

to say that manufacturers should sell without profit, I have never met with a plain expression of opinion that they ought at least to get so much. The "million" are to be satisfied, while the producer—without whom the million would be in a bad way—must be left to look after himself. Just so, but no sooner does he begin to do this than he gets abused. This is because he often tries to do it in the wrong way; nevertheless, there must be a right way. Why not try to help him to find it? To deny that in the race of competition he is very often left behind, hopelessly beaten, is to ignore the facts which have been forced upon us even in the last few years of exceptional prosperity.

But it is fair to ask how, under the scheme I am defending, the manufacturer is prevented from sacrificing the just claims of the million to his own desire to become rich—that is, to amass wealth unduly, and by artificial means? I have always said that he should be prevented from doing this, and I say so still. Mr. Cannan assumes—utterly disregarding the safeguards described—that it will be just as easy for the manufacturer under this scheme, as under any other, to impose upon the public some unjust price. It is quite possible that I have not been sufficiently clear upon this point. Perhaps I may be permitted to try again, as the criticism is of so much importance. I advance three reasons for concluding that this should not happen. I am afraid Mr. Cannan will not be able properly to appreciate the first. It is that manufacturers, when combined, *could not possibly be persuaded to do it, no matter who tried to persuade them.* I am aware that this will be regarded as a matter of personal opinion only; but the best opinions are formed on some kind of evidence. I depend upon a unique experience, which Mr. Cannan cannot claim to have enjoyed. He has a right to be sceptical, because he does not know, but he will have no right to declare that I am wrong until he does know. For ten years I have spent my whole time in testing the feelings and inclinations of manufacturers on the question of fair profits, and I have ample proof that whatever confidence they place in the scheme to-day arises



quite as much from the fact that it is opposed to anything beyond a fair profit as from any other reason. I have met with manufacturers many a time who individually would use the power which combination provides to fleece the public; but I have never attended a meeting of combined manufacturers which would listen to them. The difficulty is to persuade manufacturers to use their combination for the purpose of getting what they ought to have. Can Mr. Cannan deny this? I am not now speaking of "trusts," and "rings," and "pools;" with these I have nothing to do, and I am not responsible for their actions. Nor do I forget that the mediæval trade guilds (which bore a superficial resemblance to this most recent form of combination) perished by reason of their selfishness and exclusiveness; but these risks, I contend, are sufficiently guarded against under the conditions of my scheme.

But I am aware that neither my opinion nor experience will be accepted as convincing in this matter. Mr. Cannan would like to know how undue profits are made impossible under the system. I am always taking for granted that he does not object to fair profits—such, for instance, as he would expect for writing a criticism on something he condemned; if he does not believe in fair profits, I shall have done with him so far as argument is concerned. My second reason is that *the actual profit is so well ascertained by the system of taking out costs, and from the fact that it is printed and circulated throughout the whole association, that it soon becomes public property, and would, if excessive, supply such an incentive to further competition that over production would immediately ensue.* Over production always means bad balance-sheets, and bad balance-sheets would break up the best combination in the world. It must be remembered that the system I support places no restrictions whatever on people who wish to come into any trade.

My third reason may appeal even to Mr. Cannan. It is that *the workmen who are parties to the agreement have not consented, and will not consent, to an undue profit.* It is quite true that they receive an additional bonus on any advance on

selling prices, which secures to their employers an additional profit; but they have to give their consent to the advance. Now, it may be supposed, by those who do not know them sufficiently, that workmen will always take extra wages and be thankful, no matter what the consequences may be. I entirely deny this. I thought so once, but I know better now. It may be true of trade unions, which are formed purely for the purpose of forcing from employers all that can be got, and which are never completely informed as to the employers' real position. It is not true as applied to unions of workpeople formed for the purpose of assisting employers to obtain fair profits, and to accept their own fair share of those profits in the shape of wages. These are taken into confidence, and know as well as their employers when the danger-point has been reached. Workmen, in their own rough and ready way, are fine economists. They know that if undue profits drive away trade large bonuses will not compensate for short time. They also know that excessive profits make the prices of necessary articles—especially to them—prohibitive. If I am asked on what I base this assertion, I reply, on my own experience of what the workmen in these combinations have already done. They will not permit profits to become excessive, and have questioned many times the necessity for any increase. At the present moment one of the largest combinations is under scrutiny by an independent accountant, called in by the workmen's section for the purpose of ascertaining whether an advance was justified. I do not say that all the workpeople would care for this; all I say is, that the representatives whom the employers meet will and do, and these govern the majority. I must leave these three reasons to make what impression they can upon the minds of hesitating critics; but if further proofs are wanted they can be supplied.

Mr. Cannan's next point must be noticed, although it almost assumes the guise of a trap. He doubts whether the workmen would get their equal benefit. "The provision that wages should not be reduced is open to the objection that the minimum would also become a maximum as well." Of course, I know

he is alluding to the wages, and not to the bonuses by which they are supplemented, although the two combined make up the real amount the workmen get for their labour. If I answered in the negative, I suppose he would say that there is as much danger in excessive wages as in excessive profits; and if I answered in the affirmative, I suppose he would conclude that the workmen are taken advantage of by the system. I think the workmen themselves should be the best judges as to the latter. But, as a matter of fact, he would be wrong all round. In most trades wages are unequal in the separate workshops. Sometimes there are good reasons for this, and sometimes there is none. Without this scheme things would probably continue as they were or grow worse. They are the trades which have been on the downward grade for some time, and for which there seemed to be little hope. To stem the tide counts for a great deal; to add a bonus—which really means an increase of wages—means more. But the minimum wages only apply to those articles made before the combination came into existence, and made in the same way. Even these may be brought before the wages board for friendly intervention, and gross irregularities or injustices are put right in time. But fashions change, and new methods of manufacture are continually being adopted; and for every new article, as for every new method of manufacture, both sides have a right to apply to the board to fix a price. This price is fixed entirely on the merits of the case, and it has no connection with any former price paid. It will thus be seen that, without strikes and without quarrels, the workmen get their fair prices in less time, and with less trouble and expense, than they could in any other way. Any other method would involve strikes, which all economists agree in deprecating if they can possibly be avoided.

Mr. Cannan seems to be moved by the fact that I have already admitted that I write “primarily in the interests of the manufacturers and workmen rather than in the interests of what is called the public.” He adds that in another place I speak of “that other section of the public called the consumer,” and hence comes to the conclusion that “only in this grudging



way " can I recognize, or, at least, admit the consumer's claims. I might well reply that he never recognizes the claims of the manufacturer and workman at all, and that he is quite content with teaching his beloved consumer that manufacturers and workmen are lawful prey. But I do reply that, considering I wrote a whole article on the consumers' interests, he cannot truthfully say that I ignore them. Whether or not I have done them justice, I must leave the consumers to judge for themselves. But Mr. Cannan's great stronghold is the paper read by Mr. Addinsell before a meeting of accountants. Here he finds quotations which he uses without giving the context, or, it would appear, without really comprehending what they mean. He makes much of a remark supposed to be addressed to manufacturers: "You are not in business for the purpose of making this or that; you are in business for the purpose of making money—the only proof of success is your balance-sheet." Now, I believe I have said this more than once. Mr. Cannan dubs the remark as "cynical," but I shall not contest the term. Even he does not attempt to question its truth. I speak of things as I find them, and I wish he did also. My remark does not imply that manufacturers feel no pride concerning their calling; it states a bare fact—that the object of manufacturing is to get a living out of the process. I think I could apply this also to literature, even to that termed "economic." We do not want to live in balloons. Will Mr. Cannan tell us what a manufacturer's object really is? His allusion to the people "who, by some extraordinary aberration of intellect, imagine that they are entitled to be supported by the rest of the community as soon as they have described themselves as makers of this or that," would hardly be expected from the economic guide of "a nation of shopkeepers." Will Mr. Cannan tell us who are the people who can most naturally be called upon to support the persons who learn a business, risk their capital, and give their time and brains in order to produce something which the community generally must have? Even the very paper he writes on ought to suggest the question.

Mr. Cannan condescends to allude to the chapter on "The

Interests of the Consumer," although he evidently does not think much of it. He says that I "adopt the old plan of pointing out that most consumers are producers, and then asking triumphantly, how what benefits producers can damage consumers?" I am glad the argument has "the rime of age;" it will at least escape the charge of arrogance. But the question has evidently been asked many times, and therefore deserves an answer. Mr. Cannan tries to answer it by asking another. He puts the question the other way about. He asks, "How what damages consumers can benefit producers?"—wishing to convey the idea that, as a producer is also a consumer, he must always share the consumer's fate. There is only one thing lacking in his argument—he must first prove the "damage." He has put a word into my mouth which I did not use. I have always contended that no damage can come to any one from charging a fair and reasonable price for a manufactured article. He has not even attempted to prove that it could. He begs a premise, and then goes on "triumphantly." I ask him first to establish his premise. He can only do so by proving that no damage can be done to the general community by strikes and bankruptcy, but that fair prices are damaging to those who have to pay them.

But in his next sentence I am afraid that Mr. Cannan gives away his whole case. I will quote it entirely.

"You can benefit the producers in one, two, or even a considerable number of trades, by altering the terms of the bargain between them and other producers to their advantage, but it ought to be obvious that you cannot do this with all trades. A. may drive a better bargain with B., C., D., and the rest down to Z., and B. may drive a better bargain with A., C., D., and the rest, but it is impossible that this can be carried right through the alphabet. This seems to have been put in a rough sort of way by the questioner who asked Mr. Smith how the community generally can benefit by having to pay higher prices all round? To this his answer, which is by no means clear, seems to be in the first place that, as a matter of fact, he does not want to raise prices all round, but only the prices of the things which he and his class sell."

It will be noticed that Mr. Cannan speaks about the producer

as though he were not a consumer as well; but, to make his argument, which he afterwards elaborates, worth anything, we must recognize the fact that any "better bargain" made must be reciprocal; so that while something is gained on either hand, something is also surrendered. But I welcome the admission that so many letters of the alphabet would be required in showing the number of trades which the scheme might benefit. Even Mr. Cannan can see that a "considerable number" of trades might find salvation in it; but because it could not improve the "great industry of agriculture" which he afterwards instances, he concludes that it would be unfair to "the ploughman who is to go without his butcher's meat in order that the bedstead-maker may have his fill." Now, I am not going to enter into a discussion on the agricultural question. I will only say that there are as many silly things said about it as are said about manufacturing interests. I have spent months in trying to ascertain on the spot how far it is possible for a comfortable existence to be gained from the proper cultivation of ten-acre and even four-acre plots. I am constantly visiting the region of the "ploughman," and I have never been able to see how, by paying one shilling each more for the two or three bedsteads he buys during his whole life, he will be deprived of his butcher's meat. But if the ploughman is fool enough to go on working for starvation wages, this is no reason why the more intelligent mechanic should consent to do so. If the agricultural industry, because of foreign competition, cannot command a fairly remunerative return for the capital and labour employed, it does not follow that the manufacturing industries cannot, or should not. If Mr. Cannan's argument is that because some do badly all ought to do badly, I do not agree with him. But I am content to leave the agricultural difficulty to those who can cope with it. I am satisfied with trying to improve the position of those who could do much better for themselves by adopting better methods, and, as on Mr. Cannan's own testimony, there are a "considerable number," the programme will be quite large enough.

I pass over Mr. Cannan's remarks about "justice." My



appeal was not made to such critics as he; and I am not at all sure that justice is one of the things which enter into his calculations. But, before I leave this part of the controversy, I may state an interesting fact, that the person to whom he refers as having put a question to me "in a rough sort of way" was a buyer, the proprietor of a so-called "Co-operative store," whose one object in life was to buy cheaply and sell dearly in a small town where he enjoyed a virtual monopoly. The extravagant prices he charged were, as many of the audience afterwards told me, a scandal; but, being a large buyer, he could never be persuaded to pay a fair price for anything. He was very angry because the bedstead association, and many others, had at last compelled him to do so. In his protest he used the word "selfish," at which his audience naturally smiled. Mr. Cannan is also very jealous concerning his class. Because the late Professor Freeman was a mere historian, he will not admit that he could also be anything of an economist. Perhaps not; yet he said exactly the same thing that Mr. Cannan would say. I quoted him because his remark so frankly disclosed the want of contact with the people about whom he wrote. Competition does not "find its own level," or "provide its own cure," unless the combination which Mr. Cannan condemns takes place. Does Mr. Cannan mean that, because Professor Freeman was not an economist, he was no authority? If so, I agree with him. But does he agree with Professor Freeman? If so, I may be pardoned for venturing to give him the support of the professor's opinion. If he only mentions the reference in order to be able to say, "Mr. Smith has a very poor opinion of economists, about whom he knows nothing," he is welcome to the conclusion, although it is as wrong as the others at which he seems to have arrived. There are economists and economists, but no one is compelled to accept the doctrine of any one of them without evidence; and when such doctrines are dead against the facts, the title of the teacher is nothing to be afraid of. Of course, Mr. Cannan is free to air his own profound knowledge as much as he pleases, but he will have to write very differently before he can convince

the manufacturers of this country of his ability to deal with their case. His profound contempt for their interests, and his cold-blooded assumption that they ought to be sacrificed for the benefit of the buyer, from the ploughman upwards, scarcely bespeaks an impartial judgement.

In dealing with Mr. Cannan's next point, I wish also to reply to others who have used the same argument, or asked the same questions. It is a very important phase of the subject, and deserves to be more fully dealt with than it has been up to the present. There is also some misunderstanding to remove which has, no doubt, arisen from my own method of explanation. It is assumed—more especially, it would appear, from the paper on Cost-taking, given by Mr. Addinsell before a meeting of chartered accountants—that, under this system, the advantages derived from improved methods of manufacture, and the introduction of new machinery, would be of no service to the consumer, as the whole of the saving would have to be retained by the manufacturer!<sup>1</sup> But, in fact, Mr. Addinsell's illustration only applies to the particular trade he is dealing with, and his mention of machinery is confined to the various kinds of machines used by the different makers in this trade alone. His argument is that the difference in the kinds of machines makes so slight a difference to the cost of production that it was found unnecessary to provide for it. This is a very different thing from saying that all trades ignore the saving by machinery, or any other improvement, although, as the sentence stands, it is quite open to that construction. That Mr. Cannan has so constructed it is clear from his remark—

“I do not see how any impartial person, after reading Mr. Smith's book, especially the chapter by Mr. Addinsell, can doubt that the New Trades Combination Scheme is inimical to improvement.”

If it were, it would require no other condemnation, and I should be ashamed of it. But inadequate as former explanations may have been, it is difficult to see how Mr. Cannan can have arrived

<sup>1</sup> There is a misprint in this paper, on p. 45, line 25, which is calculated to mislead. The word “trade” should be “business.”

at so sweeping a conclusion in the face of such passages as this—

“But here it is necessary to mention that it by no means follows that these price-lists are identical. There are very few manufacturing trades indeed which need identical price-lists. The principle upon which the cost-sheets are made up gives sufficient scope to each manufacturer to follow his own inclination in the compilation of his selling-prices. Should he care to make common articles only, light in weight, rough in finish, badly packed, he is at liberty to do so. He has only to set down the actual quantity of material used, the actual processes through which each article passes, the actual expense incurred in preparation for the market. Cheap articles must be manufactured—the public demand them—and when produced they must be sold at their true value. This gives every small maker, or the maker of common goods, either large or small, a fair chance. All that is demanded of him is that to the cost of production—taken out on association lines—there has been added the proper portion of profit. The maker of better articles, costing more to produce, must charge higher prices” (p. 31).

Now, although this is not so explanatory as it might be—simply because it does not especially mention improvements by machinery or new methods by which certain processes by hand labour would be avoided—the fact that it distinctly states that only the actual processes through which the article passes have to be set down in the cost, ought to be enough to prevent “any impartial person” from jumping to the conclusion that the scheme is “inimical to improvements.”

But even in Mr. Addinsell's paper there is a passage which Mr. Cannan has certainly read, as he quotes from it, and which does not support his assumption. Mr. Addinsell has just stated that “each member is at liberty to adopt whichever process he pleases, but the one he selects must be charged at the rate provided by the schedules,” which should in itself suggest to an ordinary reader that the various methods and processes are provided for at their true value by common agreement. Then he goes on to say—

“You may be inclined to ask, ‘Is not this giving away a trade secret, and giving up a trade advantage?’ My answer is, there is no



'secret' about it. The migration of workpeople prevents this. It is purely a matter of opinion as to which is the best method. It is seldom that a manufacturer will change his methods because another maker thinks he has a better one. Moreover, the improvement is generally problematical, as the discussion soon shows. As for the advantage, the new method secures it to the right person instead of giving it away. Before he joins an association, the maker in possession of the advantage gives it away to his customers. Afterwards he has to retain it. It is true that he may have done a little more trade, although this is seldom proved; but, even if he did, the value of the association is more to him than the trade thus obtained. It is a favourite saying of the promoter of this system, 'You are not in business for the purpose of making this or that; you are in business for the purpose of making money—the only proof of success is your balance-sheet.' Another of his teachings is, 'If you have a *real* improvement in your methods, the law gives you the right to protect it. If you do not protect it, you cannot complain if others value it at your own estimate. If it is not worth protecting, it is worth nothing.' I may say that it is part of the system to acknowledge and protect patent rights. Sometimes it is done in one way, sometimes in another, by mutual consent, but the right and advantage are never ignored" (p. 46).

Now, the essential meaning of this passage is summed up in the last two sentences. It is very seldom that any real improvement, either by machinery or otherwise, is effected in any trade, except by some invention which the inventor is only too glad to be able to patent. I accept Mr. Addinsell's quotation as quite correct. If an improved method, which really and tangibly reduces the cost of production, is adopted by one member of an association who has not taken the trouble to protect it, or who would not incur the cost of protection, it will be adopted by every member of the trade in a very short time. It is quite true that manufacturers do not change their methods without being convinced of the necessity for doing so, but it is also true that they change them quickly enough when they see they must. If the improvement is not patented, they will seize upon it without compunction; if it is, they will pay royalty for the right to use it; or if they cannot get consent to this, they will set their wits to work to find out some other method equally good. This is

so obvious a fact that I should have supposed everybody knew it. And, as Mr. Addinsell explicitly states, when such a right or advantage really exists, it is *never ignored*. As an illustration, I may say that I have patented several inventions in my own trade, all of which have been offered to my competitors for a small royalty. The advantage to the public of such inventions is that the *scheduled price* for that particular process is lowered, the cost works out at a less sum, and the selling price is therefore reduced. I should add that in associations, where good feeling naturally prevails, the right to use these inventions is much more freely granted than in trades having no association. To make my answer to Mr. Cannan complete, I have only to add that, in the terms of alliance with the work-people, there is a special article binding them to agree to the introduction of machinery, or any improved method whereby the cost of production may be reduced. This is insisted upon purely for the purpose of enabling the alliance to keep level with the times, by supplying the public with a cheaper article, and so increasing the demand. I think, then, I have a right to repeat my former demand for any one to instance a trade in combination which is not fully carrying this principle into daily practice. As this constitutes Mr. Cannan's chief objection to the scheme, may I ask if he is now satisfied?

Mr. Cannan ends by making an appeal to the students of economics, which I should sincerely wish to support. He asks—

“Ought we not to abandon for a while our researches into the deeper mysteries of our science, and devote ourselves to the task of explaining to a wider public how competition works?”

The more trustworthy economists have done this already. And I can set against Mr. Cannan's severe strictures the common-sense review of the combination scheme in the *New York Nation*, written, I believe, by an eminent professor of economic history, and many others. But before Mr. Cannan can worthily fulfil this important task, he will have to serve his apprenticeship. He will have to study practical affairs as well as abstract theories, and he will have to learn that “competition”

is a wide term, which, while it includes much that is good, also covers a multitude of sins. I know of no better training for such a purpose than to invest all one's available capital in some manufacturing business, where lawless competition has done its best and its worst, and then try to make a decent living out of it. After such an experience we should probably have a very different account of how competition works than that which is sometimes put forward ; at all events, practical men of business in England as well as in America (where they have enjoyed the most complete experience of what unlimited competition really means), are rapidly losing confidence in the shibboleths of the old school of political economy, and are deliberately taking steps to bring the competitive forces under some sort of rational, and I may even add moral, control.

E. J. SMITH.



## THE HOUSING OF THE POOR IN LONDON.

SINCE 1864, when John Ruskin and Miss Octavia Hill began their philanthropic work, up to the last scheme completed a month ago, when Lord Rosebery opened the Shoreditch Municipal Dwellings, there has been a large amount of activity directed towards improving the homes of the poor in London. Our papers and magazines have so often referred to the subject, that no one should now be ignorant of the evils and difficulties that existed and still exist. Health Acts and the creation of open spaces have already transformed many parts of the city. I do not wish, however, to speak of these great public works, carried out by powerful civic bodies, but rather of a humbler though no less necessary kind of work. This paper is, in fact, a plea for better slum management, which has been and can be carried out by educated women.

In order clearly to understand the nature of this work, we should begin by briefly enumerating the various agencies already engaged in dealing with the housing problem. The working classes of London may be roughly divided into three sections: First, the lower middle class employee and the comfortable artisan, earning from 30s. to £3 a week. Secondly, the unskilled labourer, and the workman with intermittent work, or who from some physical or mental defect is unable to earn a high wage. Thirdly, the disorderly, thriftless, lazy, or criminal people. There is, of course, a continual ascending and descending among these classes, and many subdivisions are recognized by the working man himself, the expression used to denote inferiority always being "so-and-so is no class." But only the initiated can perceive the boundary lines.

To house these people many agencies are at work, some good and some bad. In the first rank I would mention the Guinness

Trust and Peabody Trust, whose well-planned, substantially built dwellings are dotted all over London. These companies are subsidized, and are able to let tenements at lower rents than the surrounding properties to poor and respectable tenants whose weekly wage averages from 19s. to 23s. Next I would place the numerous companies conducted on a purely commercial basis, whose properties for the most part consist of huge blocks of buildings (South London is full of them), managed generally by a caretaker on the spot. These cater for the respectable artisan class. Then come the County Council and Municipal Dwellings, whose admirably constructed buildings are an object lesson how we ought to house the skilled artisan, on whose efficiency so much depends. Again there are companies, not purely commercial, which limit their profits to 4 or 5 per cent. in order to use all their surplus funds for philanthropic purposes ; either for building more houses of the same class, or adding to the comfort of their tenants, or for a tenants' benefit fund, in the form of a bonus, or entertainment, or sick fund, as the directors decide. These companies endeavour to house a poor, respectable class, and their rents are slightly below the average.

On the other hand, there is the private builder, who covers every available space on the outskirts of the city with innumerable rows of small two-storied houses, so familiar to us all ; collecting the weekly rents by an agent who naturally takes little interest in the welfare of the tenants. There is also an immense amount of scattered property, managed for private owners from solicitors' offices, a clerk or agent of some kind collecting the rents. This kind of property often comes into the market from want of efficient management, and falls a prey to the man who is largely responsible for the creation of the slums—the house speculator, whether English or Jewish. This sort of person buys not to keep but to sell ; during his brief tenure, he employs underpaid collectors and bad workmen to collect his rents and do his repairs ; and his one idea is to get as much money as he can and spend as little as possible upon his tenants. As a natural result, this system encourages immoral living and overcrowding ; for three families in a room pay better than one,

and thieves, keepers of houses of ill fame, coiners, baby farmers, and all the criminal brood are regular with their rent, in order to avoid coming under the notice of the police. These the speculator keeps sandwiched between his more respectable tenants, contaminating by their evil neighbourhood the morally weak, and providing an easy descent into their own ranks. I do not mean to say that this class of landlord has the monopoly of the worst kind of tenants, but he certainly does tolerate and encourage them. The best housing companies eject them as soon as they are discovered; and the County Council, which clears great areas of this mixed population, will not rehouse them in its new municipal buildings. The problem, then, is to get hold of the slums, and bring the occupants under some sort of effective control. By "slum" I do not mean houses or blocks with bad drains, bulging walls, leaking roofs, and incapable of repair, but simply neglected, filthy houses and blocks filled with disorderly tenants.

In reference to the great difficulty of adequately dealing with this lowest class, the following proposal by Mr. John Mann seems to me to be the only one likely to be effective.

"The power of the landlord for good or evil is practically unique, the influence that he can bring to bear upon his tenants is the most powerful known to them. The landlord is indeed able to say 'go, and he goeth,' 'behave or leave,' and it is this power which I wish to see directed entirely for good. I say, let no bad characters find it possible to get a shelter at all unless under control. They degrade the properties they enter, and they degrade their neighbours; if they will not behave and reform, then they must perforce find a resting-place somewhere under control—in the licensed lodging-house, the workhouse, the lunatic asylum, the infirmary, the labour colony or the gaol. And I suggest that we should also provide another alternative—Municipal Houses, of the plainest sort, for ejected tenants, and under something akin to police supervision. I am emboldened to say that it is better to place upon the rates the cost of new houses for the dangerous classes than to pay in the end perhaps twice as much for them as prisoners, paupers, or lunatics. Remember, I do not say free houses, but rate-aided houses. Of course such buildings would have close attention from various charitable organizations, and cases of real hardship would



be seen readily and dealt with adequately as they cannot be at present.”<sup>1</sup>

In connection with Mr. Mann's remarks, I should say, as the result of my own experience, that the alleged immediate need of houses for the working people of London has been exaggerated. It is said that the need is so urgent that all the old agencies have proved insufficient, and the only way to get our people decently and cheaply housed is to sweep away vested interests, and give our public authorities powers to acquire land and build a new London whose seventh story will rise above the fog.

But, in fact, I have never found that my respectable tenants could not find a house, though I have found that the disreputable tenant I wished to send away could not find one. He is the crux of the situation, and it is for him that the authorities must provide houses of an absolutely different kind from those that they are at present providing. To deal with this class is the chief problem before us, and I am convinced that it cannot be solved by private individuals or private companies. On the other hand, housing companies are quite competent to lodge poor but respectable tenants in comfort at moderate rents in spite of the great rise in the cost of wages and materials, and yet pay their shareholders a satisfactory dividend. I know of an excellent company which is housing people at cheaper rates than the public authorities; and it is not surprising to find that all this talk of taking the housing of London out of private hands has helped for the time to paralyze private enterprise. One housing company has actually sold its property for fear of possible confiscation in the future.

Meanwhile, much can be done by individual effort to alleviate the present distress by helping to remake the homes of the people; for it is possible to purchase whole blocks and streets, which are at present noisome slums, and to establish a beneficent rule over them by the extraordinary powers belonging to a landlord. And for this purpose women have special aptitudes.

<sup>1</sup> *Better Houses for the Poor: Will They Pay?* [Anderson. Glasgow, 1899.]

We need not forget the warning, "Tis good to have a giant's strength, but tyrannous to use it as a giant;" but in this work, among the decivilized sections of society, a good despotism is for a time the only cure. Women are born rulers, if we may accept Ruskin's authority. Not every man aspires to be a king, but every woman aspires to be a queen; and it is this tendency towards rule that makes her of use in a London slum. In such a quarter no rule worthy of the name exists at all; but every man does what is right in his own eyes, be it to break every panel in the doors of his rented house, or all his own furniture, or his wife's head, or to keep his neighbours awake all night by a horrid din.

Women's peculiar work has always been keeping house; it is now almost an instinct, and house management is only house-keeping on a large scale. Instead of one house to keep clean, wholesome, and happy, some of us have two or three hundred; instead of one dispute to settle among the children, we may have a score to settle among the tenants; instead of £10 house-keeping money, we may have £100. We may have a staff of workmen to look after instead of a staff of servants, and we may be held responsible for the wholesome condition and moral tone of our tenants, workmen, and houses as for the welfare of our own house, children, and servants. And for this wider sphere of work we need the same qualifications—orderliness, power of rapid judgement, eyes that see, perception of character, economy in buying, knowledge of sanitation, and, above all, the capacity to exercise a firm rule which will fit itself to the needs of the human creatures for whom we are working.

I shall now give some examples of what is being done in this direction. About fifteen months ago a block was brought under the notice of an excellent housing company, which was in a very bad state, materially and morally. The company bought the block and put a lady in charge. The lady kept the same caretaker and a great proportion of the old tenants. She has had it in hand a year, and it is now in perfect order, clean and quiet, as pleasant a place to live in as South London can afford. Now, quite recently a master

workman in my employ told me that he used to work at this place; and on being asked why the former company had sold the property: "Oh!" he replied, "they could make nothing of it; it was a shocking place. I refused to work there myself, for all my tools disappeared. The place was full of thieves and disreputable characters. I have found sixteen sleeping in a room. My company was glad to sell." Management has changed all that.

Again, a lady I trained took over a Westminster slum eight or nine months ago. This slum had been the despair of the clergy and the district-visitor for long years. An influential local committee was formed, which rented the property, and appointed this lady to manage it. The houses were got into thorough repair, a great proportion of the tenants were kept, and in eight months the slum had vanished. The committee are now considering the advisability of renting an adjoining slum.

Now, in order to explain exactly how this transformation is accomplished, I had better give my own experience. Eighteen months ago I went to see an affable solicitor, who, I had heard, was the owner of some very disorderly blocks in the city. I told him that some tenants of mine in an adjoining block could get no rest at night because of the brawling and quarrelling that continually took place in his block, and that the conduct on the roof of boys and rough girls among the thieving gang was a great scandal. He was quite polite, and said that he would inquire into these things; but he also informed me that he never went near the place himself, that his clerk got the rents from the caretaker, and that he was satisfied with the rent he got, and with what he knew of the place, and so on. However, though he promised to see if what I complained of could be remedied, nothing was done. Shortly afterwards these blocks were bought by a good company, and I was put in charge. Then, when several thefts and assaults occurred, I went to the police-station and caused great amusement by my complaints and an appeal for more police supervision. "The place had been like that for eleven years," I was told. "It would never



be any better. There had always been a gang of roughs, and when one gang was dispersed another formed. There was not one honest man or woman in the whole block; they were either thieves or re-sellers of stolen goods. The police could not interfere with the gambling on the stairs, nor with bad characters sleeping on the stairs, etc."

Next I wrote to Scotland Yard, but only received the reply that round these special blocks there was a reign of peace and security. Happily within a few days of this reply, a bad burglary took place in the immediate neighbourhood, and we had a "fixed-point" representative of the law for a month beside the block. This gave us a little peace to begin work.

The dirt of the courts, stairs, roofs, and rooms was indescribable. Few of the gas-lamps would light; and to get the tenants to clean their doorways and stairs cost many a weary hour (this is part of the discipline we always impose). To keep the roofs closed was also a work of time, iron bars and chains being wrenched away again and again. To clear the stairs of night sleepers also was a great difficulty. At last the respectable tenants leagued together to wash the stairs down the last thing at night, so that the poor drunken creatures were obliged to go to the night shelters. To disperse the gang of thieving, gambling roughs was the hardest thing of all, but at last they too were broken up; some went to work, others into the army, while tenants who sheltered them were warned that they would get notice if they persisted in this course. Some of them were really nice boys, led away by the bolder and older lads who had been in prison.

Scolding, threatening, coaxing, sending away after trial the perfectly lawless; lighting up, shutting up back ways, white-washing, cleaning, curing smoky chimneys, putting in good fire-places, putting on bright papers, painting the outside; insisting on getting into every house every week, never ignoring an unwashed doorstep, or a child's dirty face, or a badly kept room, or an unpaid rent; talking incessantly, and making the people feel that talking would lead to action unless there were improvement; and behind all this the despotic power of the landlord—

this persistent policy has in a year turned this block into a cheerful, orderly building, where little children can grow up unharmed by evil sights and sounds. The improvement generally comes quite suddenly, often just when we are beginning to despair. The old bad name seems to peel off the place never to return; the struggling respectable poor in the neighbourhood find us out and wait for our empty room; the old tenant begins to realize that it is a privilege to live in the old place now so changed; flowers and ferns appear on the window-sills, and clean curtains go up at the windows; and when a pleasant-looking woman meets us on the stairs, saying, "Whenever I have to go out for the children's dinner, you will find my door open and the rent lying on the table," then we feel that we are again among a people who dwell securely.

Now, out of all the original tenants in this place, I have only been able to keep one half; but as already mentioned, I had to deal with a particularly degraded class, who, the police said, were all criminals. Most of the people ejected drifted back to the workhouse, and then returned after a time to claim their poor furniture which I had kept stored for them, some of them to start again and do better, I am certain. Another comparison is equally encouraging. When I took possession, every tenant in the block was several pounds in debt; but now only a few shillings are owing. In cases of eviction we invariably find that the neighbouring tenants are on our side, though the kindness they show to the evicted tenant is very great, and a great help to us. They often for a time take in the younger children and give them food and clothing.

Once we have established our rule we have very little trouble. The tenants rely upon its justice, and they never resent its authority as they would that of an outsider, even a district-visitor. Going for a reference the other day, the door at which I knocked was only opened about an inch. But when I told the woman what I had come about, open went the door. "I am sure, ma'am, I beg your pardon, ma'am, I thought you were the district lady." Again, I went to see a woman in Hoxton Market, who was a would-be tenant for some empty rooms I had. I

asked a great many questions, getting no answer. At last I said, "Well, as you will not tell me anything either about yourself or your husband, I am afraid I shall not be able to let you have the rooms." "Well," said the woman, "didn't I think you did wish to know a lot for a Church lady?" and out streamed all the information I required.

At first our relationship with our people is only one of authority, but soon it becomes one of respect and friendship. For instance, in a crowded close in St. Luke's last summer, I went up to a group of women to get information about a tenant. A nice bright woman among this group of ragged gossips asked if I had any rooms to let. "Yes," I said; "do you want one?" "No, no," she replied, "I would never leave my landladies, they are good ones, and nobody wishes to leave them." Upon further inquiry it appeared that they were two friends of mine, who look after large buildings in Islington. Moreover, besides this strong friendly feeling towards those who are at the head of affairs, we find that a peculiar friendliness or *esprit de corps* develops among the tenants themselves. On one estate that I have managed for years, whenever there is a case of real distress, the people of their own accord get up some sort of fund for its relief, always coming to me first for consultation and approval. They always speak proudly of what they have done, feeling sure of sympathy. Also, after some years of such management, there grows up a tacit understanding among the tenants as to what sort of tenant and what sort of conduct is to be tolerated or not tolerated. Public opinion is formed, and we are told on our weekly visit that such and such things have been decided, and that they will not allow such "goings-on" in this building or estate. In this way the place becomes self-governing, and the manager only appears to be carrying out the wishes of the tenants. The following incident happened recently to one of my friends engaged in the work. The tenants had found out that there was a woman money-lender in their building, who was causing great mischief by lending money at exorbitant rates, one poor woman actually having paid £6 10s. for a loan of 30s. My friend promptly had



the woman turned out, and so stopped the mischief. Similarly, in other ways, the salutary powers of the landlord can be used with good effect. Cruelty to children or wife-beating can be put down by the public opinion of the tenants in a well-managed place. It is more difficult, however, to deal with drunkards. I must confess that I try to keep drunken tenants as long as possible; but it is always with the consent of the other tenants, and with the full understanding that the drunkards are on their trial, and that the other tenants will do their best to keep them from temptation.

One other aspect of the subject remains to be mentioned. The lives of these London people are not dull. They thrill (if I may use the expression) with low tragedy; excitement runs through all their days—accidents, sickness, death, a husband or friend falling out of work, and similar incidents are perennial sources of emotion and interest. They live within touch of hundreds of others—in the factory, the cheap train, and the crowded block—and the daily tragedy soon becomes common property. Many of us try to counteract this rather unwholesome excitement by endeavouring to introduce more refined and elevating pleasures, such as window gardening, days in the country, libraries, and recreation clubs. And in doing so, it is emphatically true that it is our special work as landlords which gives us the esteem and affection of our people. I was very much struck by a recent instance of this. An old couple, the man eighty and the woman seventy years of age, have been my tenants for thirteen years. I heard that they were both ill, the wife dangerously so; and as my conscience was uneasy because for this particular couple I had not done anything outside my work as landlord, excepting an occasional friendly chat, I went off to see them. They simply overwhelmed me with gratitude. Was it true, they asked, that I was going away? They hoped that they would both be dead before any such change took place, and earnestly assured me, "Now we know we are not forgotten." One reason why this relationship of landlord and tenant is peculiarly pleasant is because the benefits conferred by the landlord

impose no sense of obligation upon the tenant. We may give our tenants many material comforts which they receive as a right, and properly so, while returning an equivalent in the form of rent and good conduct. It is always difficult to give and to receive generously, and consequently the relationship between the poor and the rich is often spoiled; but landlord and tenant can give and receive equally, and their relationship becomes one of mutual respect and friendliness.

One more story, which illustrates the effect of a day's outing, may be found instructive. We received a grant from one of the housing companies to take a party of fifty tenants to Kew Gardens. The day was a perfect day in June, and the gardens were looking their loveliest. I especially noticed one of the women wandering off by herself, going slowly round the flowerbeds, absorbed in all the beauty. The other women enjoyed the tea immensely, and seemed very happy, but this one obviously enjoyed the opportunity to a larger extent. Next week when I went round, she greeted me with, "Oh, to think that we have to live here, when the world is so beautiful! I never knew it was so beautiful!" Later on, after my return from a month's holiday, I found Mrs. D. at her door waiting for me. "Come in. I have been longing for you to come back. I want to ask you something. Promise you will do it." I could not promise; but at last out came the request. "When the rooms at the corner are empty, will you let me have them? I know they are more rent; but I will work and work, and never let my rent run." "Why do you want these rooms so much?" I asked. "Don't you know?" she replied. "You see the tree from the window there." It was a plane tree in front of one of the City churches a little distance off, and she could get a peep of it over the yard of a neighbouring warehouse. Soon after the rooms became vacant, and Mrs. D. got them. Up to the time of the Kew party this woman had been rather careless and dirty, now her eyes are opened.

In conclusion, I should point out again that the control of these slums is acquired by purchase; and there are many hundreds of them in the market now. Some years ago, a lady,

experienced in house management, began buying this kind of property, and also persuaded some of her friends to buy; and since then the process of reclamation has continually increased in extent and effectiveness. It is certainly one of the most hopeful ways in which we may help to recreate the homes of the poor; and I need not say that all of us who are engaged in the work would be glad to train new-comers in all the practical work of the profession, and to help others to purchase house property by giving all the information we possess. It is a peculiarly sound and secure investment. Those who buy judiciously will have plenty of money to make their houses comfortable homes for the people who rent them, and even to give bonuses and pleasure parties to their tenants; and, besides all this, they should obtain as good a return on their capital as can be got elsewhere. There is also, of course, great need of more earnest and active workers—capable, energetic young women, willing to throw themselves into this work, and anxious to love and serve the poor households of our country. We must all feel what a dark blot it is on our reputation as English women to have these hideous homes in our great metropolis. At any rate, let us do something to decrease the evil. London, no doubt, is vast, and it must be a long time before all that is vile and disgraceful shall be abolished; but the facts I have stated prove beyond a doubt that it is quite practicable to obtain possession of these disorderly places and introduce a righteous rule.

Alice Lewis.



## CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP.

THE demand for Christian Citizenship is a general demand which has appeared, with more or less vigour and effectiveness, throughout the Christian world. This takes two forms. On the one hand, there is the demand from the side of the State, that citizens should be Christians; that citizens who have professed citizenship, and who are taking part in the social life of the country, should have in them moral and spiritual convictions, and, above all, should have in them moral and spiritual convictions which take their origin in Christ our Lord. The demand comes to us from every department of social life that citizens should be of such a character, and that those who are themselves religious should bring into play in the social sphere the great moral force which religion supplies. On the other hand, there is the demand on the Christian side that those who are Christians, those who already hold the great Creed and possess the spiritual convictions of Christ, should be true citizens, and should come out into the world of citizenship and take their places in the ranks of those who are working out the ideals of citizenship here in our British society.

This demand is specially urgent just now; for these two conceptions of social duty have been for many a long year practically divorced, and this for many reasons. There are, first, the political reasons which sprang up in the years when the country was employed in emancipating citizenship from ecclesiastical fetters. During the thirties and the forties the great work of freedom expressed itself chiefly in saying, "Men shall be free to be citizens, whatever their fate may be." That was the right belief, and had the right to be enforced; but for a long time while it was winning its way that was the cause which separated to a certain extent citizenship from religion—that is,

from authorized ecclesiastical tradition. It demanded freedom for its citizens, that Parliament should be open and free to every one, no matter what his creed, even although he had no creed at all. That was a perfectly justifiable movement, but, of course, in the form it took it tended to isolate citizenship from religion. It tended to divide the two in men's minds; it tended to suggest that citizens might go on and work for themselves, and leave the whole question of religion to be treated as a thing apart. It was a day of rather cheap intellectuality, when people did not look very deep, and it seemed to them that they could be good citizens without religion; and hence, since in theory religion and politics stood apart, citizenship and religion were isolated from one another, and it was supposed that they could go on in that isolation.

Then, again, they were isolated through what we always speak of now as the great industrial revolution. That involved a vast change from the old system of industry, when the various trades were for the most part small and local, and a man worked in his own home, where he had some dignity round about him, and where he was something more than a mere wage-earner. He worked where he was surrounded by all his traditions and associations, and by those who knew him. Trade was mostly confined within these centres where people stood together. The employer and the employed knew one another; their fathers had worked and grown up together. A man's industry was enclosed within the relationship which constituted his humanity. That is healthy; that is a situation in which industry is ennobled by the human associations which moralize it. All about him lay his rights to citizenship and to his place in his church or chapel. So a man worked in the midst of that which was his home, and he worked, therefore, in his integrity as a man. With the great industrial revolution the whole of that was broken down, and all the human relationships which entered into industry tended to be severed. Men were herded together in vast swarms, here and there upon the earth wherever coal or iron could be found, wherever machines were going. They were unknown to their neighbours; all the old homely

associations were gone, and all the ordinary human relationships which made their industry part and parcel of their lives were forgotten. These great cities grew without shape, without soul, without spirit, without humanity. Industry found itself, as it were, alone in the world, isolated from all the conditions which could make it human. Employers and employed drifted further and further apart. Men passing hither and thither up and down the country got out of touch with all the relationships which could give them security in times of accident and danger, and could make them feel behind them the dignity and honour of home. So men lost their personal value, and industry became a chaos.

Hence it was that the great swarming populations that did the work had to put out the whole of their strength merely in securing some sort of local status for themselves; some right of combination, some sort of co-operation with one another, which would enable them to live together as men, and which would make them feel that they had some foothold on solid ground. In this effort to create anew their life for themselves, all their energies were absorbed in winning their own footing, in securing their right to combine; they had no time to look round at anything else, no place for anything but the necessities of the industrial struggle. They had to learn to hold together, and to acquire the discipline that was involved in Unionism. This took up all their mind and strength. They had no time to ask about religion, and no force to give to the task of discovering what more was involved in being men. It is instructive to notice that even now when an active trade unionist becomes an earnest Churchman he generally has to give up some of his former zeal for trade unionism. And when you ask why, you find that the very effort to be religious costs him so much that he cannot do both things at once to the same extent. Before, all that he had left over from the energy spent on his work was given out for his fellows. Now, he is engaged in learning to pray, in the task of finding his way up to God. And who does not know what an effort that requires when there is little or no encouragement with it? It costs a man much, and he often



finds that he cannot say his prayers, cannot live in contact with the spiritual world if at the same time he has to devote a large part of his leisure to extra social duties. Thus in the difficult work of building up their own co-operative and trade societies, the workmen had to utilize the whole of their surplus energy when the day's work was done, and industry became isolated from all contact with spiritual things in its absorption in the effort to secure its own footing.

On the other hand there were the religious people. They, too, had felt the pressure of this great industrial revolution. They, too, were in face of an entirely new situation—huge multitudes out of their homes, herded anywhere, dumped down on the ground, without God, without hope, without faith. They had to find some way to all the great centres of population springing up on every side, and to wake them up. First of all came the great Evangelical revival, and then the great Catholic movement which followed it—sending men out just to save men's souls. The whole force of the Church was being spent in the single task of attempting to reach the multitudes that had passed out of its fold. For thirty, forty, and fifty years it was all that the Church could do to break itself free from the fetters that hindered its work, to find for itself new methods of reaching men's souls, and to distribute its energies over the wide area that had been so long neglected. That took up all our time and all our forces, while the Church stood aloof from the industrial evolution going on by its side; relieving, no doubt, the sick and needy, helping it here and there with comfort and succour, but never attempting to understand it, never taking part in that great development of human life which is gathered up in the words "British industry."

So the isolation went on. And some of the people called political economists kept on telling us, "For goodness' sake keep apart. This industrial revolution should be allowed to go on like a machine. Everything will come right if you will only leave it alone; and the worst will happen if you people with your sentimental hearts should attempt to interfere with the process." Let us remember that they believed that, and

believed it not as a grim truth that is preached to us now, but with visions and hopes of rosy optimism. They thought of the whole industry of the world spreading peace far and wide, and imagined that as commerce and science became the ruling forces of civilization, then the war-drum would be no longer heard. As a fact, we have been at war ever since. Science, though it has done great things for us, has increased the resources of war, and we know well where we stand at this hour. They thought otherwise; and they thought that their dream would come to pass by the simple process of isolating the world of industry by itself. It had its own laws of supply and demand, its own mechanical routine, and the great thing was, "Keep your hands off; do not interfere; do not come in with your well-meaning hearts and consciences. Isolate, isolate!" So while we were isolated from the industrial world by the pressing claims of our own peculiar work, we were also further isolated by the influence of those who held such views. If we ever looked at the poor industrial multitudes who were toiling on the other side, we were warned back by the professors. So we crept back, and contented ourselves with giving a few flannels and blankets and a little soup.

But now there has come about in every direction the great reversal, the great reaction in which we are now living. In the first place, it came home to the reformers and to the philanthropists. They began to see that the old comfortable formula, that these great ills and woes that lay so heavy on industry were sure to disappear if only the mechanical laws were left to work out by themselves, had been falsified by facts and experience. The beneficent laws had not worked out their beneficence. On the contrary, we found that the social distress was worsening; and not we only, but some of the wise professors also found that this unbridled competition tended to produce the evils which it was supposed to remove. There were our great cities—London, for instance—becoming more and more horrible every year, the working classes being more and more driven down by the mere force of competition. So we began to see that the evils which we had thought were going to disappear as

a matter of course were signals sent up to show us that we were on the wrong tack. A change went on all round; and it was the greatest of our scientific men who suddenly announced that in the world of civilization and morality there was really no room for a blind trust in such phrases as the "survival of the fittest" and "free competition in the open market." On the contrary, as Professor Huxley pointed out,<sup>1</sup> the whole of civilization is an attempt to correct the law of the survival of the fittest and bring it under moral control, to lay human hands on the bare laws of cosmic nature, and to direct them so that as many as possible shall be made fit to survive; that the weak shall be made strong in order that they may survive, and that the strength of the strong, far from being given them in order to assert themselves, shall be given to the service of the weak that they may gain by that strength.

Gradually, new light dawned upon us. The chief interest of the economists had turned from the question of the production of wealth, and it was seen that economic science must take in the whole question of distribution—how wealth was to be diffused over the widest possible area, and to reach the greatest number of people. But distribution involves quite other characteristics than the mere question of production. Distribution means interference; it involves questions of equality and of moral right—"here is too much money in this place; put it there." The State began to intervene, by graduated income taxes and death duties, in order to redistribute wealth more equitably. And there was another economic reason drawing the State into the field of positive intervention. All industry was passing into the hands of Companies. That, no doubt, is absolutely necessary, for the markets have become so vast that a private individual can hardly venture in on his own account. The whole thing is on so gigantic a scale that it is beyond his capacity. But what is the result? The moment a private house of business is transformed into a company there is an end to the kindly relation between employer and employed; it means the blotting out of human relationships

<sup>1</sup> In his *Romanes Lecture*.



and of moral obligations. It is commonly supposed that a Company possesses no conscience, but this is certainly a mistake. A Company's conscience is under obligation to the shareholders who have entrusted their money to its care. This means that the shareholders are now the employers, pledged to all the moral obligations to which employers should feel themselves to be liable. But where are these shareholders to be found? They do not know themselves. You cannot arrive at the employer, you cannot fix the responsibility upon any one man. And therefore there has been more and more necessity for State interference. From the first great movement under Lord Shaftesbury to this present hour we have been legislating year after year in regard to the conditions of industry; and now there is hardly a single industry that has not to be inspected, its sanitary conditions tested, and every little detail of its management considered. The State is bound to fulfil all those human responsibilities which have vanished with the organization of industrial and commercial Companies. It is forced more and more to intervene in order to secure the primary necessity of its own existence, *i.e.* that its men and women should be happy and healthy, and should be living honourable and free lives.

There was another great discovery made by the economists which is well worth noticing. It was found that, far from these things being governed by mechanical laws, men had stood together and insisted upon a certain standard of living; that what helped to determine a man's wage was the value he put upon himself. Whatever the standard of living might be, the wage tended to rise to that level. And John Stuart Mill and others showed us that it was the most fatal thing in the world to undermine that standard; that we ought rather to raise men's estimation of themselves, and encourage them to increase the number of things they require for a full and vigorous life. We are just discovering a special instance of the force of this law in the case of women. Why are women getting so miserable a wage? Because they have so low a standard of living. As soon as women value themselves more they will get

higher wages. Now, this is a great point, for it proves that the moral will from within the man or the woman has some power to determine the rate of wages which they receive.

These facts, then, go to show that the isolation of industry is a mistake. We must interfere, we must intervene. We must do so on behalf of the moral welfare of the whole people. We must insist that they shall have healthy homes, leisure to breathe freely, and some wholesome recreation. These human and moral considerations are everything in the world of industry, and the main purpose of our economic system should be to vitalize the energies of men and women, and help them to live together in healthy and moral fellowship.

But when we begin to speak of intervention and distribution, we land ourselves on new ground. If we are going to intervene on behalf of good living for the nation, we must have some idea of what constitutes good living. If we are going to pass laws with a distinct intention of producing certain results, we must have a clear idea of what we are after. And in passing such laws, not only must we have a moral idea, a moral intention, and a just sense of what human life is worth, but we must also consider the people upon whom those laws are going to be laid, because the more we pile up such regulations, the harder is the strain laid upon them. Take, for instance, a factory owner, hard pressed by his competitors, and worried by the periodical visits of an inspector. Every year he gets a new Blue Book requiring a thousand more things that must be supplied, half of which he will regard as needless, and all of which will involve expense. Or, again, if the State is going to intervene on behalf of improved sanitary arrangements, that means additional rates laid upon the small householders; and a rise of rates is always irritating to most people. The moment we attempt intervention we are laying burdens on men, and few men will stand these burdens or endure them for a moment, unless they have consciences that respond to the law. There is need, then, for a higher conscience on the part of employers and ratepayers. An employer who is a good citizen and a good Christian will understand the demands made on him by the law; he will

recognize that it is all for the good of the community, and will bear even the bother of an inspection with an easy conscience. And the ratepayer, who is always so apt to get restless, and vote against any rise in the rates, will understand, when once he has acquired a conscience, that he is bearing his part as a citizen in the national responsibilities, and for the good of his weaker brethren. He will no longer be afraid to come forward and vote for the men who raise the rates.

Now, there is one problem—the housing of the working classes—which, more than any other, has brought this matter forward. In London there are eight hundred thousand people to whom a home is absolutely denied—at least, anything that could properly be called a home. There are eight hundred thousand people living under over-crowded conditions—that is, two or more in one room; and of these there are thousands living four or five, or more, in a room, a room that has to be everything: the sole home for the children, and the only place where the dead may lie. In short, home life is being wrecked in London; and with home life, what has gone? There has gone everything that goes to the making of human character; everything that builds up moral force, and gives will and tenderness and power to human life. To eight hundred thousand people those conditions are gone which alone can enable them to be true citizens of the State. But, surely, if the pressure of industry necessitates the abolition of home conditions, it is our duty to step forward and refuse to allow that pressure to continue. Let us insist that men and women and children shall have homes at any cost; and let us be ready to pay the necessary price for having a social conscience. If these multitudes must have homes, it means that rates must rise; it means that municipalities must put forth new powers, and this cannot be done without extra expense. It means that more and more people must be prepared to stand the strain of increased municipal expenditure in order that the weaker brethren may have decent homes.

Every movement we make in the direction of intervention



means a burden laid on the conscience of the strong, it means a demand for citizens with religious and moral convictions. Where are these people with moral and religious convictions—citizens who understand what is going forward, men and women who know what is required of them, and who will endure the strain that is laid upon their consciences? Where are they? What are the religious people about? That is what is being asked to-day. The State is turning on all sides to religious people for help and support. As the Bishop of London said at the Church Congress, "In every great social movement now you see a pathetic eagerness to observe whether the religious people will come forward and take it up. Philanthropists have been hitherto content to draw on the balance at their bankers'." By that the bishop meant that they used to draw on the moral conscience which they supposed was about in the world. Now they are drawing very heavily on that "balance at their bankers." Where is that conscience to come from? Where but from religion? where except in the Name of Christ? And so they turn to us, and ask, "What is the Church of Christ about?"

Of course, as I have already said, it has been engaged on its own work for a very long time, and that work has laid a great strain upon it. No wonder it has been rather absorbed in its own interests. Nevertheless, during the time of its work it has been learning several things which prepared it for the new task laid upon it. It has been learning the great lesson of corporate union. Religious people began to understand how religion binds people together into corporate fellowship with one another. They recognized the demand that religion shall not be merely individual; it belongs to a community, and only in a religious society can conscience be fully developed. They have learned, again, how closely body and spirit are knit together; and nearly everybody who cares for souls to be saved knows that their bodies must also be saved with their souls. We have learned this through many a hard lesson. Those who are at work in great cities have found that the life of the soul to which we would appeal has become a practical impossibility

for the masses through their sheer exhaustion after labour. There is nothing left of the energy that could go out into faith, and we can only fight on—almost despairingly—against the apathy of a vast multitude exhausted with labour. We must demand, then, that these men and women shall be given that leisure from labour which will leave them with some energy unspent to give to their God. We cannot bring them to believe in Christ, we cannot impress upon them the meaning of Nazareth and the Incarnation unless they know a little of what is meant by an earthly home, or have some idea of what fatherhood and motherhood imply.

Finally, with the sense of responsibility should come the knowledge of the task laid upon us; and the closer we approach to it the more we realize that we cannot undertake it unless we thoroughly understand what is going on. A great industrial movement like this is not a thing that we can drop into at random. It is a vast movement by itself, moving on by a debate of its own. And we ought to be inside that movement, learning how to behave there, finding out, by living experience, what wants doing, and how it can be done, and how to avoid making any sentimental mistakes. This is the vital condition—to be inside the movement, so as to feel it, to take part in the argument, to hear all about what is going on, to hear what other wise people are saying. It makes all the difference between talking sense and talking nonsense whether we are inside of the debate or outside it. At all events, we cannot go on much longer attempting to preach the gospel of peace and goodwill in the face of facts here on earth which absolutely deny it. We cannot talk of a God of love to those who have never seen a sign of any one who loves them. We cannot expect them to believe that there is a God who cares for their souls when they cannot believe that there is any one who cares for their bodies. It is impossible for us to carry our gospel forward unless human conduct tallies with the message that we have to deliver. We must have here in England a love which speaks of the gospel that comes as good news to men, a love which bears witness to Christ. Let each religious

body bring its own contribution. Since all Christians desire that their practical conduct in the industrial sphere should be in close and intimate touch with their personal creed, then, whatever be our creed, let us hold by that creed, and apply it. That is the contribution which is required from each one of us, and for which we shall be held responsible.

H. S. HOLLAND.



## THE ORGANIZATION OF COSTERMONGERS AND STREET-VENDORS IN MANCHESTER.

THE history of "The Manchester and District Costermongers and Street-vendors' Trade-protection Society" opens a new chapter in the records of trade unionism. It is true this union, which was instituted not much more than a year ago, was not quite the first association of the kind, for costermongers and street-sellers in London, Brighton, Portsmouth, and one or two other towns, had already formed societies of their own. But the Manchester union, though younger than these, and in some particulars modelled after them, has had a career more interesting and more promising for the future than any similar federation.

It is to be noted that this union embraces two kinds of traders, who are often loosely classed together as "hawkers." This identification is mistaken, for the fact is that the costermonger proper drives an entirely different sort of business from that which is pursued by the street-seller. Both are alike in possessing no business premises, and thus escaping the ordinary burdens of taxation (though they have burdens of their own), but the similarity between them ends at this point. The street-sellers have beats, or, as they call them, "pitches," but no regular customers. They deal in toys, flowers, fruit, newspapers, collar-studs, pantomime songs, and so forth. Of these branches of the trade the selling of newspapers supplies the most satisfactory income, and flower-selling the worst. The fruit-sellers do a good deal of business in the strawberry season, but little at other times. Collar-studs represent a stable but very small amount of trade, while toys and pantomime songs are naturally in vogue from December to February, and are not often on sale in the streets except at this season. Street-sellers

are a leisured class. The newspaper-sellers seldom begin their work before noon, and rarely continue it after eight or nine o'clock at night; and within the working hours there are frequent intervals which may be filled up with "pitch or toss" and "banker," or other forms of gambling, for which the street-seller has a large and discriminating vocabulary. A smart boy can make from 12s. to 14s. a week at newspaper-selling in Manchester. A man makes rather less at the same business. The flower-sellers, following a very risky and uncertain business, are, in general, in the most unsound position both economically and morally. They are less robust and more fickle than other traders in the streets.

Now, the costermongers have regular customers and a tolerably fixed trade. They supply miscellaneous articles—meat, fish, vegetables, paraffin, oil-cloth, brushes, and what not—to small householders in the poorest streets, and for the most part they provide goods of excellent quality. The fact is frequently pointed out that poor people buy at a high price; but what is often forgotten is that, especially as regards food, they get good value for their money, though they may spoil what they have bought by bad cooking, and waste it by extravagant consumption. A person of moderate but comfortable income, who as an inspector or on an errand of charity visits the poorest districts of the city, is often startled at finding that the ordinary evening meal, and still more the Sunday dinner, in workmen's cottages is made up of things more delicate and more costly than his own table affords. And these excellent articles of food are supplied largely by costermongers. It has, indeed, been very frankly confessed to us by costermongers themselves that there are some very sorry exceptions to this general rule. A costermonger will sometimes buy up in the market a cartful of food, which, though not at the moment condemned, would certainly be condemned as unfit for eating if it remained a very little longer on the stalls, and he will sell this cheaply, but at an adequate profit, in a district which he does not himself habitually work. This nefarious practice is sometimes crowned with a twofold success; the seller makes his immediate gains,

and he also damages the custom of the man upon whose ground he is, as it were, poaching. With adroitness he may even oust his rival by coming a second time into the same streets with good articles which he sells ostentatiously on his account, while making out that when selling the unsatisfactory foods he was only the agent of his foe. Happily, this form of piracy is not common.

Another important difference between street-vendors and costermongers lies in the fact that the former are almost always the inhabitants of common lodging-houses, while the latter are more often than not the tenants of small houses.

It is plain, therefore, that costermongers are a much stronger body, and much more likely to make good use of a federation than the street-sellers. But it is remarkable that when the Manchester Costermongers and Street-vendors' Union was initiated, it was the street-sellers, and not the costermongers, who first took up the movement. They had, indeed, most to gain by the formation of the union, but they have shown themselves the least patient of the organization necessary for maintaining it. Nevertheless, the union kept alive, and after some months of a struggling existence a branch society was established, in which the majority of the members are costermongers proper; and this is now much more vigorous than the first society, and has a larger number of names on its register. The success of the association has been so considerable that the energetic Manchester secretary, a pieman in the chief market, has been able to go extend the limits of his province, and to organize a similar association at Blackburn, and is now hopeful of forming yet another at Bradford.

The chief objects which the union sets before itself are enumerated in the following statement, printed on the card of membership, which also explains something of the organization of the society. We quote throughout with entire fidelity to the original, a document interesting both in style and substance.



*"Abstract of Rules.*

"5. (a) This society is formed for watching all new Bills introduced into Parliament and bye-laws from municipal authorities which would, if become law, interfere with the free liberty of speech, viz. Outcry in the public streets, roads, etc., or in any way prevent the liberty of free trading of the members of this society. That the society shall contest such Bills as will unduly interfere with our rights, privileges, and customs.

"(b) To provide legal assistance to members against frivolous, malicious, and vexatious prosecutions.

"(c) Also to recover compensation for damages to any trading articles, stock, cattle, or vehicles belonging to, or hired by members of the society.

"(d) To advance to members of the society small sums of money up to £2, at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest, for the purpose of assisting them in their various businesses; also to help members to purchase their stock at first cost.

"(e) To secure a sum of money (£3) in the event of death to a free member.

"12. The necessary expenses of the management of the society shall be provided for by the payment of 4*d.* per quarter per member, but, if insufficient, a further sum may be levied on the adoption of a resolution to that effect passed at a general meeting called for that purpose.

"30. The society undertakes no responsibility for any costermonger or street-vendor who is not a member, such as anybody employed by a member of this society.

"32. The society shall not be liable to give any assistance whatever in cases where the member, upon proof being furnished, was under the influence of drink at the time when the act was alleged to have taken place."

The union is first a warlike organization, and in the second place a friendly society. On paper, the emphasis rests on the first-named element of its character. To preserve "the free liberty of speech," the right of "outcry," and the "liberty of free trading;" to resist the passing of any new bye-laws which might threaten the interests of the society; and to "provide legal assistance to members against frivolous, malicious, and vexatious prosecutions"—these objects are set in the forefront of the document. In some towns, if we may judge by reports

which have been printed in the several local papers, even by friends of the movement, some of these ends have been pursued with a good deal of noise, and the right of "outcry" has been vindicated by rowdyism. In Manchester such methods have not been adopted. The Manchester union, indeed, existing in theory chiefly for belligerent purposes, has become in fact a very useful friendly society, the members of which are able to insure against sickness and loss of property. So far as it is a warlike association its operations have hitherto been purely defensive. This is one of its peculiarities. This defensive policy has indeed had a notable result, inasmuch as the convictions in the local police-courts against street-sellers and costermongers have decreased at the rate of 25<sup>1</sup> per cent. per annum since the formation of the union.

The costermonger and the street-seller are not unwilling to take an aggressive part; on the contrary, they would enjoy a battle, but they are at a loss to find a definite enemy. Their hand seems to be against every man, and every man's hand against them, but they cannot fix upon an individual to attack. Their enemies are the public in general, represented by policemen and magistrates, and the shopkeepers,<sup>2</sup> who sometimes argue that their business is damaged by these vagabond traders, who pay no rents. These foes are vexatiously invulnerable.

Another striking characteristic of this society is to be remarked. Among street-sellers themselves there are three divisions. There are, first, the independent men who buy for themselves and sell for themselves, carrying their goods in their arms, in baskets, or on hand-carts. Then there are master-sellers who employ those who are called "commission-sellers." The latter form the third division, and do not buy or sell on their own account, but get so much in the shilling on what they sell for their employers, these employers themselves being street-sellers, or in some

<sup>1</sup> The secretary of the union tells us that we might put the decrease at 50 per cent., but we prefer to give the lower figure, which, after consultation with the police authorities, we find to be a safe estimate.

<sup>2</sup> An unwritten, but carefully observed, law of their own forbids street-sellers dealing in any commodity to "stand" in front of a shop in which goods of the same sort are sold.

rare cases costermongers. Now, it is a curious fact that a considerable number both of master-sellers and of commission-sellers are to be found in the union, side by side with the independent sellers who work for themselves and employ no agents. There are, of course, points upon which the interests of these three groups are not identical. For example, the master-sellers wish to keep the rate of commission as low as possible, while their employees naturally wish to maintain a high rate. There is no union of these employees against their masters, but both alike belong to the same body; and it is interesting to remember that a few months ago, when the rate of commission was felt to be too low, the master-sellers sent a deputation of their own number in the hope of conferring with a deputation from the commission-sellers, at a meeting to be presided over by one of the present writers. Unfortunately—and this is eminently characteristic of them—the deputation from the commission-sellers never arrived, and the proposed conference came to nothing. It was, nevertheless, something that one party sent its deputation, and in future there will be a better chance of getting a conference. The chairman of this one-sided meeting has frequently been able to act as an arbitrator between the two parties in a less formal way.

The position of those whom we have called “independent sellers” is different. They may suffer in this way. Let us suppose that two “independent sellers” are offering strawberries for sale in the same street at  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  per pound. A master-seller may immediately send five or six of his men on to the street, and “block” it (for street-sellers are obliged by their own bye-laws to leave a definite space between each other), and cut out the independent men by selling at  $2d.$  per pound. Buying in larger quantities and at a cheaper rate, he may easily afford to do this. What we wish to make clear is that there is no organization of these several classes against each other, and that one of the most useful elements of the society’s work lies precisely here, that in combining all three classes into one union, it at once postulates and creates a limited, but very valuable, form of public spirit.



A strike of street-sellers is scarcely possible, partly for the reason previously indicated, viz. the intangibility of the enemies against whom they would have to fight, and partly because (notwithstanding what has just been said on the other side) there is hardly enough solidarity among them, or even among costermongers, for such concerted action, and still less is there any adequate sense of the necessity of keeping appointments, or of the value of time.

It is all the more creditable to the new trade unionists that, without the glamour of war, they have been faithful to their principles, and maintained and strengthened their ranks. There have been disappointments, it is true, which caused some men to fall away. One of the advantages which the union offers to its members is that, in case of prosecution, a solicitor is provided at the cost of the society for defending individuals before the magistrates. On a recent occasion, however, two union men and a man who did not belong to the union were all alike brought up before the magistrates on a charge of obstruction. The union men were, of course, defended by their solicitor; the other man had to plead for himself. All three were equally acquitted. The result had for a time a disastrous effect upon the union, for the members argued that, if a man who did not subscribe to the union funds was as fortunate as themselves, their subscriptions were thrown away. It was cheaper, they contended, to trust to fortune, and, as the event showed, equally satisfactory. It was a great point gained when the union survived this and other similar shocks. For these men believe strongly in luck, and their inclination to put their faith in chance is further strengthened by the circumstance that as all magistrates do not appear to take the same view as to what constitutes "obstruction," there is always a chance of escape. It has been a logic of this kind which has made the first society less prosperous than one might have hoped. But the second Manchester society is composed, as we have seen, of a different type of men, the costermongers, as distinguished from the street-sellers. These men are far less improvident, and the stability which they give to their own branch of the

union (which, as its title shows, embraces both kinds of traders) is likely to assist the earlier and less healthy association. Negotiations are in progress for affiliating this Manchester Association with the General Trade Union Congress.

Although the union has not yet had to grapple with the economic questions which confront an ordinary trade union, and may long continue its work without dealing with these questions, for which it is not yet ripe, it has already achieved valuable results. For the men who have become members have begun, for the first time, to realize what corporate life and social duty may be. It is true that their conception of these things is bounded by the limits of their own society. But a small society is better than none, and it may well be expected that the habits of thrift and forethought, and the sense of partnership and common responsibility which the union cultivates, will ultimately, and perhaps even quickly, foster self-respect and independence, and with these qualities also an enlightened spirit of citizenship. The signs of such a development are not wanting.

C. E. B. RUSSELL.

E. T. CAMPAGNAC.

## THE PRINCIPLE OF JUSTICE.

THE demand for justice, or equal consideration, between man and man, is based upon a strong sense of human personality, and is pressed most vigorously in those parts of the world where individualism is stronger than solidarity. In countries where the trend of thought is pantheistic, and where consequently the idea of personality is attenuated, injustice is acquiesced in very easily. The Indian peasant does not ask whether it is fair that he should have to starve on a handful of rice, while his rajah blazes with gold and jewels. And in the Latin races justice to individuals has never been regarded as the highest ethical principle. The specious maxim, *Melius est ut unus pereat quam unitas*, which was used to justify the Crucifixion, has done duty many times in Southern Europe—down to the case of Captain Dreyfus. On the other hand, *Dieu et mon droit*, which foreigners say should be the motto of our country, involves a claim of indefeasible rights on the part of the individual, as against his fellows, the State, and perhaps even his Maker.

But when we ask our sturdy individualist to define justice, or to tell us what he wants, we find no unanimity. I will not attempt to give an exhaustive list of the formulas which have been upheld by different thinkers, but these which follow are among the chief:—

“Justice is giving every man according to his work.” This is a very difficult formula to apply, for how are we to compare the social service rendered, *e.g.*, by a novelist and by a farmer? How many fat pigs are equivalent to a good story?

“Justice is giving every man according to his merit.” But who are we to judge of merit? We know very little of our neighbour’s temptations; but we know quite enough to be sure



that free-will is not the *only* cause why some are good and others bad. The best are the first to admit that they owe *nothing* to their own "merit"—that they have no merit. Besides, why should society give a man champagne every day because he has a lofty moral character?

"Justice is making all men equal." If this means equal in intellect or character, it is a sufficient answer that the laws of nature have forbidden it; and if it means equal in social advantages in spite of inequalities of character, it could only be justified on the assumption that there is no such thing as moral responsibility. But it is largely on the opposite assumption that the welfare of human societies depends.

"Justice is the principle that every man shall count for one, and nobody for more than one." This is very vague and unsatisfactory, and it is by no means certain that the last half of it is true. Perhaps the only truth that can be got from it is the principle that A. shall not be favoured because he is A., nor B. exploited because he is only B.; and this does not take us much forwarder.

I do not mean to say that these attempts to formulate a general principle are useless because they are so difficult to apply. On the contrary, they all contain valuable truths. And they put the *onus probandi* on the right side. There is a *prima facie* case against inequalities, and if they are to be justified, adequate reasons for them must be shown.

I have no wish to propound any other definition to add to these. Let me instead approach the question from quite a different side, and ask, not, What is the justice which we should like to see established if we had the management of this planet? but, What kind of justice do we find to be actually in operation in the world as we know it? After all, we have to take the world as we find it, and if we believe that it is God's world, we shall perhaps be wiser to adapt our theories to existing laws, instead of making ingenious schemes for improving them. I suppose there are some who, like the late Professor Huxley in his Romanes lecture, believe that it is our duty to "fight against the cosmic process;" for my part, I think that is a somewhat

formidable programme, and that the laws of nature are perhaps not so hostile to our highest interests as that eminent scientist in his later years wished us to believe.

It must be admitted that justice, in the sense of equality of opportunity, or of consideration, is not the law of the world of our immediate experience. This is a terribly unequal world. Men are handicapped, in an apparently arbitrary manner, in external fortune, in luck, in opportunities—and, which is a much harder nut to crack, in moral endowments. If the inequalities only pertained to the outside of life, it would not be very difficult to find compensatory advantages in almost every lot. The faces of the idle rich seldom suggest happiness, and often extreme discontent, and we have all, I suppose, had brought home to us the truth of the words, "It is good for me that I have been in trouble." But when there is a flaw in the *make* of the man, which strikes down to the very roots of his character, condemning him all his life to an unequal struggle against some grievous form of insanity, or moral degradation—unequal because weakness of will is part of his *damnosa hereditas*—and perhaps in the end overwhelming him in ruin and disgrace, it is not easy to see how such an injustice can *ever* be redressed, even in another world, if the personality is to be continuous. It is this, I think, which gives such a terrible plausibility to the Calvinist creed, which frankly gives up justice as a quality of the Almighty.

And yet we nearly all do, as a matter of fact, believe in the justice of God. And this faith is often strongest in the greatest sufferers. We most of us remember that impressive scene in Gibbon, when the captive emperor Maurice is condemned by his rival to see his children murdered one after another before his eyes. As each blow falls, he ejaculates, "Righteous art Thou, O Lord, and true are Thy judgments"—one of the most sublime professions of faith which history records. And Job's "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him," marks the supreme limit of self-surrender and of faith. Are we to ascribe this indomitable trust to what Goethe calls the unconquerable levity of the human race, or, with Matthew Arnold's Empedocles, to

half-wilful self-deception? No; our faith in the justice of God is something much truer and deeper than this. It is based on the experience that just in proportion as we surrender all personal selfish claims, even claims to what seem to us our rights, all that we have given up is restored to us on a higher plane. The hero and the martyr do not demand justice—they are willing to sacrifice all claim to it; but in doing so they feel that they already have it. In the highest spirits self-sacrifice is sometimes welcomed with a sort of exultation. One of the profoundest verses of the Bible is that which describes how Christ Jesus, "*for the joy which was set before Him*" endured the Cross, despising the shame." This is no ascription of self-regarding motives—of sordid calculation—to our Lord. The "*joy which was set before Him*" was no external reward—it is not the session at the right hand of God which is here referred to, for that was not conditional on His enduring of the Cross and the shame. No; it was the consciousness of triumph, which follows inevitably upon perfect self-surrender, which constituted the joy of which the Apostle speaks. And so it is in a minor degree with all those who are striving to reach the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ. They not only do no injustice, but they feel none. Injustice for them is abolished, and justice reigns. If all were like this, as all are meant to be, our problem would be solved.

We seem to be face to face with one of the fundamental antinomies which confront us in all the high places of the spiritual life. It is not till we learn to resign our claim to justice that we find it. And the heart of the mystery is this—that just when we feel most strongly that we have no rights against God, we are most convinced that He will deal, and is dealing, perfectly justly by us. The fact is that we could not say, "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him," unless there were a deeper *I* to feel the trust, "though the outward man perish." We are not really acquiescing in a triumph of wrong—that would drive us to despair and blasphemy and rebellion, not to trust in God. It is that we have risen to a plane where what we are apt to call injustice cannot hurt us. And this is



the great truth which an observation of the facts of life seems to teach us—that the experience of injustice, the bitter feelings which it arouses, and which constitute the greater part of the injury which it inflicts upon its victims, belong to the lower life which it is our duty and interest to transcend. We all surround ourselves with a world after our own likeness; and therefore the shortest and best way to deliver men from injustice is to make them just themselves.

The conclusion so far would seem to be that there is really only one fatal and abominable kind of injustice which we can do to our fellows, and that is to hinder them from being the men and women that God meant them to be. It is a very mysterious thing that we have a certain amount of power to make or mar the eternal welfare of our fellows; but we can have hardly any doubt that it is so. To deny it would be to deny the usefulness (from the highest point of view) of all social and religious influences, which would be absurd.

Well, Christians can have only one standard of excellence—one ideal which, however far above us, is yet ours by inalienable right, and to which we must not do despite in the person of the humblest human being. We owe to men as men an almost infinite *respect*, in virtue not of what they are, but of what they were (and are) meant to be. And the one question which ought never to be far from our minds when we are thinking of demanding any service from our fellows must be: "Is this a service which I could ask Christ to do for me, if He were to come among us again in the form of a servant?" The test is one which I think will carry us very far, and clear up our ideas a good deal as to what we may and may not justly claim from others. The notion may be a little startling at first sight, but if we remember that Christ washed His disciples' feet, we shall feel that the most menial services are not in any way incompatible with the dignity of a being made in the image of God, nor even of a Divine being. No work is degrading unless it is done for a degrading end. The work of a scavenger is disagreeable, but not necessarily lowering to human dignity. But work that has no object save to minister to pride, or excessive and unseemly

sensuous gratification—could we ask Christ to take part in that? Is it just, for instance, to occupy months of labour (adding together the day's work of many workers) in making a ball-dress which will only be worn once, and the chief object of which is that the wearer may outshine the costumes of other women? Is the life of a flunkey in a big house one which his employer ought to be able to view with complacency, as the way in which *he* is using up the life-energies of a man?

It is a truism which nevertheless may need to be stated, that the blackest injustice may often be accompanied by an excellent salary. In fact, the high remuneration is often the worst part of the injustice, because it offers an almost irresistible temptation to the employed to accept a degrading position. Not to mention the most odious form of this wrong, which will occur to every one, great temptation is often put in the way of artisans to earn excellent wages by taking part in fraudulent tricks of trade. The Bishop of Stepney mentioned a case in which a Bethnal Green artisan was earning £4 a week—£200 a year—by making so-called facsimiles which were not so really. After a while his conscience pricked him so severely that he gave up his work, and accepted another engagement at very much lower pay. This was a brave and noble action; but what are we to say of the employer who put such a temptation in the way of his workmen that only heroic virtue could resist it?

I put the case of useless and degrading work first, because I really think it is the most important. If it were fairly and fearlessly applied, it would modify very considerably the customs of living which now prevail among the rich, and by necessitating a simpler mode of life would diminish the inducements to seek riches *quocumque modo*.

But, of course, there are other ways of hindering a man from reaching his full growth as a member of Christ besides the one I have mentioned—degrading him in his work. Mere excess of work, it can hardly be doubted, has a deadening and numbing effect on the spiritual life. In employing a man or woman as a mere drudge, we are really treating that person as *ἐμψυχον ὄργανον*—as a slave, that is; and Homer was nearly right when

he said that slavery takes away half the virtues of its victim. And insanitary surroundings also convey direct injury. Many invalids, as we know, are models of the highest virtues; but still health is the best of all earthly gifts, and a healthy soul is generally to be found in a healthy body. As to vicious environment, there is no need to labour the point; we should all admit that it is unjust to leave a child to be brought up among thieves and bad characters. And I have no hesitation in saying that to deprive any child of a good education is unjust. No doubt a very ignorant person may be a saint, and a very accomplished person may be a blackguard; but, for all that, culture is a good thing absolutely—the mind has its rights, as well as the character: God did not intend any one to leave his intellect unused.

This gives us a fairly complete social programme. Justice, as I understand it, requires that the State and individuals should co-operate to secure for every one a healthy and happy home, a good education—including Christian teaching of a practical and intelligent kind; work sufficient to exercise his talents without being too exhausting; and work that shall serve some useful end, so that it shall be work worthy of a free man and a gentleman. The last word I cannot dispense with, though it has been so sadly vulgarized in our day. A gentleman, I take it, would never blush to be seen ploughing or digging, or even serving behind a counter, if circumstances brought him to it; but he would not care to be first footman to Sir Gorgius Midas, or a beater in a great battue of pheasants. There is, it seems, an instinct about what is and is not derogatory to a person who values his self-respect. Well, we ought to value other people's self-respect as much as our own, even when they themselves do not seem conscious of it. That seems to be only just.

We should also make it part of our ideal that every one shall do the work for which he is *best fitted*. If nature has intended a man for a ploughman, it is foolish to make him a legislator. The less he has to do with governing the country, the better. Since men are by nature unequal, subordination and obedience are just, provided always that all are treated with honour as



members of the body. Here, again, the New Testament supplies the solution of an apparent conflict of ideals. He that is greatest among us ought to govern, and to be as little impeded as may be by the ignorant interference of his inferiors; but he ought to rule as he that serveth—as the minister of all. And it ought to be possible to esteem such an one very highly for his work's sake, and for the talents that God has given him, without encouraging him in vanity and arrogance—as if it were any credit to him that his parents were unusually well assorted!

So far we have been considering justice from the standpoint of the individual. But society has also its just claims upon its individual members. We owe nearly everything that makes life worth living to the labours of others in the past and present, and a portion of this vast debt we are justly called upon to pay. Society may justly claim from each individual the maximum of social service which does not infringe his rights and privileges as a person, those rights and privileges being interpreted by the standard given above. Whether it may ever claim more, is a very difficult question. But I am inclined to think that the sacrifice of a man's higher self can *never* be demanded as of right by society; and that if the sacrifice is made voluntarily (as, for instance, if a man were to "slave" for some noble cause, neglecting the development of his own character), the nobility of the motive would turn the sacrifice into the instrument of a higher gain. It is, indeed, only to the selfish that the service of others is self-sacrifice.

In saying all this, I may seem to some to have shirked the most important part of the problem—viz. economic justice, or justice in distribution. I have said nothing about a standard wage; about trade unions; about rates of interest, profit-sharing, or collectivism. I must answer that, in the first place, I have no special knowledge of these things, so that I should only expose my ignorance if I tried to talk about them; and, in the second place, I do not think the bread-and-butter question is the most important part of the problem of justice. Indeed, it is a doubtful question, I think, whether the principle of justice can ever supply us with a standard of remuneration. We have no

absolute *right* to anything except the use of our physical, moral, and intellectual faculties. If it is just for the State to demand of us, in certain circumstances, to give our lives for our country, it may be just at other times to give workmen less than the value of their labour. The general principle should be that every man should try to put as much into the common stock as he takes out; and I am afraid this is a principle which ought to cause qualms even among many possessors of middle-class incomes; while the idler stands out as the typically unjust man, who must be condemned on every system of morals and economics. But no principle of justice can demand that we should cripple the nation in its competition with other nations, while trying to screw up wages to some ideal standard. There is a socialism which is simply individualism run mad, and the whole tendency of which is towards national disintegration. I think on the whole that (at all events just now) the *nation* should be the unit which we ought to think of most constantly. I am not in the least afraid of the retort that patriotism is itself a form of injustice, and that we ought to be as ready to spend and be spent for Boers or Frenchmen as for our own countrymen. We have all of us met with some sorry scrub who is too moral and enlightened to feel any enthusiasm for his own country, and have easily taken his measure. The difference between Christian and un-Christian patriotism is not that the former is less intense, but that the goods which it covets, and the honours which it wishes to secure, are of a kind which involve no loss to other countries. Justice does not demand that a man should hesitate and calculate whether to save the life of his mother or of a stranger; nor does it demand that he should feel no jealousy for the land where he was born and the race to which he belongs.

At such a time as this, therefore, when the resources of England are likely to be put to an exceedingly severe strain, problems of distribution are of secondary importance. What we most want just now is to check *waste* wherever it exists; and the best method seems to me not to dissipate superfluous wealth among the largest possible number, but to

"commandeer" it, if necessary, in large blocks for the public good. To break up large accumulations by progressive taxation would incidentally cure a great deal of injustice of the kinds which I mentioned earlier in my paper, and would also reduce the number of idlers, while the money rescued from waste by the rich would not be handed over to the equally wasteful poor. Even if nothing very drastic in this direction is required, I cannot doubt that a stern spirit of self-sacrifice will be demanded of all Englishmen if we are to keep our position in the world during the twentieth century; and that being so, the less we quarrel about distribution the better. We are now entering upon one of those epochs when nations and civilizations pass through the fire, which burns up all the wood, hay, and stubble which have been brought to the building, and leaves only the gold, silver, and costly marbles intact. How our beloved country will emerge from the furnace I know not; but I am sure of this—that the laws of the world in which we live offer no prospect of happiness and contentment, under any conceivable form of government, to those whose only idea is to push and press their own claims; nor does it make matters much better if collective selfishness organizes itself for the purpose of greater efficiency. Even the nation would not be wide enough, if we did not believe that our flag is only a symbol of justice, liberty, and true progress, and that our desire with reference to all the communities under our protection is to give rather than to receive. We have as a nation had to endure much insult and injury of late from foreign countries, who seem to be suffering from a nightmare of cassocks and epaulettes; but I believe that when the Caesaro-papal reaction has spent itself, the justice of our policy and the beneficence of our empire will once more be generally recognized. And I trust that in the coming century we shall deserve the praises of our friends even more than we have done in the past, by setting before ourselves and others a higher ideal of civilization than the sordid commercialism which has given an ugly and ignoble colouring to an otherwise glorious history.

W. R. INGE.



## POOR-LAW STATISTICS.

AT no period of the world's history has the problem of resourceless poverty failed to claim the attention of those in whose hands the power of the community lay. Primitive man solved the problem by primitive methods. When starvation might be the fate of all, useless mouths could not be tolerated—and the question of old age pensions was not pressing. When circumstances became easier, the pressure of want less urgent, civilization dawned, and the humane instinct showed itself upon the surface. Society became conscious that it owed something to those whom it had allowed to live. The family system, in its gentler and its harsher aspects, helped to meet the difficulty; famine, pestilence, and the sword lending their aid. Ultimately the religious teacher and the philosopher intervened, and the poor and needy got thought about. Something like poor-law legislation was not wholly unknown; but almsgiving—for the good of the almsgiver—was the rule. In Rome, with the decay of the republic and the increase of pauper voters, largess—literal out-relief, at the expense, however, of the candidate (the subtler forms of bribery not yet having been discovered)—came to the aid of almsgiving.

Christianity struck a new note. In every field of the moral life the outward and visible must give way. Almsgiving was not all. You may bestow all your goods upon the poor, but this is not charity, without which all your good works are but as sounding brass. Charity means sympathy, fellow-feeling, brotherhood, the active, loving help of man to man. It is no longer the crouching suppliant whom you patronize and “relieve.” It is the brother or the sister whom you support, encourage, lift up; and with whom you share your knowledge, your heart, and, last and least of all, your worldly goods.

The Church—the great Charity Organization Society of the Middle Ages—rather missed its way in this as in some other particulars. The giving of alms became too prominent, the bearing one another's burthens less thought about. Here in England, by its system of doles at the church or convent door, it brought into existence a vast population of dependent poor—paupers in everything but name—for whom legislation became urgent. The repressive system, as illustrated by Statutes of Labourers and penal laws, which treated labour as a commodity belonging not to the provider of it but to the class for whom it was provided, had been tried and had failed. And so the new Poor Law of 1601 was passed, and some later statutes, characterized by good intentions but by no other quality, followed.

With the dawn of the nineteenth century, new conceptions of the relation of the State to indigence appeared. It was seen that the goodness of a law, whether concerning the relief of poverty or any other subject, is to be measured by its tendency in the long run, and that its aim is to be achieved, not by yielding to impulse, but by careful measurement of the consequences likely to ensue. Thus Bentham urged that to provide a liberal supply of the necessities of life at the expense of the community would tend to undermine the springs of industry, and to widen the sphere of destitution. Destitution must be relieved, but not in the way most agreeable to itself. State relief should have for its aim, not to make people comfortable, but to save their lives. These principles were translated into practical legislation in the Act of 1834, and constitute the poor-law under which we live.

In recent years, however, a signal reaction has taken place, marked by the increasing number of schemes for relieving, if it may be, the burthens of honest poverty. The wholesome self-consciousness of the well-to-do, who both toil and spin, but whose labour is somehow productive of what they themselves sometimes feel to be a rather more than due reward; the irksome sense that the economic causes which show such appalling contrasts in the material appliances for a happy existence do not

represent the highest social ideal; the genuine feeling of brotherhood and of pity for those who seem to have no leisure but days of sickness, no time of retirement from business but old age,—all this has found its expression in divers schemes for social reform on a larger or a smaller scale.

Of the various schemes which have been put forward, none appears to me to be more mischievous than those which have for their aim the tampering with the existing poor-law, or the relaxation of the restrictions which the beneficent Act of 1834 imposes upon administrators of the poor-rate. I entirely concur in the opinion that “the English poor-law, if administered in the way which its authors intended it to be, is the best poor-law of any country.”<sup>1</sup> It secures relief for real destitution, whilst interposing obstacles to extreme laxity in the administration of a tax compulsory upon poor and rich alike. It also clearly indicates that the spheres of poor-law and of charity are different, and that there is room for both. Yet too much must not be expected from this Act. It is true that the state of things which existed under the older law could hardly repeat itself, at any rate in the old form. To my thinking, however, it was not so much the badness of the law as the badness of its administration which did the mischief. There are still ample facilities for doing harm to the poor under the existing law, if guardians allow their kindly feelings to usurp the place of experience and judgment, and to confuse the distinction between poor-law and charity.

Two recent statements, one by Mr. J. T. Dodd, in the last number of this *Review*, the other by the Rev. Dr. Cox, in an address at Grimsby, repeated with some alteration at Oxford, will serve to illustrate what I have just now stated.

Let me say at the outset that in one point I am in agreement with both Mr. Dodd and Dr. Cox, to wit, in the matter of certain statistical returns. In the first place, it is very desirable that there should be a poor-law return presented annually, giving in a single document the whole of the information as to both pauperism and expenditure, to which those interested in such matters might resort. This document need not be over elaborate.

<sup>1</sup> Chance, *Our Treatment of the Poor*, p. 15.



There are certain calculations—for instance, the proportion of pauperism or of expenditure to population—which any one can make for himself, and which need not be allowed to delay the return. Secondly, the district returns of the poor-law inspectors should be uniform, and should give a little more information—of a kind readily accessible to the inspector—than is usual. The item of “in-maintenance,” for instance, does not comprise the total poor-law expenditure, as Mr. Dodd very truly says; and as the expression may possibly mislead the uninitiated, it would be better to show, by giving the total poor-law expenditure as well, that its meaning is thus limited. Further, it would be convenient if, in these last-named returns, in compensation for the omission of some of the figures grounded upon easily made arithmetical calculations, the statistics of pauperism were dissected—say under the heads of adults, children, ablebodied, not ablebodied, insane, and vagrants. It is true that these particulars are accessible, but not always easily so. Had they been readily at hand, Mr. Dodd would have escaped an error into which he falls, and upon which he grounds a rather weak argument, that pauper lunatics in asylums are classed with “indoor paupers.” They are, in the returns to which he refers and generally, classed with those relieved out of the house. With this rather formal matter my agreement with Mr. Dodd and Dr. Cox ends.

It is a common opinion expressed by the advocates of a system of outdoor relief that the opposite system—which I venture to call the system of careful discrimination—inevitably leads to two results. First, there is an increase of indoor pauperism; and secondly, the economy of this system—if economy be its aim—is more apparent than real, since to an increase of the number of inmates of the workhouse must be added an increase of establishment charges, salaries, and so forth. Hence, as Dr. Cox puts it, the amount which reaches “God’s poor” will be less and less; or, according to Mr. Dodd,—

“by far the larger proportion of salaries, etc., arises in connection with in-relief, especially in any union where the guardians minimize the out-relief, with the natural result of a large number of indoor paupers.”

Before we proceed to examine the statistics upon which these allegations are supposed to be based, I wish to say very emphatically how much I deplore these appeals to what may be termed the sordid side of the matter, and the attempt to influence the ratepayer by exhibiting the bogey of increasing expenditure and by connecting it with a particular system of administration. If the area of dependent poverty could be limited by any system whatever, at the cost of trebling the poor-rate, the work done would have been cheaply purchased. Besides this, boards of guardians who do their duty are often bound to increase their expenditure considerably. A reasonable public opinion has demanded improvements in workhouses, in infirmaries, and in schools, so that the whole character of these institutions has been changed, very much to the advantage of the poor generally, and of the sick and of the young particularly. The whole machinery under the control of poor-law administrators has been raised to a higher level. The aim has been to humanize it, and to exhibit a higher standard of comfort and of life: to make a workhouse for the aged who have no outlook before them almost like an almshouse under Christian government; its infirmary as good as a modern hospital; and its school as a place where the young may be educated in a real sense, and to which they may look back as the home where hope first dawned for them. This, and not the "system" or "policy" which has prevailed, is responsible for much of the augmented expenditure which has occurred.

However, as the "costliness" of the system has been mentioned, and Parliamentary and other statistics have been invoked, it may be well to see what they teach. Two methods have been resorted to by speculators on comparative poor-law expenditure. One, adopted by Dr. Cox, makes the *cost per pauper relieved*—the test of the "extravagance" or otherwise of one union and its system compared with another. A moment's consideration serves to show the absurdity of this test. Assuming two unions to be identical in population and in the necessary establishment and other charges, but differing in regard to the principle of administration, it is clear that the system which produces

the greatest number of paupers will appear most economical. For instance, Thame and Woodstock are two of the most pauperized unions in Oxfordshire. In Thame the proportion of paupers to population is 1 in 18; in Woodstock the proportion is 1 in 21. In both the system has been productive of dependent poverty in a very high degree; and both are, in this respect, in a worse position than they occupied twenty years ago. Nevertheless, if tested by the "cost per pauper," they exhibit themselves as conspicuous instances of "economy"—each of their numerous pauper population costing no more than £9 9s. 2*d.* in Thame, or £10 3s. 4*d.* in Woodstock, per annum. Headington, on the other hand, owing to its moderately small pauper population (1 in 70), descends from the high place assigned to it by Mr. Dodd for the "cheapness" of its system, and appears as a union of remarkable "extravagance," each of its paupers "costing" no less than £14 7s. a year.—

Mr. Dodd, on the other hand, throughout his article—as the reader is informed in a note—adopts a different basis, and with him "cost" is explained to mean "*cost per head of population.*" Now, as to this supposed test, I hold that, though more specious, it is equally fallacious and misleading, though for certain purposes it may be interesting or even valuable. For example, it may be valuable as showing the growth or fall of expenditure within a given union, comparing one period with another, its circumstances presumably continuing the same. It may be interesting, too, for the purpose of comparing one large group of unions with a similar group; not as showing that one group is more "extravagant" or more "economical" than the other, but as pointing to some general and possibly obscure local conditions which conduce to this result. Thus the whole of the unions in the north of England might be compared with the aggregate composed of those of the south and east, and interesting conclusions may be drawn from the comparison. But any comparison on this basis of one union with another, or of a group with an individual union, can, in my view, prove nothing, because, in order to make a profitable comparison, more knowledge of the local conditions of each union is needed than it is



generally possible to obtain. These local circumstances, which are the important factors in any calculation, vary enormously. The general character of the population, whether it comprises a large proportion of wealthy inhabitants, or of the class which contributes largely to the number of the dependent poor, and all sorts of still less ascertainable circumstances, render any real comparison on this footing impossible.

An illustration will readily explain my meaning. Much space is devoted in Mr. Dodd's article to a comparison of the Oxford and the Headington unions, in which I may say at once I do not intend to follow him: Oxford, with its alleged stationary population, and its supposed "cost" of 6s. 7d. a head of population; and Headington, with its increased population, and its "cost" of only 3s. 10d. Yet who would suppose that this increase of population in the one case is due to the growth of a large and wealthy suburb of Oxford within its boundaries, which contributes much to rateable value, and nothing to the pauper population? Who would guess that the vagrants passing through the Headington workhouse were counted by tens, when those in the Oxford workhouse were counted by thousands?<sup>1</sup> Who would guess that the "stationary" population of Oxford had been increased in 1894 by the addition of a comparatively poor district taken from the Abingdon union, with a population at the last census numbering 1084, and estimated now at about 1300, and that by the Parliamentary Return of 1895 the population of the Oxford union was put at 22,824, and not at 21,813, as by the census of 1891? Who would guess that the Oxford union maintains a considerable poor-law school, at a heavy cost for establishment charges, salaries, etc., and that the Headington union maintains no such school, but sends some of its children to, and therefore contributes to the cost of, the Oxford school, as does also the union of Kingston-on-Thames,—and that, after making the deductions from the gross expenditure for poor-law purposes consequent upon repayments made by these unions,

<sup>1</sup> In the six years from 1893 to 1898 (inclusive) Headington provided night lodgings for 617 vagrants, while in the same period Oxford entertained 45,918. In the year 1899 the numbers were, respectively, Oxford 5210, Headington 49.

the net cost per head of population of Oxford will be considerably diminished?<sup>1</sup>

I am far from ascribing to Mr. Dodd any intentional suppression of these facts when he wrote his article, though it might have been convenient for the general reader had he taken the trouble to inform himself more fully before painting Oxford in such very sombre colours. My aim is to show that these are, in fact, very important local factors in the estimation of "cost;" that these were not taken into account; and that the value of the general argument is *pro tanto* weakened by their being disregarded. For if local conditions which lie under one's hand are so easily lost sight of, though essential to a true inference, how much more easily may the local conditions of unions distant from one another escape notice! "Cost per head of population" is, in fact, a worthless test of comparison, unless we know more than in forty-nine cases out of fifty we can possibly know of local conditions.

What test of comparison, then, can be safely applied? I reply that, as between unions about which we know nothing, no test of comparison is really trustworthy. However, a comparison of the rise or fall between certain periods of the expenditure of different unions or of groups of unions pursuing this or that system may be made. But before passing to this, I wish to invite attention to the strange contrasts afforded by a comparison of the tests of "extravagance" or "economy" adopted respectively by these two authorities. As I have stated above, tried by the standard erected by Dr. Cox—"cost per pauper,"—Thame and Woodstock are conspicuous instances of "economical" administration, Headington of "extravagance:" apply Mr. Dodd's test—"cost per head of population"—and precisely the opposite conclusion is arrived at,—Thame and Woodstock appear as remarkable instances of "extravagant administration," costing respectively 10s. 4d. and 7s. 8d. per head of population, whilst Headington emerges as an enviable example of "economy," that favoured union "costing" only 3s. 10d. per head of its

<sup>1</sup> For the year ending Lady-day, 1899, the salaries and rations of the school officers amounted to £1105, the repayments by the unions named to £1468.

population! The singular conflict here presented furnishes a striking comment upon at least one of these tests of comparative economy, perhaps, the opinion might be ventured, upon both.

Let us now turn to the statistics available for the illustration of the matter, and see what light they throw upon the movement of pauperism and of expenditure. The following tables are compiled from Parliamentary Returns, and the unions are grouped in two classes—A., in which out-relief is restricted; and B., those in which it is given freely.

#### METROPOLITAN UNIONS.

Class A. includes Kensington, Paddington, Fulham, Chelsea, St. George's, Westminster, Marylebone, Hampstead, St. Pancras, St. Giles's, Strand, Holborn, City of London, Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, Whitechapel, St. George's-in-the-East, Stepney, Mile End, Poplar, St. Saviour's (Southwark). Total population in 1871, 2,117,777; in 1891, 2,340,657,—an increase of 10·4 per cent.

Class B. includes Islington, Hackney, St. Olave's, Lambeth, Wandsworth and Clapham, Camberwell, Greenwich, Lewisham, and Woolwich.<sup>1</sup> Total population in 1871, 1,131,372; in 1891, 1,870,399,—an increase of 65·3 per cent.

A comparison of the two classes in respect of Pauperism and Expenditure exhibits the following results:—<sup>2</sup>

#### PAUPERISM<sup>3</sup>—NUMBER OF PAUPERS OF EACH CLASS ON THE FIRST OF JANUARY IN EACH YEAR.

			Indoor.	Outdoor.	Total.
CLASS A.—					
1870	..	..	29,194	83,961	113,255
1899	..	..	46,324	23,989	70,306
CLASS B.—					
1870	..	..	8,913	43,672	52,585
1899	..	..	23,309	30,050	53,359

<sup>1</sup> It would, however, appear from the last Parliamentary Return, that this union should now be placed in Class A. Its indoor paupers, on January 31, 1899, numbering 1359, as against 1025 outdoor.

<sup>2</sup> The details of figures of the several unions are here omitted, in order to avoid unduly adding to the bulk of the paper.

<sup>3</sup> It may be convenient here to state, in order to avoid repetition, (a) that in all



## Result of the comparison:—

In Class A. Indoor pauperism shows an increase of	..	43·7	per cent.
Outdoor pauperism shows a decrease of	..	74·0	„
Total pauperism shows a decrease of	..	43·7	„
In Class B. Indoor pauperism shows an increase of	..	58·2	„
Outdoor pauperism shows a decrease of	..	58·3	„
Total pauperism shows a decrease of	..	38·6	„

In no single particular is the theory that a restriction of out-relief adds to the number of indoor paupers, or of pauperism generally, borne out by the facts thus displayed.

EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDING AT LADY-DAY  
IN EACH YEAR.

	In-maintenance.	Out-relief.	Salaries, etc.	Total cost of relief to the poor.
	£	£	£	£
CLASS A.—				
1870 ..	307,661	263,624	108,952	1,041,117
1898 ..	586,420	89,441	487,068	2,336,825
CLASS B.—				
1870 ..	98,190	136,905	32,562	381,958
1898 ..	304,040	132,733	243,725	1,192,026

It will be seen from the above that,—

In Class A. the cost of in-maintenance has increased	..	72·6	per cent.
„ out-relief has diminished	..	68·2	„
„ salaries, etc., has increased	..	304·0	„
In Class B. the cost of in-maintenance has increased	..	87·7	„
„ out-relief has decreased	..	41·1	„
„ salaries, etc., has increased	..	352·0	„

These figures need no comment.

I will now take a group of three Metropolitan unions,

the tables given below under “Pauperism,” the figures represent the number of paupers of each class in receipt of relief on January 1st, in each year; (b) that under “Expenditure” the figures given are the amounts expended under each head, during the year ending Lady-day in each year; (c) that the percentages of increase or decrease, under both “Pauperism” and “Expenditure,” are corrected to give effect to the hypothetical increase or decrease of both, owing to the rise or fall of population; it is assumed, *i.e.*, that the rise or fall both of the number of paupers and of expenditure will vary proportionately with the change in population.

The figures at the foot of each table represent the increase or decrease between 1890 and the later year under each head—the upper line showing the actual, the lower the estimated or corrected alteration.

representative of each class, and compare them with one another in each particular. Class A. comprises Whitechapel, St. George's-in-the-East, and Stepney; Class B., Islington, Hackney, and Lambeth.

## PAUPERISM—CLASS A.

Union.	Population.		Indoor.		Outdoor.		Total.	
	1871.	1891.	1870.	1899.	1870.	1899.	1870.	1899.
Whitechapel <sup>1</sup>	75,552	74,462	1,446	1,477	3,931	402	5,377	1,879
St. George's-in-the-East	48,052	45,546	1,316	1,407	3,145	281	4,461	1,688
Stepney ..	57,690	57,599	1,060	1,565	3,198	342	4,258	1,907
Total ..	181,294	177,607	3,822	3,858	10,274	1,025	14,096	5,474
		- '02		+ 14'0 + 18'7		- 89'9 - 90'0		- 67'0 - 60'3

## PAUPERISM—CLASS B.

Union.	Population.		Indoor.		Outdoor.		Total.	
	1870.	1891.	1870.	1899.	1870.	1899.	1870.	1899.
Islington ..	213,778	319,433	979	3,495	5,513	4,406	6,492	7,901
Hackney ..	124,951	229,531	811	2,769	6,063	4,201	6,874	6,970
Lambeth ..	208,342	275,202	1,702	3,445	7,102	3,538	8,804	6,983
Total ..	547,071	824,166	3,492	9,709	18,678	14,145	22,170	21,854
		+ 56'5		+ 178'0 + 77'6		- 34'9 - 58'4		- 0'01 - 37'00

## Result of the comparison of the groups:—

In Class A. Indoor pauperism shows an increase of	..	18'7 per cent.
Outdoor pauperism shows a decrease of	..	90'0 "
Total pauperism shows a decrease of ..	..	60'3 "
In Class B. Indoor pauperism shows an increase of	..	77'6 "
Outdoor pauperism shows a diminution of	..	58'4 "
Total pauperism shows a diminution of	..	37'0 "

<sup>1</sup> This union shows the results of careful and discriminating, but at the same time eminently humane, poor-law administration.

## EXPENDITURE—CLASS A.

Union.	In-maintenance.		Out-relief.		Salaries, etc.		Total cost of relief to the poor.	
	1870.	1898.	1870.	1898.	1870.	1898.	1870.	1898.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Whitechapel	13,076	18,207	6,864	556	4,317	14,779	50,583	59,691
St. George's-	12,155	9,900	8,374	276	4,358	14,499	33,540	48,850
in-the-East	12,537	16,966	11,931	602	5,251	11,624	49,184	50,826
Stepney ..								
Total ..	181,294	45,073	27,169	1,434	13,926	40,902	133,307	159,367
		+ 190 + 17·8		- 94·0 - 94·6		+ 193·0 + 199·9		+ 19·0 + 22·0

## EXPENDITURE—CLASS B.

Union.	In-maintenance.		Out-relief.		Salaries, etc.		Total cost of relief to the poor.	
	1870.	1898.	1870.	1898.	1870.	1898.	1870.	1898.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Islington ..	9,691	43,786	17,737	18,005	4,720	27,241	47,310	158,397
Hackney ..	12,784	37,988	19,758	14,312	3,855	26,554	44,752	145,136
Lambeth ..	17,076	44,793	21,014	17,409	7,217	24,999	67,843	170,865
Total ..	39,551	126,567	58,509	49,726	15,792	88,794	159,905	474,398
		+ 220·0 + 184·4		- 15·0 - 45·6		+ 462·0 + 259·0		+ 196·0 + 171·0

A comparison of the expenditure of the two groups shows—

## 1. That in the Whitechapel group—

The cost of in-maintenance has increased	..	..	17·8 per cent.
„ out-relief has diminished	..	..	94·6 „
„ salaries has risen .. ..	..	..	199·9 „
„ total poor-relief has risen ..	..	..	22·0 „

## 2. In the Islington group—

The cost of in-maintenance has risen	..	..	104·4 per cent.
„ out-relief has fallen .. ..	..	..	45·6 „
„ salaries has increased .. ..	..	..	259·0 „
„ total poor-relief has increased	..	..	171·0 „



By reference to the figures given above, a comparison of the individual unions with one another can be readily made. Thus it will be seen that if the cost for salaries, etc., in Whitechapel, since 1870, has risen seriously, in Islington the advance has been still more considerable. The comparison in this particular stands thus: the Whitechapel union since 1870 shows an increase of 256 per cent., while Islington, for the same period, shows a rise of 356 per cent.,—the correction on the ground of alteration in population having been made in each case.

So far for the light thrown upon the question by the statistics of the Metropolitan unions; let us now see whether the evidence furnished by the comparison with one another of some provincial unions points in the like direction.

### PROVINCIAL UNIONS.<sup>1</sup>

#### PAUPERISM—CLASS A.

Union.	Population.		Indoor.		Outdoor.		Total.	
	1871.	1899.	1870.	1899.	1870.	1899.	1870.	1899.
Richmond .. ..	26,145	41,548	261	449	409	319	670	768
Bradfield .. ..	15,853	18,017	213	114	913	62	1,126	176
Reading .. ..	33,340	60,054	336	509	1,181	431	1,517	940
Oxford .. ..	21,816	22,824	340	308	630	136	970	444
Faversham .. ..	33,346	25,770	226	207	1,068	174	1,294	381
Milton .. ..	19,217	24,966	150	266	808	243	958	509
Total .. ..	138,717	193,179	1,526	1,853	5,009	1,965	6,535	3,218
		+ 39·2		+ 21·4 - 12·0		- 60·7 - 71·7		- 50·7 - 64·0

Population increased 39·2 between 1871 and 1891.

In-door pauperism decreased 12·0 per cent.

Out-door     "             "     71·7     "

Total         "             "     64·0     "

<sup>1</sup> I omit Brixworth from among these for the reason that, since 1890, its system has been altered, and it is no longer representative of the Class A. Also Atcham, because since 1870 its area has been extended and its population so materially increased as to make a comparison of the two periods impossible.

## EXPENDITURE—CLASS A.

Union.	In-maintenance.		Out-relief.		Salaries, etc.		Total cost of poor relief.	
	1870.	1898.	1870.	1898.	1870.	1898.	1870.	1898.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Richmond ..	3,334	4,770	1,336	1,198	1,014	3,273	8,434	16,355
Bradfield ..	1,929	1,040	4,373	106	1,421	1,114	9,955	3,677
Reading ..	3,778	5,676	3,296	2,075	1,000	3,818	11,608	18,254
Oxford ..	3,623	2,207	3,248	328	1,710	2,793	10,003	9,194
Faversham ..	1,992	2,153	4,322	722	1,388	1,562	9,390	6,530
Milton ..	1,058	2,722	4,096	688	786	1,508	7,187	8,567
Total ..	15,714	18,568	20,671	5,117	7,329	14,068	56,777	62,577
		+ 17·1 - 14·9		- 75·0 - 83·1		+ 91·9 + 38·1		+ 10·2 + 0·01

Result of the comparison of the two periods:—

Cost of in-maintenance diminished ..	14·9 per cent.
„ out-relief diminished .. ..	83·1 „
„ salaries increased .. ..	38·1 „
„ total of relief to the poor increased ..	0·01 „

I take for comparison with the above, seven Oxfordshire unions of the normal type, in all of which out-relief is freely given.

## PAUPERISM—CLASS B.

Union.	Population.		Indoor.		Outdoor.		Total.	
	1870.	1899.	1870.	1899.	1870.	1899.	1870.	1899.
Henley .. ..	18,916	21,986	215	105	1,279	727	1,494	832
Thame .. ..	15,015	14,636	153	95	904	706	1,057	801
Bicester .. ..	15,583	13,983	110	94	746	511	856	605
Woodstock ..	14,070	13,077	135	145	812	570	947	715
Witney .. ..	22,905	21,215	196	146	1,616	653	1,812	799
Chipping Norton	17,938	18,103	102	118	1,215	723	1,317	841
Banbury .. ..	31,208	29,496	270	280	2,124	1,013	2,394	1,293
Total .. ..	135,625	132,496	1,181	983	8,696	4,903	9,877	5,886
		- 0·02		- 16·8 - 15·0		- 43·6 - 40·9		- 40·0 - 39·1

Population decreased	..	..	..	0·02 per cent.
Indoor pauperism diminished	..	..	..	15·0 „
Outdoor	„	„	..	40·0 „
Total	„	„	..	39·0 „

## EXPENDITURE—CLASS B.

Union.	In-maintenance.		Out-relief.		Salaries, etc.		Total cost of poor relief.	
	1870.	1898.	1870.	1898.	1890.	1898.	1890.	1898.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Henley .. ..	1,956	1,192	6,471	3,471	1,424	1,734	11,607	8,548
Thame .. ..	958	1,021	4,568	4,077	1,039	1,155	7,672	7,579
Bicester .. ..	755	1,046	3,271	2,448	880	990	5,995	5,503
Woodstock ..	960	1,288	3,759	3,387	794	941	6,537	7,271
Witney .. ..	1,376	1,303	6,302	2,602	1,422	1,415	10,630	7,054
Chipping Norton ..	626	1,118	5,304	3,880	803	1,055	8,053	7,413
Banbury .. ..	1,991	1,942	9,651	5,613	1,462	1,694	16,089	12,107
Total .. ..	8,622	8,910	39,326	25,478	7,824	8,984	66,583	55,475
		+ 03·0 - 0·054		- 35·1 - 33·8		+ 14·8 + 14·6		- 16·0 - 14·9

Population decreased 0·02.

Result since 1870:—

Cost of in-maintenance diminished	..	..	0·5 per cent.
„ out-relief diminished	..	..	33·8 „
„ salaries increased	..	..	14·6 „
„ total relief to the poor decreased	..	..	14·9 „

I will conclude this portion of the examination of the subject with a comparison of two groups of large provincial urban unions:—

## PAUPERISM—CLASS A.

Union.	Population.		Indoor.		Outdoor.		Total.	
	1871.	1891.	1870.	1899.	1870.	1899.	1870.	1899.
Manchester ..	173,988	145,083	3,307	3,836	10,326	995	13,633	4,823
Liverpool ..	238,411	156,991	4,706	4,294	12,940	3,122	17,646	7,416
Birmingham ..	231,015	245,508	2,105	3,196	8,073	2,075	10,178	5,267
Total ..	643,414	547,582	10,118	11,326	31,339	6,192	41,457	17,506
		- 14·9		+ 11·9 + 31·3		- 80·2 - 76·8		- 57·0 - 50·0



## PAUPERISM—CLASS B.

Union.	Population.		Indoor.		Outdoor.		Total.	
	1871.	1891.	1870.	1899.	1870.	1899.	1870.	1899.
Sheffield ..	162,271	204,677	922	1,839	6,664	2,799	7,586	4,638
Leeds ..	162,421	233,154	961	1,431	4,910	4,026	5,871	5,457
Bristol ..	62,662	55,541	1,179	2,523	3,568	7,515	4,747	10,038
Total ..	387,354	493,372	3,062	5,793	15,192	14,340	18,204	20,133
		+ 27·3		+ 89·1 + 48·0		— 05·0 — 25·5		+ 10·5 — 13·1

From these tables it appears that—

In Class A. the population decreased .. ..	14·9 per cent.
Indoor pauperism increased .. ..	31·3 „
Outdoor pauperism diminished .. ..	76·8 „
Total „ ..	50·0 „
In Class B. the population increased .. ..	27·3 „
Indoor pauperism increased .. ..	48·0 „
Outdoor pauperism decreased .. ..	25·5 „
Total „ ..	13·1 „

## EXPENDITURE—CLASS A.

Union.	In-maintenance.		Out-relief.		Salaries, etc.		Total cost of relief to the poor.	
	1870.	1898.	1870.	1898.	1870.	1898.	1870.	1898.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Manchester ..	24,798	34,710	29,731	3,604	14,185	20,515	87,693	87,685
Liverpool ..	34,923	36,874	38,090	8,542	19,187	19,964	134,642	96,796
Birmingham	17,909	27,232	23,413	4,102	6,828	28,053	72,449	113,859
Total ..	77,630	98,816	91,234	16,248	40,200	68,532	294,784	298,340
		+ 27·2 + 33·9		— 82·3 — 79·0		+ 70·4 + 100·0		+ 13·6

Population decreased 14·9.

## EXPENDITURE—CLASS B.

Union.	In-maintenance.		Out-relief.		Salaries, etc.		Total cost of relief to the poor.	
	1870.	1898.	1870.	1898.	1870.	1898.	1870.	1898.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Sheffield ..	8,162	19,201	26,255	12,276	2,871	15,344	45,902	77,055
Leeds ..	9,063	11,937	18,399	15,985	5,942	8,763	44,034	55,706
Bristol ..	10,390	8,390	15,540	10,808	4,023	5,582	39,279	34,029
Total ..	27,615	39,528	60,194	39,069	12,836	29,698	129,215	166,790
		+ 43·1 + 12·7		- 35·0 - 48·9		+ 70·4 + 82·1		+ 28·0 + 0·12

Population increased 27·3.

Thus it appears that in Class A.—

The cost of in-maintenance has increased	..	33·9 per cent.
„ out-relief has decreased	..	79·0 „
„ salaries has risen	..	100·0 „
„ total poor-law expenditure has risen	..	13·6 „

Whilst in Class B.—

Cost of in-maintenance has increased	..	12·7 per cent.
„ out-relief has diminished	..	48·9 „
„ salaries has increased	..	82·1 „
Total cost of poor-relief has increased	..	0·12 „

The net result of the examination of poor-law statistics which has been made seems irresistibly to point to the conclusion that the policy which restricts outdoor relief does not lead to a necessary increase of indoor pauperism or of expenditure, whether upon salaries, establishment charges, or otherwise. Whatever the causes may be which lead to such an increase, it is not the cause alleged, for the figures show conclusively that in both particulars, in by far the larger number of cases, a greater increase is shown in unions in which the opposite system prevails.

One more statistical table I will append. Earlier in this article, referring to the cost per head of population as a basis for comparing one union with another in point of expenditure, I noticed that such a test might be interesting for the comparison of large groups of unions, as suggesting the existence

of some broad local conditions upon which an inference might be grounded. The table below will be found to contain materials for such an inference. An examination of it brings out some interesting facts: (1) That taken together, the unions in the north of England show a considerably lower cost per head of population than do those of the south. (2) That the proportion of pauperism to population is also perceptibly lower in the north than in the south. (3) That there appears often to be a very appreciable relation between the ratio of outdoor pauperism and the greater cost per head of population.<sup>1</sup> (4) That when outdoor pauperism of a union is above the average of the union-county to which it belongs, its indoor pauperism will very often be found also to be above the average, as well as its expenditure measured by the test stated.<sup>2</sup>

## I.—NORTH-COUNTRY UNIONS.

Divisions and Union-Counties.	Ratio to population of—			Ratio of cost of relief per head of population.	
	Indoor paupers.	Outdoor paupers.	Total.		
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	s.	d.
LAND—	0·5	2·1	2·6	5	2½
.. ..	0·6	2·9	3·5	6	10½
.. ..	0·5	3·0	3·5	6	2¾
m .. ..	0·4	2·0	2·4	4	3¼
.. ..	0·4	1·8	2·2	4	4¼
.. ..	0·5	2·2	2·7	5	0¼
TERN—	0·5	1·6	2·1	4	1¼
.. ..	0·6	1·2	1·8	4	1¼
.. ..	0·6	1·3	1·9	4	1¼
SION—	0·4	1·5	1·9	3	8
ing .. ..	0·5	2·2	2·7	4	8¼
ing .. ..	0·4	2·3	2·7	5	1¼
ing .. ..	0·4	1·7	2·1	3	11½
.. ..	0·4	1·7	2·1	3	8¾
arland .. ..	0·4	1·6	2·0	4	1
.. ..	0·5	2·1	2·6	3	10½
.. ..	0·5	1·7	2·2	4	3¾
.. ..	0·4	1·7	2·1	3	10½

are given are taken from a Parliamentary Return of the date June, 1891, showing "the number of paupers in receipt of relief on June 31, 1891, and the expenditure during the year ending March 25, 1891." London and Wales

are printed in italics when this appears to be the case.



## II.—SOUTH-COUNTRY UNIONS.

Divisions and Union- Counties.	Ratio to population of—			Ratio of cost of relief per head of population.	
	In-door paupers.	Outdoor paupers.	Total.		
<b>SOUTH-EASTERN—</b>	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	s.	d.
Surrey .. ..	0·7	1·8	2·5	5	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
Kent .. ..	0·9	1·8	2·7	5	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sussex .. ..	0·7	2·7	3·4	6	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Southampton ..	0·8	2·6	3·4	6	3
Berks .. ..	0·9	1·9	2·8	5	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Average .. ..	0·8	2·2	3·0	6	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
<b>SOUTH MIDLAND—</b>					
Middlesex .. ..	0·5	1·7	2·2	5	0
Hertford .. ..	0·8	3·3	4·1	7	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Buckingham .. ..	0·5	3·1	3·6	6	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Oxford .. ..	0·7	3·1	3·8	6	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Northampton ..	0·4	2·2	2·6	5	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Huntingdon .. ..	0·7	2·1	2·8	5	8
Bedford .. ..	0·5	3·0	3·5	5	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Cambridge .. ..	0·6	3·1	3·7	6	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Average .. ..	0·5	2·5	3·0	5	10
<b>EASTERN—</b>					
Essex .. ..	0·6	2·4	3·0	5	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Suffolk .. ..	0·6	3·1	3·7	5	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Norfolk .. ..	0·7	3·8	4·5	7	2
Average .. ..	0·6	3·0	3·6	6	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
<b>SOUTH-WESTERN—</b>					
Wilts. .. ..	0·7	3·3	4·0	7	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Dorset .. ..	0·6	3·7	4·3	6	
Devon .. ..	0·5	3·4	3·9		
Cornwall .. ..	0·4	3·1	3·5		
Somerset .. ..	0·6	3·4	3·5		
Average .. ..	0·5	3·4	3·9		
<b>WEST MIDLAND—</b>					
Gloucester .. ..	0·7	2·9	3·6		
Hereford .. ..	0·6	3·6	4·2		
Salop .. ..	0·7	1·4	2·1		
Stafford .. ..	0·5	2·6	3·1		
Worcester .. ..	0·6	2·4	3·0		
Warwick .. ..	0·7	1·4	2·1		
Average .. ..	0·6	2·3	2·9		

A comparison of these figures shows that in the north  
unions as a whole—

The average of indoor pauperism was .. .. 0·47 per  
 " " outdoor pauperism was .. .. 1·75  
 " " total pauperism was .. .. 2·2  
 Average cost per head of population was 4s. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

In the south—

The average of indoor pauperism was .. .. 0·6 pe  
 " " outdoor pauperism was .. .. 2·68  
 " " total pauperism was .. .. 3·28  
 Average cost per head of population was 5s. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.

The average of England and Wales for the same period was—

Of indoor pauperism .. .. .	0·7 per cent.
Of outdoor pauperism .. .. .	2·0 „
Of total pauperism .. .. .	2·7 „
Total cost per head of population, 5s. 11½ <i>d.</i>	

It will be noticed that in the south-country unions the proportion of out- to in-pauperism was perceptibly greater than in the northern group.

I cannot close this paper without making more particular reference to the case of one of the unions referred to above—that of Bradfield in Berkshire; for it shows what may be done among the poor by the consistent application of a wholesome principle through a series of years. A rural union, with a poor population of 15,883 in 1870, it was as pauperized a district as any which could be found in rural England—one in every thirteen of the inhabitants being in receipt of poor-law relief in some shape. The parish doctor was resorted to for every ailment; an army of able-bodied young widows with their children were regular annuitants; and children were content to leave their aged parents pensioners upon the public rates. Pauperism in all its well-known features reigned supreme, and improvidence was the rule; for why should any one be provident when the dole from “public charity” was bestowed upon the thrifty and the thriftless alike?

The number of the inmates of its workhouse was 213. Those receiving out-relief 913. The total number of its dependent poor was 1126. The poor-law expenditure upon “salaries” was £1421; upon the relief of the poor generally, £9955.

In or about 1870 the great and beneficent work of changing all this was begun by the late Mr. Thomas Stevens, with the aid of Mr. Bland-Garland. At the end of thirty years these are the results: One of the most pauperized rural unions in England has become the least so—what ought to be the normal condition of a labouring agricultural population has been achieved. God’s poor remain; man’s poor—the creatures of man’s ignorant and cruel kindness—have gone. The number

of poor in the workhouse was, on January 1st last, only 114, of outdoor poor 62. The total number of dependent poor has fallen to 176, only one in 134 (excluding the insane and vagrants), instead of one in 13, is found on the pauper roll. The rate, too, has fallen. The expenditure upon salaries was in 1898 no more than £1114. The total cost of poor-relief amounted in 1898 to £3678. Cost per head of population has sunk from 13s. 8½d. to 4s., and the total number of inhabitants of the district has increased by more than 2000 (from 15,853 to 18,017). What can be said of all this? Does it not read a lesson? Is it not a state of things to be envied, and, if possible, imitated?

"Allowances," we are told, "the allowances of charitable people," have provided the difference of expenditure between that of 1870 and 1898. If the rate of expenditure of 1870 had continued to 1898, £160,000 or thereabouts would have been expended in the seven or eight and twenty years more than the amount which was actually laid out; and we are gravely told that "allowances" have provided this considerable sum!

No, the labouring poor have not been kept by private doles, where before they were supported by the rates; they have kept themselves, having learned under good poor-law administration to be provident, self-reliant, free.

In conclusion, I may be allowed to make two remarks. First, that those who encourage the labouring poor to demand as a right what surely ought to be asked for with reluctance,—who endeavour to break down that wholesome instinct which teaches them to approach the poor-law with a feeling akin to shame, and which very rightly constrains them to leave no stone unturned before making such an application,—are doing their clients a very evil turn. Anything which undermines their sense of self-reliance and self-respect will in the long run tend to reproduce a state of demoralization differing little from that from which the great Act of 1834 did its best to free the labouring poor.

And secondly, that those who disparage the tender work of charity in its best and truest sense, organized or individual,



and represent the kindly and helpful visits of gentle women or gentle men, sisters and brothers of the poor, as the intrusion of meddling busybodies,—who endeavour to discredit this work, and seek to substitute for it the legal claim to “almsgiving by Act of Parliament,”—are inflicting the most cruel of injuries upon those whom they profess, and no doubt in all sincerity, to be seeking to befriend.

J. C. WILSON.

## NOTES AND MEMORANDA.

GERMAN ACCIDENT STATISTICS.—An exceedingly interesting volume, representing the results of a great deal of intelligent labour, has quite recently been issued by the Imperial Working-men's Insurance Department of Berlin, giving a return of workmen's disablements coming under the Workmen's Accident Insurance Law within the year 1897. The inquiry reported upon in this book is the most complete and discriminating yet made in Germany, as will appear from the fact that about three times the number of cards for collecting information were issued as compared with the issue of 1887, viz. 45,971 in the place of 15,970. The earlier inquiry (of 1881) was tolerably comprehensive, but was, of course, only preparatory to the legislation now coming into question.

The results reported ought to prove interesting to ourselves, as bearing upon the problems only very partially dealt with in our own more recent legislation. In respect of some important points they dispose very conclusively, as will appear by the light of experience, of some false impressions still entertained in this country.

Incidentally, the return shows to what extent industrial activity has expanded in Germany within the decade to which the inquiry refers. The number of industrial establishments reported upon is given as 455,417, as compared with 319,453, marking an increase by 18·93 per 10,000 population. For such increase—so it is explained—the remarkable extension of building operations is in a large measure responsible. Unfortunately, the number of disablements *reported* once more shows a striking increase, an increase not to be accounted for only by the larger number of establishments now coming under review. In 1886, being the first year in which the Accident Insurance Law was in operation, only 2·80 disablements were reported per 1000 persons employed. Since then every year has marked a distinct increase upon the figures of the preceding one, and in 1897 we actually arrive at 6·97 disablements per 1000 persons. As compared with 1887, that represents an increase by 2·83. Of course, it does not follow that because more accidents are reported more actually happen. In the early years statistics were notoriously incomplete, and as time advances

they become more complete. In the trades in which returns are most easily collected, because all that happens is bound to be observed, the increase since 1887 is shown to be very slight indeed. Thus, accidents reported in quarry work have gone up only by 0·54 per 1000 employed. The rise is not very much more marked in textile industries, leather-dressing, shoemaking, etc., and the clothiery trade. On the other hand, there is a heavy increase in the carrying and warehousing trades, viz. by 7·21 and 7·11 per 1000. Among the admirably prepared coloured tables bound up in the volume, which in their graphic way give a remarkably clear view of the results obtained, the two showing the distribution of accidents over the empire are particularly instructive. Of course, accidents are absolutely more frequent wherever industry is most fully developed. However, as calculated per 1000 persons employed, they bulk heaviest in agricultural districts, presumably because there industrial work is least advanced, and carried on with least care. In conjunction with this it appears worthy of remark that the much-maligned machinery is not answerable for proportionately anything like the largest number of accidents, fatal or otherwise. The employment of machinery has been extended largely in Germany of late years, but accidents arising from its employment have not increased in proportion. Safeguards adopted, careful inspection, and, above all, the growing intelligence and caution exhibited by the persons who work the machinery and come into contact with it, and who are by no means as indifferent to their own mutilation as pessimists in this country are in the habit of assuming, sensibly reduce the danger incurred. It is tumbles, bruises, contusions, objects falling upon workmen, and like mishaps, which most largely swell the catalogue of accidents, being accountable for full 94·73 per cent. of all disablements which occur. Accidents are very frequent in employment carried on underground, such as mining and quarrying, and again in shipping, which is accountable for actually the largest proportion of deaths (nearly 3 per 1000 men employed, and about 30 per cent. of all accidents occurring in the calling). However, it is building, carrying, warehousing, corn-milling, which have most astonished the German authorities by the large number of accidents to which they give rise, and thrown them to some extent out of their reckoning. In view of our exemption of small building operations from liability to pay compensation—a most questionable proceeding, censured by nobody more than by employers in the building trade themselves—it deserves to be pointed out that it is just such small building work, carried on, as a rule, with imperfect appliances, which has added most, beyond what was calculated, to the German death and disablement roll.



Frequent as accidents are, after all they affect only a small proportion of the entire national industry, namely only 5·32 on an average of all industrial establishments. In 1887 the proportional figure was lower still, and stood only at 3·20. The returns also show that the danger of what our insurance companies call "catastrophe risks" is not very appreciable. The number of persons disabled or killed by the 45,444 accidents reported was 45,971. In all but 338 cases—that is, 0·74 per cent. of the total number of accidents—every accident claimed only one victim. And it is not mining or quarrying, but shipping, dredging, raft-work, and the like, which contribute most largely to the number of victims. The number collectively affected by one accident has in 1897 never exceeded twenty-eight. There was one case of twenty-eight affected in shipping, a catastrophe accident of twelve in chemical industry, and one of ten in mining. Accidents have shown themselves most apt to prove fatal in shipping, railway employment, mining, and quarrying. However, of these quarrying is shown to be accountable for only less than half of what shipping has brought about, proportionately speaking. And it is a fact worth considering, more particularly by those working-men who are in this country clamouring for State purchase of the railways, that employment has in Germany proved *safer* on private lines than on State-managed. Fatal accidents on the former compare as 0·92 per 1000 men employed with 1·32 per 1000 on the latter. Curiously enough, the number of slight disablements rises in different callings in an inverse ratio to deaths. Those callings which return fewest deaths report the largest number of slight disablements. In this respect the butchers' trade stands at the top of the list. The proportion of accidents affecting workmen's eyes, and also those causing ruptures, has rather sensibly decreased, as also the proportion of deaths resulting from accidents to workmen's legs, viz. from 4·635 to 2·123 per cent. of all accidents occurring. That is owing to more careful surgical treatment now provided by the employers' corporations. The proportion, nevertheless, continues to stand high. It is curious to observe that although the proportion of fatal accidents varies widely as among different callings, there appears to be not one group of employments which has escaped altogether without fatal accident.

Of the 45,971 persons injured, 44,083 were men and 1888 women. Since, in all, 5,064,579 men come under this kind of insurance, as compared with only 1,494,045 women, it appears that the risks of disablement incurred severally by men and by women stand relatively, in the same order, as 0·870 to 0·126. Only 570 of the persons injured were foreigners. The frequency of accidents is shown to be proportionate to the number of hours worked. That is, in spite of frost, and

snow, and cold, and darkness, it is least in the winter months and greatest in the summer months. The minimum figure (0·92) occurs in January and February, the maximum figure (1·10) in July. Monday is out and out the most dangerous day, more particularly between the hours of 9 a.m. and 12 a.m. But, Saturday, oddly enough, runs it a very good second, in the hours of from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m., which may appear as an additional argument in favour of early closing.

HENRY W. WOLFF.

"THE RUSSIAN JOURNAL OF FINANCIAL STATISTICS."—This may be called No. -2 of a new quarterly. It and No. -1, to be published in May, are presented gratis to intending subscribers on application to the Editor at the office (Millionaia, 23, St. Petersburg). No. 1 will be published in September.

We rub our eyes when we see "Blunders, official and others," at the head of the list of contents on the front cover, and the imprint "St. Petersburg: Printed by W. Kirshbaum," at the bottom. But the puzzle is solved when we discover that the official blunders are not those of St. Petersburg, but those of other capitals, particularly London and Washington. The splendour of the paper and print, and the generosity of the gift of two free numbers, suggest the semi-official publication. If it is semi-official, I can only say that I wish every Government had in its service as bright and amusing a writer as "G. B. V.," the most important contributor to the new journal.

"When statistics relating to Russia are given in English," he tells us, "they have been obtained by English or American authorities by the worst possible process, viz. that of filling up special forms and lists of questions. The same questions are sent to all the countries of the world. Both the Hague and St. Petersburg, for instance, will receive a copy of the same blank form, with a request to insert in the column 'meteorology' the mean annual temperature of the country."

Was it Washington or Whitehall that wanted to know the mean annual temperature of the Russian empire? G. B. V. does not tell us, but he soon gives us chapter and verse for official blunders. The American official journal stumbles terribly over the production of gold; the *Bulletin du Ministère Français de l'Agriculture* makes wheat exported from Russia to England 3s. a hundredweight dearer at the port of departure than at the port of arrival; and our own Board of Trade in statistics about alcohol makes a mistake of 15 per cent. run through seventy-two columns. After this it is only a trifle that a

French bulletin should make a mistake of £102,000,000, owing to translating *darunter* into *en outre*.

Finishing for the moment with the official blunders, G. B. V. comes to the *Economist*, which has accused the Russian Minister of Finance of imposture on the strength of a complete misunderstanding of the term "free balance" (a translation of *disponibilités*), and that in spite of having received an elaborate explanation of the term three years before. But, says G. B. V. compassionately, "If an English journalist, in order to discuss Russian finance, is obliged to know what has been published in St. Petersburg, then the profession of critic is far too tiresome."

"The Russian State is the greatest landowner, the greatest capitalist, the greatest constructor of railways, and carries on the largest business in the world," and it must consequently "have a budgetary legislation more able, more complex, less primitive—to put it plainly—than that of the United Kingdom," and "its control must be organized with a perfection and detail unknown elsewhere." I doubt if G. B. V. does justice to the complexity of British national accounts, but I shall not quarrel with his suggestion that they are "primitive." The expenditure of the Russian Government in 1898 amounted to about £186,000,000. Let not our readers hold up their hands in horror and ejaculate something about bloated budgets. First, let them observe that more than £32,500,000 of this total is capital expenditure, and next that nearly £28,000,000 is spent by the ministry of ways and communications chiefly in railway working expenses. Further, they must notice that in a British budget only a portion of the £9,500,000 which Russia sets down for extraordinary shipbuilding would be charged on the first year. When these deductions are made the total is reduced to a sum not very much above the expenditure of the United Kingdom before the present war, and very much less than what that expenditure is likely to be after the war. The army cost £34,000,000, and the navy about £7,000,000, exclusive of the extraordinary expenditure already mentioned, which compares very favourably with our own £24,000,000 for the army, and £27,600,000 for the navy. The increase in expenditure on the two services taken together has been about equal in the two countries, namely, about 50 per cent. in ten years. If this rate of progress could be maintained, the military and naval expenditure of the United Kingdom a century hence would amount to about four thousand five hundred millions (£4,500,000,000) per annum in time of peace. Yet this rate is not rapid enough for some people!

EDWIN CANNAN.



"DIE SOCIALE REFORM"<sup>1</sup> is a well printed and well got up quarto publication of from 30 to 36 pp., appearing bi-monthly, and professing to treat of the following subjects: (1) Social Circumstances; (2) Labour; (3) Trade and Association; (4) The Land Question; (5) Demography and Insurance; (6) Social Credit; (7) The Care of the Poor; (8) The Dwellings Question; (9) Hygiene and Sanitation; (10) Food Supply; (11) Traffic; (12) Private Welfare Institutions and Private Beneficence; (13) Education, Schools, and the Training of the People; (14) Sociology; (15) Literature. (It will be seen that there is scarcely any subject that cannot be fitted into so wide a frame, since religion, science, and art, though omitted by name, may, and many would think should, have their place in the "training of the people.") The journal pledges itself to draw its facts and figures only from authorized sources at home and abroad, so that its matter shall be "unconditionally authentic and incontrovertible." The editor, Dr. E. V. Zenker, in an opening address to his readers, defines his point of view by saying that "Social Reform is neither system nor revelation, but experiment guided by scientific insight."

The titles of a few articles or heads of contents in the first three numbers will perhaps best exemplify the character of the publication: (No. 1) "Historic Materialism" (a contribution towards the recent history of Marxism); "Average Prices of the more important Articles of Consumption in various European Capitals" (tabular<sup>2</sup>); "Accident and Sickness Assurance in Austria;" "The New York Life Assurance Society" (statement of the conditions under which the company is allowed to do business in Prussia); "Movement of the Population in various Large Cities of Europe in the Month of October, 1899 (tabular<sup>3</sup>); "The Dwellings Question," including a notice of the inquiry into this subject in this city of Berne, which notice is continued in No. 2; "Regulation of the Brandy Trade;" "The Training after School of Girls having care of Children" (No. 2); "Insurance against Sickness and Accident in Switzerland,"—a long and exhaustive paper, extending over nearly ten columns; "The Strike Movement in Austria;" "Anarchism, Social Reform, and the Right of Punishment" (continued in No. 3); "The Strikes in the Austrian Coal

<sup>1</sup> *Halbmonatschrift für soziale Wissenschaft, Gesetzgebung und Praxis*. [Wien, I., Krugerstrasse 17.]

<sup>2</sup> This table recurs in every number; but after beginning with September, 1899, in No. 1, goes back to June, 1899, in the following numbers, the list of towns rising from four to nine, whilst No. 5 repeats September on the extended scale,—a somewhat eccentric proceeding.

<sup>3</sup> This, again, is carried back to June in No. 2, on an extended scale, but is eventually dropped.

Districts " (continued in No. 3) ; " The Housing Question in Austria ; " " Co-operative Societies in 1898 " (referring to Germany, England, and Servia) ; " Alteration in the German Law of Sickness Insurance ; " " Workmen's Insurance in Finland ; " " Official Protection of Children " (No. 3) ; " Labour Protection " (dealing with a bill introduced by the Austrian Minister of Commerce, for extending to railway and other constructive undertakings the provisions of the law as to the maximum hours of labour and the employment of children) ; " Strike Statistics ; " " The Measures for the furtherance of Industry in Austria ; " " Rural Colonization in Hungary ; " " The Mortgage Business of Insurance Companies ; " " A New Building Law for Saxony." Short literary notices or references appear in every number, the fifth, *e.g.*, giving the contents of the *Economic Review* for January, 1900.

The paper in the third number on the Austrian Coal Strike may be noted as showing the very considerable dimensions attained by this labour contest, over 60,000 out of 106,000 men in Austria alone having been out of work, whilst it extended to Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Styria, and Carinthia. But perhaps the most noteworthy paper is one in the fifth number, on " The Fixing by Legislation of the Eight Hours' Day." It will be news to many that the Lower Chamber (the " Landtag ") in Bavaria has passed an Eight Hours' Bill for adults in coal-mines. A proposal to this effect has also been brought forward in the Austrian Parliament.<sup>1</sup>

J. M. LUDLOW.

THE LABOUR REPRESENTATION CONFERENCE.—The origin of this significant event was a resolution, carried by 546,000 votes to 434,000, of the Plymouth Trade Union Congress last year, to the following effect:—" That this Congress, having regard to its decisions in former years, and with a view to securing a better representation of the interests of labour in the House of Commons, hereby instructs the Parliamentary Committee to invite the co-operation of all the co-operative, socialistic, trade union, and other working (? 'class') organizations to jointly co-operate on lines mutually agreed upon in convening a special congress of representatives from such of the above-named organizations

<sup>1</sup> Some errors may be noted in an article in the same number on a recent movement for the education of the people in France, which refers to the organization in England, in 1856, of courses of lectures for workmen by " Charles Kingsley, Denison, Maurice, and John Ruskin," the establishment of the Working Men's College in that year being apparently the fact referred to. To Maurice belongs distinctly the founding of that College ; Kingsley only approved of it ; Ruskin only joined when the list of teachers and classes had to be settled, and Edward Denison never had anything to do with it.

as may be willing to take part, to devise ways and means for securing the return of an increased number of labour members to the next Parliament." In accordance with this instruction, the Parliamentary Committee invited the Co-operative Union, and the three national Socialist societies, to a preliminary meeting. The Co-operators found themselves unable to take part, as they had the matter of parliamentary representation under consideration; but the Socialists sent delegates, who talked over the proposals with the Parliamentary Committee, and came to a general agreement as to the proposals to be laid before the Conference. Much of the success of the Conference was due to this wise device of a preliminary discussion between the leaders of the various parties.

The Conference assembled at the Memorial Hall, in London, on February 27th, under the chairmanship of Mr. W. C. Steadman, M.P., and consisted of 129 delegates representing 568,177 persons. Of these delegates, 7 were sent by 13,000 I.L.P. members, 4 by 9000 S.D.F. members, and 1 by 861 Fabians. The remainder were trade unionists, including Bootmakers (31,000), London Compositors (11,415), Dockers (22,000), Engineers (85,000), Lancashire Miners (29,000), Plasterers (11,436), Railway Servants (54,000), Shipwrights (15,583), Spinners (24,287), and the Typographical Association (15,000). It will be noticed that some of the most important unions of boiler-makers, miners, and cotton operatives were absent. Mr. Sam Woods, M.P., the Secretary, and other members of the Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, were on the platform, but many of them were not delegated by their societies, and therefore took little part in the proceedings.

The first serious discussion arose over the phrase "members of the working classes," as contrasted with "men sympathetic with the aims and demands of the Labour movement." It was a happy augury for the harmony of the proceedings that Mr. George Barnes, Secretary of the Engineers and late I.L.P. candidate, proposed, whilst Mr. John Burns, M.P., seconded the resolution in favour of the latter. Mr. Burns said he was tired of "working-class" houses and "working-class" margarine, and the Conference agreed with him by 102 votes to 3. It was thus decided that the object of the Conference was to promote the "representation of working-class opinion in the House of Commons, by men sympathetic with the aims and demands of the Labour movement, whose candidatures are promoted by one or other of the organized movements represented by the constitution which this Conference frames." The peculiar wording of the last phrase is designed so as to include the co-operators if they decide to come in.



This point settled, the Conference reached the critical point. The S.D.F. brought forward their familiar resolution demanding a distinct party, which should recognize the Class War, and aim at the complete socialization of the means of production. But, notwithstanding eloquent speeches by the Secretary of the London Trades Council and others, an amendment moved by Mr. Wilkie of the Shipwrights was carried by 59 votes to 35. Later on, however, Mr. Wilkie withdrew his motion in favour of a second amendment, moved by Mr. Keir Hardie, to the following effects :—

“This Congress is in favour of establishing a distinct Labour Group in Parliament, who shall have their own Whips and agree upon their own policy ; which must embrace a readiness to co-operate with any party which, for the time being, may be engaged in promoting legislation in the direct interest of labour ; and be equally ready to associate themselves with any party in opposing measures having an opposite tendency ; and, further, members of the Labour Group shall not oppose any candidate whose candidature is being promoted in terms of Resolution I.” Mr. Burns assured the Conference that what they were asking for already existed ; and ultimately the resolution was passed unanimously.

On the following day it was decided that an Executive Committee of twelve should be elected—seven Trade Unionists, one Fabian, and two each from the I.L.P. and S.D.F. These were chosen forthwith by their respective groups, the Fabian delegate causing some amusement by nominating, seconding, and electing himself ! Mr. J. R. Macdonald of the I.L.P. was appointed honorary secretary and an additional member of the Committee. The duty of the Committee is “to prepare an official list of candidates, run in accordance with Resolution I., to be recommended by the Committee for the support of working-class electors.” It was agreed that each body should be responsible for the expenses of its own candidate ; and an annual contribution of 10s. per 1000 members was levied for working expenses.

Finally, after a resolution in favour of inviting the future co-operation of Trades Councils, the newly elected executive held a meeting, and made all arrangements for at once setting to work.

Thus ended with genuine cordiality the most notable Labour Conference held in England within the memory of middle-aged men. The Socialist lions have at last lain down with the Trade Union lambs, and if either party be “inside,” it is certainly not the lambs !

E. R. PEASE.

THE STRIKE IN THE MUNICIPAL GASWORKS AT GLASGOW.—On Saturday night, November 18, 1899, at the instigation of a few specially discontented individuals, a large body of the men composing the night-shift (which works from 10 p.m. to 9 a.m.) suddenly, and without any previous warning, threw down their tools and refused to continue their work. This happened at Dalmarnock, one of the three depôts of the Corporation Gas Department. The men were reasoned with by the district station-manager, but in vain; and at 2 a.m. they left the yard to visit Tradeston and Maryhill, the two other depôts, with the view of inducing the workers there to strike in sympathy. They obtained, however, but little support.

Hearing of what had occurred, the Gasworkers' Union immediately summoned a meeting of its members, the upshot of which was that the malcontents were told to return to their work, and a deputation of men representing the three depôts, together with the acting-secretary of the union, was appointed to interview Mr. Foulis, the Corporation gas manager, on the matter. Mr. Foulis, however, refused to receive the deputation, if accompanied by the union secretary; and subsequently repeated his refusal even when, as authorized by the union, the secretary withdrew from the deputation. He pointed out that the Dalmarnock men had by their action ceased to be in the Corporation's employment, though he was prepared to overlook the mitigated offence of the Tradeston and Maryhill men. Then ensued a series of negotiations, chiefly with a view to the formation of a board of conciliation to "determine the regulation of wages and working conditions of the department," which culminated in an appeal to the Lord Provost and other members of the Town Council for the establishment and recognition of such a board. However, this appeal, though endorsed at a meeting of the citizens at the City Halls, proved fruitless. The rejected strikers have, for the most part, sought employment elsewhere. The position of affairs now seems to be that the various members of the Town Council are being individually interviewed in order to secure their support for some arrangement whereby the union may be officially recognized by the Gas Department.

The dispute had no reference to the question of hours or wages. The former are not excessive, and the latter appear to be fairly high for the unskilled and semi-skilled labour employed in the production of gas. It should also be mentioned that, according to an agreement between the men and the Gas Department, a bonus, at the rate of a shilling a week, is given in a lump sum at the expiration of the contract, provided that each man "shall remain sober, honest, industrious,

and able to do the work allotted to him," and "agrees to obey the orders of the foreman or manager in charge."

The grievance which provoked the strike was concerned with the principle of trade unionism. It is asserted that unionists are deliberately weeded out; that non-unionists are systematically promoted over unionists, even although the latter are more experienced and have served longer in the works; and that "outsiders"—men from the Highlands and parts of Ireland—are taken on in preference to local men. The men also declare that the socialistic tone of their union, and the fact that its headquarters are in London, are the main reasons why their union is officially discountenanced.

Careful investigation has failed to show how far these grievances are realities, much discrepancy appearing in the rival statements. It seems clear, however, that dictation as to the conduct of the works is strongly resented by the authorities, who point to the fact that gas is of such vital importance to the community at large, that any outside interference with the working of the department would simply paralyze the city. Also, that in "signing on" preference is frequently given to "outsiders;" the reason being that they are steadier men than the average Glasgow labourer. Moreover, these Highlanders and Irishmen come over in such numbers, in search of a "winter's job," that they can be depended upon to furnish a regular supply, whereas the local men available are always a fluctuating quantity. But the Gas Department asserts that no preference is given to non-union men as such, and no official inquiries on this account were ever made in the selection or advancement of a man. All that is stipulated by the authorities is that unionists and non-unionists shall have equal liberty to work side by side; and the only "preference given" is to a "rate-payer," a concession secured by the union.

Things have accordingly reached a deadlock. The manager, supported by the Town Council, refuses to recognize, or to allow any interference on the part of, the union; the men, on the other hand, assert that by the present system the principle of unionism is imperilled, and demand the recognition of the union as the official intermediary.

Another grievance, though one which has hardly yet assumed definite proportions, is the principle on which the men "sign on." In consequence of a threatened strike in the gas department at Tradeston in 1889—when the management had to accede to the men's terms in order to prevent a failure of the gas supply—a plan (not peculiar to Glasgow) has been adopted whereby the men "sign on," either singly or in groups, at various times, which always and designedly



overlap each other. This plan prevents anything like a general strike. According to this agreement (which the legal adviser to the union says is "unreasonable," but "absolutely legal in its terms," though it would require a penalty of £10, since it is usually signed unstamped, before it could be proceeded upon in the Courts), a notice of at least fourteen days, as required by the Conspiracy Act of 1875, would have to be given before the workman could leave his employment. Such a plan naturally operates against the union exercising any effective control over the whole body of its members, in the event of ordering a strike. But the authorities assert that this is the only real protection against the risk of the city being deprived of its light, though, according to the legal opinion already quoted, "so far as the Criminal Law is concerned, the Corporation is as well protected without any agreement being signed."

It only remains to say that the union has from the beginning much deprecated this particular strike, as being, if not uncalled for, at all events premature and unauthorized. It has paid very dearly for the ill-considered act of those who (during the illness of the secretary) instigated it, having disbursed nearly £150 for out-of-work pay, and fines levied on the strikers by the Court.

A. C. LAUGHLIN.

TWO PROFIT-SHARING CONCERNS—(1) Messrs. William Thomson & Sons, Woollen and Worsted Cloth Mills, Huddersfield; (2) Messrs. Clarke, Nickolls & Coombs, Ltd., Confectionery Works, Hackney Wick. — The first significance of such profit-sharing schemes as these lies, Mr. Hobson says,<sup>1</sup> "in transcending the vulgar error, which consists in supposing that because capital and labour are alike essential to modern business, this mutuality of need secures industrial peace." Community of interest is not enough in itself to prevent conflict, until at least it is recognized that the greatest interest is also a common interest, namely peace. And yet the value of peace is largely a subjective value. It is doubtful whether any Hindu but a Bengali, or any Kaffir values it at all. And so in our social conditions a strike no doubt often affords a pleasant excitement, when its results are not too serious. The worst of it is, that the greatest sufferers often have no hand in determining the issues of economic peace and war. In their behalf, if in no other, we welcome all practical efforts to eliminate the causes of industrial conflict.

Both these businesses are thoroughly alive to the importance of dividends, and, indeed, secure them. Messrs. Thomson & Sons pay

<sup>1</sup> *Good Citizenship*, p. 85.

5 per cent., and Messrs. Clarke, Nickolls & Coombs paid "3s. and 15s. per share, free of income-tax, on the preference and ordinary shares respectively" for the last half-year. But probably they would have had higher dividends if their businesses had been carried on in the ordinary competitive manner. Messrs. Thomson, for instance, paid £334 out of their profit of £2042 to an assurance and pension fund, as well as £1010 to be distributed as a bonus on wages (1s. 6d. in the £) and on co-operative and shareholders' purchases (9d. in the £). And Messrs. Clarke, Nickolls & Coombs presented their workpeople with a bonus of £7000. In 1897 the bonus to labour was even higher, and amounted to £9500. On the other hand it does not appear that these profits are much larger than they would ordinarily be, by reason of greater attention and efficiency on the part of the employees, stimulated by the hope of a share in profits. "Amongst a minority," says Mr. George Mathieson, the chairman of the company, "there is an excellent spirit, and we derive most valuable, most splendid assistance from them. Another, and, I believe, a very large portion, think profit-sharing an excellent thing, and doubtless wish to help, but do not show great initiation or zeal, either to save money or make it. Some, again, are absolutely indifferent; and others—I wish I could say a small number—not only waste time and waste materials, but, one sometimes thinks, actually strive to thwart the general desire to help forward the cause in which all are alike interested." It is true that in the Huddersfield business a better spirit seems to prevail. Thus on one occasion the workpeople, learning that the interest on the share capital could not be paid out of profits, unanimously decided to pay this out of their wages, being convinced that the firm's principle was a just one, and, if applied generally, would lessen the reasonable discontent of their fellow-workers with their condition. In this case it is the workpeople who are awake to the value of profit-sharing as an insurance against conflagration.

A further point about the Huddersfield works is their refusal to manufacture goods of inferior quality. "In our attempt to deal with the evils of the credit system in production, we have sold £19,000 worth of goods upon cash terms, without commissions, bribes, or the use of one fibre of shoddy." This, no doubt, is a trace of Mr. Ruskin's influence. It seems doubtful whether such a policy would do good if universally adopted. "Inferior quality" is, after all, a relative term. Everything made is of "inferior quality," to Plato's ideas. And every one must, at some time in his life, have been poor enough to appreciate possessing a thing of inferior quality rather than nothing. It is, it may be remarked in passing, a good instance of what seems to have

been Ruskin's influence generally in the sphere of the practical. He did everything from the artistic point of view, speaking because his heart was hot within him, producing because there was something claiming utterance. But he perhaps forgot that the maker, to continue from Plato, has less knowledge about a thing than the user. And he therefore incurs the charge occasionally of being unpractical. Still, as there is no doubt a great deal too much shoddy in the world, moral and material, we can be sincerely grateful to him for his uniformly tonic influence, an influence which has found an unexpectedly congenial soil in so many of the best men of commerce.

It is noticeable that the principle of preferential dealing, which was a commonplace of trade fifty years ago, is beginning to emerge again, as in the case of Messrs. Thomson's mills. In 1892, Mr. Thomson wrote that 50 per cent. of his business was co-operative, *i.e.* presumably from clients who were interested in the promotion of industrial co-partnership.

There is also in this mill a scheme for sick-pay and pensions. "Whenever the net profits realized in any year are equal to £5 per cent. of the wages paid during that period, a sum equal to 1 per cent. of such wages shall be carried to the Assurance and Pension Fund." In proportion as the profit increases relatively to the wages a larger sum is thus devoted, up to a maximum of 5 per cent. of the wages. This maximum was reached this year, when £6698 were paid in wages and the profit was £2042. Consequently £334 were placed to the account of the Assurance and Pension Fund. This seems a very liberal provision, and yet, by means of the maximum, it saves the company from the danger which besets such associations—notably that remarkable one, the Vooruit of Ghent,—lest the pensions should eventually swallow up all the profits.

Mr. Mathieson complains that, in view of the public service they are rendering, the public so seldom inquires for their goods. No doubt many of us would be only too glad to do so, if these businesses were such that the public could be aware of the individual existence of manufacturers of such articles as they produce—cloth and confectionery. They certainly seem to have established a claim on our gratitude, and it is to be hoped that men of good will may be able to help in securing the permanence of industrial peace by such simple and effective means.

LAWRENCE PHILLIPS.

MORE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LEGISLATION IN GERMANY.—The German law dealing with workmen's compensation is at present being



recast, and the recasting, it is rather unsatisfactory to add, is not turning out altogether for the better. We are still only experimenters on the same ground, and we know that what is now happening at Berlin will before very long have to happen among ourselves in respect of our own Act, which is notoriously imperfect. Therefore the changes effected in the German law should possess some interest for us.

The original German laws were passed, one by one, between 1884 and 1887. It is, therefore, in no way surprising that by the present time defects in them should have become apparent. The whole machinery was, as I myself have ventured to point out, cumbrous and complicated, and the consequences have proved such as one had reason to look for, and as I pointed out five years ago.<sup>1</sup> Those defects are now being remedied. And if that were all, there would be no ground for complaint. However, it is plain that by the modifications adopted, the character, and indeed the aim and object, of the measure threaten to become not immaterially changed, and, furthermore, that the change now effected is likely to prove hereafter only the first stage on a progress leading the law somewhat away from its original line of advance.

In marked contrast with its two sister measures, the Sick Insurance and the Old Age Insurance laws, the German Workmen's Compensation law was launched fifteen years ago as a measure anything but State Socialist. There was no trace of socialism, State or democratic, about it. In fact, it was, if the word may be used, distinctly "desocializing." That is, it put the burden of liability for disablements sustained by workmen in another man's employment, where the risk of sustaining them was incurred for that other man's benefit, on that other man's shoulders, instead of leaving it on the shoulders of the community, taxable for this purpose under the poor-law. The grouping of employers in large corporations, ensuring the presence of adequate funds, and creating a powerful motive for avoiding accidents, together with very efficient machinery for giving effect to that motive, though it necessarily involved an interference with individual liberty, appeared a master-stroke of German policy. A mistake was, as it turned out, made, in grouping employers strictly according to trades. That involved most unwieldy districts, in which a large staff of clerks had to be maintained, and long journeys; and hence considerable expense, unconscionable delays, inconvenient overlapping, and a most detrimental distribution of local business into a large number of channels, through which in many cases it could dribble only at long intervals. These inconveniences are now rightly being remedied. The German

<sup>1</sup> *Contemporary Review*, January, 1895.

legislature does not all at once adopt the Austrian method of grouping by districts only, which has answered well. But by way of a beginning it has sanctioned the reference of Workmen's Compensation cases to the numerous "courts of arbitration" (courts of second instance, which, by reason of their representative character, are bound in future to become the true awarding tribunals), localized and placed within easy reach of every one, which were only recently created in connexion with the Old Age Pensions law. These courts, being in an equal measure representative of both sides, employers and workmen, bid fair to prove popular and to give satisfaction in the matter of awards. This new departure accordingly must be taken to represent a distinct advantage to the workmen, who, indeed, gain plenty more than one need not grudge them. Thus the schedule of qualified occupations has been substantially enlarged so as to include a considerable number of persons to whom hitherto the law, promising relief to all, has brought no boon. It has not yet proved possible to apply the law to domestic servants, to whom German legislators have long desired by its means to give protection. One step in this direction has indeed been taken in extending the benefits of the law to employees, otherwise qualified and occasionally employed in domestic service. However, a large number of persons employed in various trades, more particularly in the very subdivided one of building, are now for the first time admitted to compensation benefits, even if they, likewise, should be only *occasionally* employed in scheduled work. Building is, as appears from the statistics discussed on another page, responsible for a very large number of disablements. And it is rather curious to observe the strikingly different way in which our own legislators and the German have dealt with these cases. "Exclude all at work on buildings less than thirty feet high," so said Mr. Chamberlain; "and since small employers are little better off than their men, except their men in any case." "Small masters are really no better off than their men, and their work gives rise to many accidents, by reason of the defective conditions of their cheap implements," so says the German legislator; "therefore give the small employer the same benefit that his men enjoy, though of course at his own cost; let him insure himself against accident."

Lengthening the schedule of occupation is not enough. A large number of workshops still escape liability on technical grounds; in the very dangerous brewing trade as many as 11,446 out of a total of 16,625. This defect has likewise been remedied. Moreover, a rather more liberal standard has been adopted for wages as regulating compensation; additional concessions have been made in respect of

“dependants” of workmen killed, both in the ascending and the descending line ; compensation has been secured to persons bringing workmen their dinner or tea, etc., into the workshop, to messengers and others not actually in employment on the premises, but entering them in the discharge of their duties ; the commutation of very small pensions into lump sums is likewise now encouraged. Moreover, the right possessed by employers, and their corporation doctors, to compel disabled workmen to submit, whether they will or no, to a course of painful orthopædic treatment, has been to some extent restricted. And some degree of fixity of tenure has been secured to pensioners by making reductions, on the ground of ability recovered, allowable only at rather long, fixed intervals. A restriction has designedly been placed upon the workmen’s right to appeal to the supreme tribunal—that is, the Imperial Office at Berlin. Such appeals have been hitherto directly encouraged by being made absolutely free of cost to workmen, and precluding the possibility of a reduction of pensions as the upshot of the hearing. And the encouragement has had its effect. That will henceforth be changed. But it means nothing in comparison with the much greater facility for appealing to a court likely to prove more favourable to workmen, in their own district, given at the same time. The Parliamentary Committee which sat to consider a reform of the law in 1897, and which suggested most of these modifications, went a good deal further in recommending that the pensionless period after disablement should be reduced from thirteen to only four weeks. At first blush this seems reasonable, more particularly when one is told that workmen’s compensation applies to only about one-sixth of all workmen’s disablements occurring in employment. However, that one-sixth in truth answers for seven-eighths of the entire cost, and that cost is borne to the last penny by the employers, who in addition contribute one-third to the expense of the remaining eighth. The shortening of the period would accordingly mean relieving the sick funds—which are compulsory in Germany alike for employers and men—of a large portion of their expenditure, to which the workmen themselves contribute two-thirds, and putting it altogether upon the employers. The German Government has not seen its way to accepting this.

The point here raised has, however, been strongly urged in Parliament, and will in all probability before very long be adopted. It may seem strange that the German Chamber should take so strong a view in support of workmen’s claims. The explanation is, that large manufacturers are not very powerfully represented in that Assembly, and that their influence is probably more than neutralized by the presence of the agrarian party, whose interests are totally different, in this



matter as in most others, and whose hostility to the industrial and commercial classes has been greatly intensified by the recent squabble about the proposed new canal to connect the Rhine and the Elbe. The most powerful parties in the Assembly are the Socialists and the Ultramontanes, both of which are sworn champions of working men's interests.

The feature in the new German legislation which is calculated to inspire a little misgiving is this, that in a great degree that legislation substitutes the principle of State Socialism for that hitherto pursued of making every one bear his own burden, and threatens to do so in an even higher degree in the future. Indeed, the avowed end now is, not to rectify an injustice, but to bestow a popular boon in a maximum dose, admitting more and more beneficiaries, while not extending the basis of support. More people, many more, are presently to be put on the schedule. The maximum limit of wages entitling to the right to compensation is eventually to be raised from £100 per annum to £150. The waiting time is to be shortened. Assuredly it sounds very generous that workmen not generally qualified under the schedule are to be treated as qualified in the event of their performing occasionally, it may be only once in the year, an act which brings them under the schedule. But the money for this is to come out of the pocket of the employers, who surely cannot with justice be made responsible for what happens out of their employment! In like manner, the idea of multiplying small workshops coming under insurance and allowing small employers to insure themselves, decidedly appeals to the sense of human kindness. But along with this we are told, by the Government itself, that workmen's compensation in such small employment is, like small accounts in a savings bank, worked at a loss, which the larger employers have to be called upon to make good. By all means make the employer pay for all risk incurred in his employment! But this new German law to some extent violates the principle of justice.

The real fact is that the German Government, when it started on its course of "social" legislation, had the State Socialist end, which has now become apparent, more in view than the purely reparative one of more justly apportioning the burden of disablement. What it aimed at was the contentment of dissatisfied and, to some extent, disaffected classes. Such object is, as a rule, to be accomplished, not by apportioning scrupulously, but by giving rather freely. Thanks to its command of the services of peculiarly able officers, the German Government has achieved less ambitious but more solid and justifiable results by the way. It now openly talks of carrying into effect the pet scheme of declared State Socialists—that is, the scheme of combining the three kinds of working men's insurance adopted into one great organism, to

be worked by one large staff. The essential difference of character in those three measures will become apparent from their description. Sick insurance is a substitute for our Friendly Societies. Membership under it is compulsory (though not absolutely general), and employers are made to pay £1 to every £2 contributed by the workmen. Old-age pensions are paid, a little more than one-third by the workmen, a corresponding amount by the employer, and the balance, a fixed grant, by the State. Workmen's compensation is paid entirely by the employer. Here are three institutions of different character, which can be blended only by a sacrifice of principle on the part of the stronger to assimilate it to the weaker.

The German Workmen's Compensation law has effected a great deal of good, both in affording relief in its own country, and in serving more or less as a model for similar legislation elsewhere. Relief, no doubt, it will continue to give on its new lines. But with State Socialism writ rather large upon its front, it can scarcely be expected to have quite the same stimulating effect as hitherto, as a model and an incentive to emulation, in other countries, where the principle embodied in its new methods is by no means generally accepted.

HENRY W. WOLFF.

THE NATIONAL HOUSING COMMITTEE.—The subject which most interests the English people just now is, of course, the war in South Africa. The housing of the people is perhaps a bad second, but second it undoubtedly is. On no other question, always excepting the weather, is there at present such widespread interest. The Prince of Wales makes speeches, the Government introduces a bill, the London County Council appoints committees and passes resolutions, and politicians in every town and county hold conferences or give lectures, and do their best to understand the very dull and obscure details of the Housing Problem.

All this means that the question is felt to be important by many people. It is not, however, very attractive for the social reformer. Nothing less than genius can make it entertaining; talent is requisite to render it comprehensible to an audience; and great industry alone can master its details. It is legal from beginning to end, except in so far as it consists of the cubic capacity of bedrooms, the average thickness of party walls, and the constituent elements of municipal mortar. Yet pamphlets dealing with these literally dry-as-dust topics sell far and wide just now, and conferences upon this subject are attended by larger crowds than flock to anything political save "stop-the-war" meetings.

The Conference called by the Fabian Society on March 1st, at the Memorial Hall, was one of the most important of these gatherings. Delegates from local authorities in London and the home counties, trade union leaders and co-operators, and many specialists, M.P.'s and county councillors assisted, in both the French and the English meaning of the word. Mr. Sidney Webb, L.C.C., presided in the morning; and Mr. Frederick Brocklehurst, of the Manchester Town Council, in the afternoon. Papers were read by Dr. Bowmaker of Sunderland, and Councillor Thompson of Richmond, authors of the two best books on the subject; by Mr. Clement Edwards, writer of the recent special articles in the *Daily News*, and by others.

Perhaps the most important point on which the Conference agreed was that the only remedy for the house famine is to build houses. There are those who would effect a cure by taxing land. Unfortunately for their theory, statistics show that the value of land enters very little into the rental of a workman's cottage. Much attention was given to the absurdity of the present law, which compels the tenants of public authorities to purchase their houses through the rent, not for themselves, but for the municipalities of our grandchildren fifty years hence. No one could explain why a local authority should be compelled to write off the value of land at all. Urban land, at any rate, is the one imperishable asset on which a loan would always be secure.

The Conference resolved itself into a National Committee<sup>1</sup> for the purpose of watching and promoting amendments to the excellent but altogether inadequate bill introduced by the Government.

The following is its programme :—

“To secure amendment of the Government Housing Bill now before Parliament, on these lines :—

“Clause I. :—

“(a) That local authorities be empowered to *hold* land outside their areas for future needs. [Some question having arisen as to whether the Clause in the Government bill enabling local authorities to acquire, also allows them to hold outside land, it is considered of the utmost importance that this doubt should be removed, and such power specifically given.]

“(b) That local authorities be empowered to acquire land compulsorily (after six months' notice to the owner) *on the basis of assessable value*, and to hold the same for the purposes of Part III. of the Act of 1890.

“Clause II. :—

<sup>1</sup> The office is at 3, Clement's Inn, Strand, London, W.C.



“(c) Power to Rural District Councils to acquire cheaply and easily land for building without the sanction of any other body than the Local Government Board.

“General :—

“(d) Extension of the period for the repayment of building loans.

“(e) A definite status to the local authority to secure from the railway companies, by an order of the Railway Commission, a guarantee of proper railway facilities as a condition precedent to the local authority building new cottages or dwellings.

“(f) That the power of ‘representation’ now possessed under Parts I. and II. with regard to unhealthy areas should be extended to Part III., so as to secure inquiry, report, and action in the case of a ‘house famine.’

“(g) Registration of owners.

“(h) Compulsory acquisition of grossly insanitary property at the values of the materials and of the land, subject to the obligation to rehouse thereon.

“(i) A notice to quit of at least three months to be made compulsory in rural districts.

“(j) Sanitary inspectors to be certificated.”

EDWARD R. PEASE.

## LEGISLATION, PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRIES, AND OFFICIAL RETURNS.

THE most interesting of the quarter's blue books, from a social point of view, is the *Report of the Departmental Committee on the Financial Aspects of the Proposals made by the Select Committee of the House of Commons of 1899 about the Aged Deserving Poor* (Cd.<sup>1</sup> 67 fol., 143 pp., 1s. 3d.). This fourth Committee consisted of Sir Edward Hamilton (Assistant Secretary to the Treasury), Mr. Brabrook (Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies), Mr. Provis (Permanent Secretary to the Local Government Board), and Mr. Noel Humphreys (Chief Clerk at the General Register Office). The purpose for which they were appointed was, to speak plainly, to make an estimate of the cost of the scheme propounded by Mr. Chaplin's Committee, dealt with in the last number of this *Review*. To do this it was necessary first to find out how many people over sixty-five there will be. There is not much difficulty or doubt as to this part of the problem. Provided the death rates and the emigration and immigration rates at different ages remain exactly the same in the future as in the recent past, the future number of persons at the higher ages can be calculated to a nicety for a considerable length of time from the census figures of ages. Of course it is not certain that the death rates and the migration rates will remain the same, but the two together are not likely to vary widely. On this basis the number of persons over sixty-five in the United Kingdom will be 2,016,000 in 1901. Of these it is estimated 741,000 would have incomes of more than ten shillings a week, 515,000 would be disqualified on the ground of pauperism, 32,000 as aliens, criminals, and lunatics, and 72,700 "for inability to comply with the thrift test." This leaves 655,000 eligible for pensions. Mr. Chaplin's Committee were somewhat vague as to the amount of the pension; but the present Committee think that, "roughly speaking,"

<sup>1</sup> "Cd." is the new abbreviation for "Command," *i.e.* paper presented to Parliament by command of Her Majesty. The numbers were getting near 10,000, and so, to avoid the addition of a fifth numeral to the figures, a letter has been added to the initial. The saving in space is not obvious to the non-official mind.

they meant £13 per annum in rural and £18 4s. per annum in urban districts, and so they take the average at £15 12s. per annum in England and Wales, and £14 6s. in Scotland and Ireland. Then they add 3 per cent. for cost of administration, and deduct one-third of the present cost of outdoor relief to the aged, bringing out a total of the very handsome sum of £10,275,000 per annum. But in future years the number of old people will of course increase, since more people were born in the United Kingdom in the later decades of the nineteenth century than in the earlier. In 1911 the number over sixty-five will be 2,231,000, and in 1921 it will be 2,467,000. At first sight it would appear that this increase would raise the cost in those years only proportionately, *i.e.* to about £11,300,000 and £12,350,000. But the Committee think it right to assume that in the future a much smaller proportion would be disqualified by receipt of poor-relief, and though this is partly counterbalanced by an estimate of larger saving in poor-relief, the net result is that the estimates for 1911 and 1921 are raised to £12,650,000 and £15,650,000.

Of course, in many respects these estimates are little more than wild conjectures. It is not possible for any man to calculate how many people will be disqualified by the receipt of poor-relief or by the "thrift test." He can only guess. But, after all, these two questions are not of much real importance, since obviously the more successful the scheme the fewer disqualifications there will be under these heads. The advocates of pensions on the cheap are therefore debarred from attacking the Committee's Report from this side. The estimates of the total number of persons over sixty-five, on the other hand, are as sound as any estimates can possibly be, and they are not open to attack. The only thing left is to assert that the Committee have underestimated the number of persons who would be disqualified by being in possession of ten shillings a week. As to this the Committee have nothing to rely upon except what they call "the test census." This was an inquiry made among 12,431 aged persons in typical districts in England, and 12,751 in Scotland. To those who admitted that they had more than ten shillings a week, the Committee very liberally added all those (about 8 per cent. of the total) who declined to make any statement on the subject, except a few who were found to be in receipt of poor-relief. For the obvious fact (to which they draw attention) that every family would have an interest in arranging the distribution of its property so that the old people should be eligible for pensions, the committee make no allowance. On the whole it is difficult to see how any reasonable person, with common powers of observation, can doubt that their estimate of 741,000 persons with



over ten shillings a week out of a total of 2,016,000, is not only sufficient, but far too liberal.

It is a pity that the Committee did not manage incidentally to point out the absurdity of varying the pension with the cost of living in the locality. Here we are all complaining of urban overcrowding, and a Committee of experts declare that a House of Commons Committee, presided over by the President of the Local Government Board, actually intended to offer 7*s.* pensions to old people who chose to make their homes in towns, and only 5*s.* to those who remained in the country or retired to it after active life in the town! House of Commons Committees and Cabinet Ministers seem never able to grasp the fact that people move hither and thither, not from mere whim or occult planetary influences, but from self-interest, and that if you wish to overcrowd the towns the best way is to give people cheap houses and large incomes there.

However, it is unnecessary to slay the slain, and the scheme of Mr. Chaplin's Committee may be considered very effectually killed by the experts' report as to its cost. Cheapness alone could have recommended it, and it now appears not to be even cheap. If so much is to be spent, we may, it is felt, just as well go to Mr. Booth's shop and purchase the genuine article.

It was peculiarly fitting that, whether by accident or design, the publication of the present Report was simultaneous with that of this year's Budget. We are often told by wiseacres that the State has no Fortunatus's purse. But it is clear that modern European States have something very like it in their absurd military expenditure, which is maintained simply because the mass of their populations each cherish insane delusions about each other and themselves. Should they come to their senses in time, they will have plenty of money for old-age pensions, and many other things, without a halfpenny increase of taxation.

In the notice of the Inland Revenue Report for 1898 in the *Economic Review* for January, 1899 (p. 110), the question was asked why there should be many more houses between £50 and £60 annual value than between £40 and £50. The answer is that this is not the fact. The table on p. 109 misquoted the report; instead of "£30 and under £40," it should have read "£30 and not over £40;" the next class should be "over £40 and under £50," and the next "£50 and not over £60." This awkward classification is due to an unfortunate desire to combine the figures showing the number of houses subject to each of the various rates of duty with a statistical table showing the whole of the classes of houses. Its effect is that the £30

to £40 class includes both houses at exactly £30 and houses at exactly £40, while the £40 to £50 class includes neither houses at exactly £40 nor houses at exactly £50, and the £50 to £60 class includes both houses at exactly £50 and houses at exactly £60. As round numbers are naturally favoured in fixing rents, and £40 and £60 have a further advantage in being the highest extremity of particular rates of duty, it is not at all surprising that there should be more houses from £50 to £60, both included, than from £40 to £50, neither included. Evading these disturbing features of the classification, we get from the *Report of the Commissioners of H.M. Inland Revenue for 1898-9* (C. 9461, fol., 188 pp., 1s. 6d.) the following table of the number of private inhabited dwelling-houses in Great Britain in 1898-99 :—

	Under	£10	..	..	3,269,315
£10 and under	£15	..	..	..	1,384,432
£15	„	£20	..	..	684,364
£20	„	£25	..	..	237,673
£25	„	£30	..	..	174,029
£30	„	£50	..	..	367,778
£50	„	£80	..	..	145,360
£80	„	£100	..	..	32,238
£100	„	£150	..	..	40,598
£150	„	£200	..	..	14,698
£200	„	£300	..	..	12,315
£300	„	£400	..	..	4,617
£400	„	£500	..	..	2,066
£500	„	£600	..	..	998
£600	„	£700	..	..	618
£700	„	£1000	..	..	823
£1000 and over	..	..	..	..	810

These figures should be considered by any one who desires to frame estimates of the distribution of wealth. The experts might well have referred to them in estimating the number of aged persons with more than ten shillings a week.

The Labour Department sends us two of its hardy annuals, its Chief Labour Correspondent's *Report on the Strikes and Lock-outs of 1898* (C. 9437, 8vo, 214 pp., 10½d.), and his *Report on Trade Unions in 1898* (C. 9443, 8vo, 385 pp., 1s. 6½d.). The first of these shows that, apart from the great South Wales coal quarrel, 1898 was a peaceful year. If mining and quarrying be left out in all the years from 1892 to 1898, the latter year has the smallest number of persons involved in disputes, and the smallest number of days lost. But the long duration of the Welsh dispute counterbalanced, and much more than counterbalanced, this happy state of things, and so in the aggregate we find the disputes causing 15,289,478 working days to be lost, a larger number than in

any year except 1893, when 31,200,000 days were lost. In 1894 the number was 9,530,000 ; in 1895, 5,720,000 ; in 1896, 3,750,000 ; in 1897, 10,350,000. Mr. Burnett is struck, as well he may be, at the fact that from 1894 to 1898 about 47 per cent. of the persons affected by disputes belonged to the mining and quarrying group, although that group does not include more than 11 per cent. of the persons employed in the trades covered by the tables. His explanation of the fact is singularly unhappy. "Differences," he says, "arise, not only as to the general rates of wages, but also as to the special rates to be paid for work done under ever-varying conditions, and thus the mining industry has many special subjects of dispute which are not so common in other trades." There are, no doubt, many "ever-varying conditions" in mining, but, on the whole, it is one of the most homogeneous of trades. What are the ever-varying conditions, for example, in comparison with those of female domestic service? and is there ever a strike and millions of days lost in that great industry? Surely the reason why mining disputes cover large numbers of men and long periods of time is plain enough to any one who does not put a telescope to his blind eye—it is the fact that in mining the practice of "collective bargaining" is more highly developed than elsewhere.

The Trade Unions Report contains, in addition to the usual matter, a list of the ordinary contributions required from members by the hundred principal unions, and the benefits given in return. Both contributions and benefits will probably strike the uninitiated reader as higher than he would have expected. Contributions of 1s. per week and over are by no means uncommon.

The *Final Report of H.M. Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Subject of the Water Supply within the Limits of the Metropolitan Water Companies* (Cd. 25, fol., 93 pp., 9d.) is a somewhat wearisome document, the argument of which is extremely difficult to follow. A large portion of it is occupied with a tiresome discussion of the question how much an arbitrator would be likely to give the companies if their property were acquired compulsorily by a public authority, and whether this price would be a good bargain for the purchasers. It never seems to strike the Commissioners that, if the arbitrator awarded more than the property was worth, he would be acting unfairly, and that if the law compels him to do so, the law is wrong, and ought to be amended. The conclusion of the Commissioners seems to be that the bargain would be a bad one for the purchaser. They recommend, however, that the purchase should be carried out, and that the water supply of London and its suburbs should afterwards be managed by a Water Trust, consisting of a



chairman and vice-chairman appointed by the Local Government Board ; ten members appointed by the London County Council ; four by the Thames Conservancy ; two each by the other five county councils, the Lea Conservancy, and the town council of West Ham. The chairman and vice-chairman should be paid a salary, and the other members should receive fees for attendance, like company directors and the Thames Conservators. In desiring to set up a new authority instead of accepting the County Council, the Commissioners are probably right. London is a big place, which has grown far into the outlying fields in the fifty years that have passed since the little area now ruled over by the County Council became something more than the mere bundle of parishes included within the weekly bills of mortality. The increment of population within the county has ceased to increase, and must disappear altogether before many decades pass by, while the population outside is increasing with enormous rapidity. If the Commissioners had desired, they might perhaps have quoted places where the same state of things exists to an equal degree, and yet the governing body of the inner area has been entrusted with the water supply of the whole, and has performed its duty without giving rise to considerable complaint. But there is no use ignoring the fact that, whether it be owing to its virtues or its faults, or to both, the London County Council is hated as no governing body of any other town in the kingdom is hated, and that it is hated nowhere more than in the suburban districts. Moreover, though where the system has grown up gradually it has been acquiesced in, it should not be forgotten that the supply of water by a municipality to outside districts is so far just as much a negation of municipalization as supply by a private company. The constitution of the particular Board, however, proposed by the Commission, is absolutely indefensible. The plan of having a paid chairman and vice-chairman appointed by the head of one of the worst Government offices would not conduce to administrative efficiency ; and the proposal to give eighteen of the elected members to the outside, and only ten to the inside district is perfectly absurd at present, whatever it may be a century hence. Further, to put the nomination of ten of the outside members in the hands of the county councils is contrary to the main principle of local self-government, and would, in practice, lead to endless bickering. The outside representation should be given to the districts actually concerned, and not to the whole of Essex and Kent, or even Surrey, Hertford, and Middlesex.

EDWIN CANNAN.

## REVIEWS.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME. By W. SMART, M.A.,  
D. Phil., LL.D., Adam Smith Professor of Political Economy in  
the University of Glasgow. [xii., 341 pp. 5s. net. Macmillan.  
London, 1899.]

To Professor Smart, Political Economy is no "dismal science;" it is science touched with imagination and emotion. Economics is "no less than a study of the foundations and framework of modern society." Nor are its conclusions as depressing as might be expected, even if they are vaguer than a scientific inquiry might seem to promise. This is, if not the best of all possible economic worlds, the best under the circumstances. Professor Smart's conclusion is, for an economist, sufficiently tentative: "Given private property, the free transfer of property, and the inequality of start which the possession of two factors of production, or of a differential factor gives, there is a good deal to be said for the present distribution as a distribution according to service. At least, there is enough "rough justice" in it to make even those of us who feel its imperfections most keenly think twice before we give our countenance to any rival scheme which has yet been proposed" (p. 334). At the same time, Professor Smart admits that "private property and free transfer destroy the idea of *personal* desert, with which justice is assumed to be bound up," and that "payment by service" means "payment according to the deserts of factors" (of production), though he curiously adds that "it may reconcile us to the inevitable if we see that this payment, according to the deserts of factors, is the result of a right which seems innocent enough, and one without which liberty would be but a limited thing—the right to the enjoyment of what one makes by his own labour." Professor Smart takes this to be a justification not only of freedom of bequest, but of the private "possession of two factors of production." This "possession" is, however, minimized by the consideration that various facts are "steadily reducing land, in economic assessment, to the rank of a special form of capital," and that "the general acceptance of Professor Marshall's thesis that the rent of land is not a thing by itself, but the leading species, and that there must be rent so long as

there are differential qualities in any agent of product, labour being included, forbids us to regard rent as in itself a strong argument against private property" (p. 333).

It is in this way that Professor Smart rather lightly disposes of "the artificial prominence" given to rent in the Theory of Distribution; and as for interest, we are asked to remember that "capital, as capital, gives a person so little power unless he has a very large amount of it," and that "the true advantage that capital gives is the start it allows to the children of those who have it, in affording them time for education and training, and the advantage is somewhat altruistic." If this is meant to be an apology for the existence of the Dukes of Westminster and the Vanderbilt Juniors of this world, it is not likely to carry conviction to the Socialist, or, indeed, any other economic reasoner. It is doubtful whether it would carry us as far as the somewhat meagre conviction that "there emerges something curiously like a rough justice in the distribution," even if we cannot deny that "it is in some sense a distribution according to product, and is based on mutual service." The whole question is—in what sense? and it turns out to be a sense which is so "rough" and "general," and so liable to every kind and degree of qualification, that the support the argument lends to "the rough-and-ready generalization of experience that most men earn just about what they are worth," is, to say the least of it, somewhat precarious. The truth is that the main objection to any argument of this highly general and abstract character is that there is no reason why it should not end in the opposite conclusion to that which Professor Smart himself reaches. It is noteworthy that Mr. Hobhouse, in his *Labour Movement*, uses Professor Marshall's *Principles* to prove the "badness" of the present distribution of wealth, just as Professor Smart draws upon them to prove the opposite; and both applications agree in conceding a *primâ facie* plausibility to the other.

Professor Smart, in a strain appropriate to the holder of an "Adam Smith" chair of political economy, concludes that "man's self-love is God's Providence," and is almost ready to say, with Adam Smith, that in industry "the individual is led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention." But, in emphasizing the fact that "the correlation of demand and supply" is effected indirectly and almost unconsciously, the professor takes little notice of the other side of the shield. It is also exceedingly capricious and incalculable; and it is just the absence of any machinery for adjusting supply to demand, with all the consequences it involves to the producer, that makes the Socialist look to co-operation, voluntary,



municipal, or national—in other words, to the direct control of production by consumers—as the true line of industrial advance. Professor Smart acknowledges the “friction” which attends the working of competition, but only by way of pointing out that the possibility of miscalculation between producer and consumer “inevitably rights itself, though not without loss” (p. 84). Miscalculations are, as it were, only the shadows which throw into relief the true economic harmonies of demand and supply. We get no estimates or analysis of the “loss.”

It is, no doubt, true that supply slowly tends to adjust itself to demand—you have only to make your period “long” enough—but under a purely competitive system it by no means follows that the wages of labour, if once they are depressed by a “miscalculation,” necessarily right themselves at all; just because anything which lowers the standard of the labourer’s life decreases his efficiency, and his diminished efficiency in turn decreases his rate of wages—an excellent illustration of what Professor Marshall calls “cumulative action,” or General Walker, “the propagation of economic injuries.” The professor is not, indeed, indifferent to the fact that “low wages are a social danger with far-reaching economic consequences” (p. 295), and goes so far as to suggest that the best service of trade unions lies in their elimination of the weak employer—that is, the employer who is under a temptation to pay low wages. It is true that Professor Smart does all he can to diminish the effect of this concession, and his summing up of the effects of trade unionism on distribution is certainly a model of “hedging.”

“As the restriction which trade unionism puts on the liberty of the employer is not very serious, its direct effect on the distribution of income does not seem very great. At least, it does not amount to more than securing, by an artificial ‘dyke,’ the share which, with more or less friction, would have gone to labour without it. But, indirectly, its effect on wages seems to be considerable, inasmuch as it tends to maintain the efficiency of the stream of labour by favouring the strong employer, and putting a premium on the good worker. This conclusion, however, assumes that we are considering ideal trade unionism, apart from its accidents, mistakes, and abuses” (p. 299).

To illustrate the inconclusiveness of this kind of reasoning I may put side by side with the conclusion of Professor Smart, the result which Mr. Hobhouse reaches by the development of the same premisses, viz. Marshall’s *Principles of Economics*.

“We see, then, that the system which leaves the producers’ surplus as a prize to be fought for may stimulate good work, but it also cherishes sinister arts. It distributes its rewards in a way that causes

overstrain and worry, even to the favoured ones. It produces a competitive spirit concentrated on personal gain instead of public good. And in the train of all this come the evils we have discussed before, the repeated disorganization of industry, and the consequent loss of capital and deterioration of labour. . . . Thus free competition distributes the profits of industry so as to do the minimum of good at the maximum of cost" (*The Labour Movement*, pp. 71, 72).

Both arguments are equally *bonâ fide*, and both have their value and instructiveness, but both have the defects of their qualities; they are too general and abstract to be convincing or conclusive. The most serious defect of Professor Smart's argument is that it seems to allow no scope for collective action or intelligence. The "invisible hand" is bringing about better conditions of life "more quickly than any deliberate rearrangement of industry would." But Professor Smart's argument, so far as it is relevant to Socialism at all, only applies to its "catastrophic" form, to the idea of Socialism as a "complete overthrow" of the present "system." It need hardly be pointed out that working Socialism is not a system—however much it may need to be envisaged as a system—but a principle of reform. The alternative to the *status quo* is not revolution, but reform: and Socialism is simply a regulative idea of reform. Now, Professor Smart not only supplies no stimulus to reform, but gives it no direction. It is a doctrine of economic quietism: we must do nothing to disturb the pre-established harmony between self-interest and the common weal. Professor Smart is, of course, not insensible to the anomalies and hardships of "the distribution of income," and he is not called on to demand or to suggest remedies; but the whole strain of his argument tends to ignore the possibilities of collective action. For, take any of these "hardships;" we must be clear in what direction we are moving—in the direction of free enterprise or collective control. And is not this the point? Professor Smart seems to be under the impression that the issue of Socialism lies in the question of the distribution of income, and that its validity is in some way bound up with the contention that this distribution is arbitrary and chaotic, that it is "bad" and "unequal." A Socialist might be quite disposed to admit that the Professor may be right in seeming to "discover that the present distribution, far from being 'chaotic,' has many features which suggest that the wealth is being divided out as it is made, and falls to the factors which make it in some proportion to the share which they take in making it," without feeling that he has thereby admitted that the present distribution is either "good" or "just," still more without feeling that the present methods of production and consumption are not

capable of co-operative development, or that an intelligent organization of industry may not be as effective as the blind and unconscious "organization" of competitive commerce. He might also feel that much of Professor Smart's argument rests upon the assumption of competition between individual employers as the normal form of industry, and that no account is taken of the tendency of competition to pass over into monopoly or association. Or, again, he may ask himself what bearing the Professor's conclusions have on such methods of practical Socialism as the development of collective control by the national regulation of industry, or of collective ownership by the "municipalization" of local services. And yet these and other instalments of "collective rule" are more germane to the appreciation of working Socialism than the Socialist theory of value which (in instructed circles) is drawn from the same sources and dominated by the same ideas as the conception with which the Professor himself works. Surely, Professor Smart must be aware that even theoretic Socialism is no longer bound up with Marx's theory of Value, or Lassalle's Iron Law of Wages.

Although, however, I cannot consider that Professor Smart has delivered a frontal attack on Socialism, I should be the last to deny the interest and pertinence of his book. It is a book which is not only eminently worth reading, but eminently readable; it has something of the fascination of a novel. Professor Smart has peculiar qualifications for his subject. He has served, as he reminds us, a "considerable apprenticeship to practical business life," and he has sat at the feet not only of Adam Smith and Marshall, but of Plato and Ruskin and Carlyle. Perhaps the result is a certain looseness of texture in his argument; it is not so close as a Ricardian might desire; but it is all the more animated and picturesque. The distribution of income is to Professor Smart a very human and, therefore, a very serious question; and it is treated throughout with a frankness and sincerity that is above all praise. *Oh si sic omnes!* whether "Socialists" or "Individualists."

SIDNEY BALL.

STATISTICS AND ECONOMICS. By RICHARD MAYO-SMITH, Ph.D., Professor of Political Economy and Social Science in Columbia University. [467 pp. 8vo. 12s. 6d. net. Macmillan. London, 1899.]

This is part ii. of the *Science of Statistics*, of which part i., *Statistics and Sociology*, was reviewed in the *Economic Review* for Oct., 1896, p. 549. The titles are perhaps a little misleading, as



part i. was almost entirely economic, and part ii., if entirely economic, is yet also entirely sociological, and the author does not promise us any part iii. dealing with statistics and things which are not sociological. He thus confirms the doubt, always present in the mind of the present writer, whether there is any science of statistics. However, if there is not, we can get on very well without it.

The author, as in the previous volume, has set himself the pleasant task of roaming over the various figures relating to economic subjects without putting himself under any obligation to draw conclusions, but with full liberty to gently indicate what he considers the proper conclusion when he desires to do so. He has evidently enjoyed the work, and I think most readers interested in economics will enjoy the result. His arrangement runs along the lines of the ordinary economic treatise, dealing first with consumption, and next with production and its three requisites—labour, land, and capital. Then follow exchange, prices, money, transportation, and commerce; after which we come to distribution, though here we find but two headings instead of the familiar three or four: in statistics it is found that rent, interest, and profits are too much mixed up to be distinguished. Lastly we have Competition and Association, Finance Statistics and Social Distribution, the last heading being distribution between actual individuals instead of distribution in its old sense of distribution between economic categories. The book will thus be more convenient for the economic student than the ordinary economic dictionary arranged in the stupidest of all orders—that of the letters of the alphabet. It has two other and more important advantages over an economic dictionary. The lexicographer can scarcely avoid putting all his statistics on the same level of authority, and is driven to minimize differences of basis rather than to draw proper attention to them. In Professor Mayo-Smith's work, on the other hand, the figures only appear as illustrations, and the main business of the author is to point out their varying value and their numerous discrepancies.

Specialists on any particular subject will, of course, miss figures which might well have been included. For example, in dealing with the distribution of wealth in this country the author is content to quote at second-hand some very old income-tax returns which tell very little, and does not give either the very instructive returns of the number of persons claiming abatements of income-tax or the death-duty returns (see *Economic Review*, Jan., 1899, p. 109). But a book of this kind is not intended for specialists so far as their specialties are concerned, but for non-specialists, and for specialists so far as subjects on which they are not specialists are concerned.

Here all may find much to learn. We may be inclined to smile at the grave way in which statistics are said to prove so obvious a fact as that the poor spend a larger proportion of their income on food than the rich, but faith in the utility of statistics is restored when we come upon the curious fact, which unaided intelligence and common observation has failed to discover, namely, that large families have to spend so much more on the more urgent necessities of life than small ones that they cannot afford to live in larger houses—another argument against our absurd inhabited house duty, progressive up to £60 per annum and no further. Those who still believe that the unemployed are ever, in ordinary times, a considerable proportion of the population should look at the figures given under this head, though Professor Mayo-Smith exaggerates them when he says that the unemployed outside trade unions are probably a larger proportion than inside. The contrary is probably the case, many of the steadiest trades being outside union influence, and unionism being most powerful in places where there is most fluctuation. A short time ago the figures bearing on the quantity of money would have been closely scrutinized. Professor Mayo-Smith is, I think, inclined to fall into the usual error of supposing that figures as to the quantity of transactions can be made to prove something. He quotes the well-known figures about some bank in Lombard Street (a most untypical locality) which received, in coin, 0·65, bank notes, 1·83, cheques and bills, 97·52 per cent. of its receipts in one day, twenty-four years ago, and does not point out either that the business of coin is to pass from hand to hand and the business of cheques to be paid into banks, or that the real question at issue is, Did the bank and its customers taken together require at an average to hold more or less coin than before? All the figures about the increased work done by cheques means is that people buy and sell stocks and shares and other forms of capital more than they did. To show that any individual or any bank requires a smaller average reserve of coin than he or it did twenty or thirty years ago no one attempts. Yet obviously that is what the quantity of coin required depends on. If I keep on an average £10 in my pocket, and somebody else keeps £5, my requirements are double his, though he does a business of a million a year.

EDWIN CANNAN.

FIRST PRINCIPLES IN POLITICS. By W. S. LILLY. [lxiv., 330 pp. 8vo. 14s. Murray. London, 1899.]

This book is dedicated to Mr. Lecky, whose "impartial accuracy, magisterial serenity, sustained self-command, skill in truly discerning

and in logically marshalling facts, power of ratiocination, severity of taste, and purity of style" command Mr. Lilly's eloquent admiration. In fact, the conclusions of the two thinkers are substantially in agreement. Each of them scans the tendencies of the age with gloomy forebodings; each of them permits himself to use language, which trembles on the very verge of good taste, of a great statesman who has lately passed to his rest. Their methods, however, are characteristically diverse. Mr. Lecky's acidity never loses the tone of sententious gravity befitting the historian, the pose of the calm, unsparing Cato of a drifting and dissolving age: Mr. Lilly is more of the philosopher, and strains for the accent of prophecy. Both of them are keenly alive to the evils around them; for humanity's sake one would fain hope they are blind to some of the ideality, the *reality*, of common life. There is unhappily enough, and more than enough, to justify a severe judgment; and it is only a facile optimism which would seek to deny or ignore the gravity of the symptoms on which Mr. Lecky and Mr. Lilly base their theses. The office of the self-constituted censor may sometimes be magnified; it will never be obsolete. But is not something lost in the resolute refusal to see and feel "the soul of goodness in things evil"? The word of the Lord has usually inspired prophets to denunciation; but society has persisted, not through its clamant vices, but through its strong silent virtues.

For, in truth, there is no such ardent pessimist as the disillusioned optimist. For Mr. Lilly the age of political dementia has come, the star of Rousseau is in the ascendant, authority is shaken from her throne, society is "de-ethicized," faith is dead. The most valuable pages in the book are those which are filled with an eloquent plea for ethical control in politics. Institutions and constitutions, classes and masses, alike, in the last resort, must plead their contentions before a moral tribunal. The lawyer may argue that in strictness there are no rights but *legal* rights. To him the philosopher will reply with a firmer hold on truth, as on language, that strictly speaking there are no rights but *moral* rights. "*Justitia fundamentum regni.*" Man makes the State because he is a *person*; because he is distinguished from all other animals by the understanding of good and evil, right and wrong. So far Mr. Lecky, if he errs, errs with Aristotle. But why does man cease to be a *person* in the State? How have politics become "de-ethicized"? Why does Mr. Lilly desert Aristotle and Hegel at this point? Up to it his faith has been robust enough; now it fails, when confronted with "the heir of all the ages." Civilization turns out to be rapidly moving backwards; politicians, at any rate, are not "persons," but insidious and crafty animals. Surely it were better to endeavour to



follow Hegel into the final paradox of faith—"The State is realized freedom!" At least it is a formula as applicable as, "The State is the tyranny of the irrational."

The truth is, that to Mr. Lilly the law of right (*jus naturæ*) is always abstract and apart—not *in* humanity, but only *above* it. It serves only to point a poignant contrast between what ought to be and what is. That is *one* aspect, no doubt, but not the only one. There is a root of justice in man in the State, as well as a standard of justice above him. The pernicious influence of this point of view is visible in too many passages of Mr. Lilly's book, sometimes betraying him into an unsatisfying opportunism, sometimes exciting him to vague denunciation. Take as an example of the first tendency his remarks on the relations between State and Church (pp. 64-69). Beginning by adducing the authority of Plato and St. Thomas Aquinas in favour of religious persecution (a view which he appears to endorse), he passes on to admit that "benevolent neutrality seems to be the true attitude of the (modern) State towards all cults," and finally, reminding himself of the existence of an Established Church of England, defends it as part of our "prescriptive constitution," and counsels the State to uphold it "as a great factor in the ethical life of the country, an effective agent of moral police." On the other hand, in chapter vi., the reader may find a denunciation of democracy and its prophets—from Rousseau to Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley. Mr. Morley's discriminating appreciation of Rousseau is made to discredit both Rousseau and Mr. Morley; and really if Mr. Lilly can see nothing but evil in Rousseau's political teaching, it can only be because he has not read him with sufficient attention. It is always so much easier to censure than to weigh.

It would be pedantic to enter further into the details of a work which consistently avoids the tedium of a too merciless precision. But Mr. Lilly will pardon one suggestion in conclusion. He is so able and eloquent a writer that surely he need not stuff his text "with the cloves of other men's wit." The quotations are always excellent and usually apposite; but the suspicion of an appeal *ad verecundiam* should not be encouraged, while the writer's own argument would certainly gain in tenseness and cogency by the omission of a few purple passages.

W. G. FOGSON SMITH.

THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIETY. By ACHILLE LORIA. Translated by LINDLEY M. KEASBEY. [385 pp. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. Sonnenschein. London, 1899.]

It is noticeable that the students of any particular science often become so possessed with the truth of the principles of that science as

to be unable to resist the temptation of using these principles to explain, not only the science to which they belong, but also the whole of life. The impulse to do this is not unnatural, for the principles of any true science do stand in some intimate relation to the whole of life. But to suppose that the varied phenomena of human life are explainable within the limits of a particular science, such as social economics, is a serious error. It is into this error that M. Loria falls.

The philosophic background of the book is assumed, rather than explained or proved. It is, however, briefly summed up in the translator's preface. The human being is not, in the strict sense, a social being, but may "inherit certain traits which make for collective activity;" and the social faculties of mankind were "originally derived from the antecedent economic instinct." "It is impossible to separate man sharply from the animal world: but qualitatively, at least, he is to be distinguished from the lower orders by his marked economic capacity." "On its subjective side sociology is thus connected with biology by economic psychology. But as superorganic evolution is equally as dependent as organic evolution upon the physical world, it is left for environmental conditions to give direction to the economic instinct of man, and so determine the peculiar constitution of society. Thus, on its objective side, sociology is connected with biology by economic geography." "Now the heretofore independent science of political economy is itself established upon psycho-geographical premisses, and stands ready at hand to apply the logic of its limited conclusions to the broader sociological field. Thus, if it is possible to account for the origin of society on economic grounds, it is certainly consistent to continue the same method and refer the abstract principles of political economy to the concrete development of social institutions. The economic would thus seem to be the only proper point of departure for the study of social phenomena, and it may well be that by applying the economic laws of production and consumption, distribution and exchange, historically to social evolution, the sociological process will itself become intelligible and the true philosophy of history stand revealed."

This is the position from which M. Loria starts. In the economic process as a whole he distinguishes three stages—the pre-capitalistic, the capitalistic (which he divides into three epochs—the slave-economy, the serf-economy, and the wage-economy), and the "final form," not yet realized; this "final form" is non-capitalistic. We might briefly summarize his theory, almost in his own words, as follows: "While free lands exist that can be cultivated by labour alone, and when a man without capital may, if he choose, establish himself upon an unoccupied

area, capitalistic property is out of the question." "In case the productivity of the land be high, these producers of capital will not be disposed to co-operate: . . . Under this supposition, isolated production constitutes, therefore, the natural economic form: unless, perchance, the despotic authority of the State compels the producers to co-operate. If, however, the productivity of the land be low, a motive will at once appear" for co-operation. "The necessary economic form under this hypothesis is consequently either a partnership of producers of capital, who labour jointly and divide the product into equal parts, or a voluntary co-operative group composed of one or more producers of capital and one or more ordinary labourers, who act conjointly, each receiving an equal share in the product." (It may be noted, in passing, that it is by no means obvious why each co-operator must *necessarily* receive an *equal* share: since even to co-operate on less favourable terms might pay better in certain cases than isolated production, and so inferior producers might be forced to take less than an equal share.)

"Access to the free lands, whence the labourers derive their power and their independence, must, consequently, be cut off before capital can acquire any profits. And if, on account of the sparsity of population, the soil itself cannot be entirely appropriated, access to the free lands can be prevented only by subjugating the labourers themselves." This is accomplished, according to the stage reached, by slavery or serfdom. But, when all lands cultivable by labour alone have been occupied, the labourer is compelled "to sell his labour to the capitalist for the wages which it pleases the latter to determine." And, in order to prevent the labourer accumulating capital, and so being able to cultivate lands otherwise uncultivable by him, wages must be kept at a minimum, by such means as the lowering of wages, depreciation of money, introduction of useless intermediaries, or the creation of a superfluous population. When the total occupation of the land has come about, the capitalists have only to keep their hold upon the land, and the continued subjection of the labourers will go on automatically.

"The ultimate effect of the suppression of the free land is to confine production within continually narrowing bounds. The first result is to curtail capitalistic incomes, and the ultimate extinction of the revenues is only a question of time. The day is, therefore, bound to come, when production can no longer proceed under the capitalistic *régime*. And then, in order to avoid increasing penury, society will practically be compelled to re-establish free land, and accord to every individual the right to occupy as great an area as he can cultivate with his own labour."



Such a theory as this is, of course, frankly materialistic and hedonistic. The differentia of man from other animals is his "economic capacity." What, then, it may be asked, is the explanation of such phenomena as those of morality, law and politics, and generally of all those phenomena of human life which are by most people regarded as the outcome of man's spirituality? The answer of M. Loria is that morality, law and politics are "connective institutions," belonging only to the temporary stage of capitalistic property: they will disappear, when "the final economic form to which society is unconsciously tending" has been established: their temporary function is "to guarantee property against all reaction on the part of those excluded from the possession of the soil." This method of explaining away spiritual facts is apparent throughout the book. We may instance it in M. Loria's theory of morality. Morality in the "final society"—*i.e.* the true morality—is enlightened egoism. In the capitalistic stages morality is sophistic: on the one hand, it leads the capitalists not to go too far in encroachments, and so to observe their own interests against their will: on the other hand, it leads the enslaved labourers to yield to the capitalists, by blinding them to their true interests.

M. Loria is nothing if not logical. The assumptions with which he starts, colour throughout his interpretation of the vast mass of historical facts which he brings forward. Hence, while it would be possible to attack his theory piecemeal by denying his interpretation of facts, the most effective mode of criticism is to deny his principles. And of these principles he gives no discussion. It is obviously easy to assume a standpoint and from it form a consistent theory. But logic is not necessarily truth. This book is only another instance of how dangerous it is for a scientific specialist to put forward a philosophic theory of life, without first thoroughly thinking out the metaphysical grounds on which such a theory must be based.

His logicity gives M. Loria a certain plausibility when he assumes the *rôle* of the prophet. But we cannot help being sceptical as to the bliss which "enlightened egoism" is going to produce in the "final society." M. Loria's assumption here is this. The conditions in the capitalistic stages of human progress are so complicated that an enlightened egoism is impossible: but in the "final society" the conditions will be so simple that an enlightened egoism will find no difficulty in seeing its true interests. But at present there are no signs that progress is in the direction of simplification. And, in any case, M. Loria does not attempt to explain how, though he assumes that it can be to the interest ("interest" being taken in a hedonistic

and materialistic sense) of the strong to preserve and co-operate with the weak, who can produce but little.

M. Loria is open to criticism, not only from the side of idealism, but also from the side of evolution, as may be seen from the following quotation: "Some one is sure to answer: Your theory leads to a pernicious quietism by excluding the very possibility of human action remedying economic evil. In the light of the theory of evolution as it is generally understood, the objection cannot be denied: for this doctrine affirms the normality of incessant progress. True, the current theory admits that evolution in general reaches its final stage in dissolution, and it takes pains to demonstrate this fact by an infinite number of examples drawn from the inorganic and the organic world. But when these theorists come to analyze social phenomena, they appear to forget that the process of disintegration forms an integral part of the law of evolution, and we consequently seek in vain for any recognition of the importance of this process in historical development." It seems strange that this is the only modification which M. Loria sees to be necessary in the theory of evolution as applied to social phenomena. But, apart from this, M. Loria is in a hopeless difficulty when he tries to explain that his theory does not lead to a "pernicious quietism." For to assume that the human mind can in any degree really guide the evolutionary process is to overstep the limits of materialism.

M. Loria's book is of intense interest, shows a vast amount of knowledge (especially historical), and, considering the nature of the subject, is clearly written.

A. F. GASKELL.

**SOCIAL LAWS: An Outline of Sociology.** By G. TARDE. Translated by HOWARD C. WARREN, with a Preface by JAMES MARK BALDWIN (Editor). [xi., 213 pp. Crown 8vo. 5s. Macmillan. London, 1899.]

In this little book the author aims at giving not merely a summary of his three principal works on Sociology, but "rather the internal bond which unites them." The general laws under which M. Tarde groups sociological data, viz. of Repetition (cp. *Les Lois de l'Imitation*), of Opposition (cp. *L'Opposition Universelle*), and Adaptation (cp. *La Logique Sociale*) are here exhibited in their proper connexion. It would take us a good deal beyond the limits of a review if we were to deal with M. Tarde's system of sociology as a whole. The philosophical reader may be referred to Mr. Bosanquet's criticisms in *Mind* and his *Philosophical Theory of the State*, and for a general account of M. Tarde's ideas to Mr. Whitaker's *Essays and Notices*. The

present volume enforces the conviction of the author as to the only fruitful method in sociology. "Instead of explaining everything by the supposed supremacy of a *law of evolution*, which compels collective phenomena to reproduce and repeat themselves indefinitely in a certain order—instead of thus explaining lesser facts by the greater, and the part by the whole—I explain collective resemblances by the massing together of minute elementary facts—the greater by the lesser, and the whole by the part. This way of regarding phenomena is destined to work a transformation in sociology similar to that brought about in mathematics by the introduction of the infinitesimal calculus" (p. 48, n.). The development of sociology has "brought it down from the dizzy heights of grand but vague causes to real precise acts of infinitesimal size." In a similar spirit, M. Tarde has some excellent observations on the "inappropriateness" of the biological method in sociology. "It is not by comparing societies with organisms that sociology has already made great steps in advance, and is destined to make still greater ones in the future, but by comparing various societies with one another; by noting the endless coincidences between distinct national evolutions, from the standpoint of language, jurisprudence, religion, industry, art, and custom, and, above all, by attending to those imitations between man and man which furnish an analytic explanation of the collective facts."

To M. Tarde the ultimate reality in sociology is the individual mind, and the fundamental as well as distinctive social fact which sociology requires is imitation between one mind and another. He criticizes accordingly the standpoint of individual psychology to which Mill looked for an explanation of social phenomena; for "it is rather in an *inter-cerebral* psychology, which studies the rise of conscious relations between two or more individuals, that we must seek it." As regards the relation between the laws of repetition, opposition, and adaptation, M. Tarde observes that "the last two arise out of the first, and the second is usually, though not always, an intermediary between the first and third;" and, further, that "the first and third far surpass the second in height, depth, importance, and possibly also duration;" but "we may believe that all three of these factors work together to effect the expansion of universal variation in its highest, widest, and profoundest individual and personal forms."

M. Tarde is particularly happy in illustration; his treatment, for instance, of competition as a "social opposition" of the economic type (p. 115), tending "either to monopoly (at least a partial and relative one) or to the association of competitors," has a special interest for economists.



Certainly, M. Tarde's ideas are worth the attention they have received among sociologists; the layman may have his misgivings about this or any science of sociology, but he must be forced to admit that there is much in M. Tarde's views that is at once suggestive and stimulating.

The translation is meritorious, but scarcely does justice to the brilliant style of the original, which, indeed, it would be difficult to reproduce in any other language than its own. It is not, however, without occasional slips, such as "merger" (p. 43), "data" for "datum" (p. 47). It is interesting to know that we may get a translation of *Les Lois de l'Imitation*, also from America, where sociology is more honoured, as it is certainly more cultivated, than in England.

SIDNEY BALL.

**LIBERTY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.** By FREDERIC MAY HOLLAND. [257 pp. 8vo. 7s.6d. Putnam. New York, 1899.]

As might be inferred from the title, Mr. Holland attempts in this book to trace the growth of what he conceives to be liberty during the present century. It is essential, therefore, that the reader should realize at the outset that the author is dealing with "liberty" as used on the platform and not in the study. It is true that liberty is discussed in the last chapter from a more or less philosophical point of view; but the general impression produced by the book is that liberty means to the writer the overthrow of vexatious authority. Arthur Young's saying, "Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine years' lease of a garden and he will convert it into a desert," is only an extreme expression of a belief in the sacredness and strength of the sentiment of individual ownership. And yet this belief, harmless as it is in itself, is at the base of much narrow individualism, which has always been opposed to a wider and truer conception of liberty, and which has often come perilously near to anarchy. Liberty is taken to be a merely negative idea, connoting the absence of any external interference with the self-sufficing life of an unrelated atomic self. On this view liberty is either action from no motive at all, which is nonsense, or action from no motive in particular, which is caprice. Surely a sound philosophical conception of liberty must include the notion of voluntary action taken with the view of attaining a definite ideal. There can be no virtue in the upsetting of authority as such; and even the author would admit that the moral and political condition

of a slave in the Southern States before 1863 was better and more in accordance with the spirit of true liberty than that of the average Kaffir at present. Had Mr. Holland been able to get over his acknowledged distaste for an idealism which he professes to have outgrown, he would have spent less time and trouble in recording the chief steps by which the checks upon individual action and thought were removed, and would have concentrated his attention upon the task of tracing the gradual growth and spread of that wider love of political liberty, in virtue of which the citizen feels that he is an organic part of a social system which aims at a common and definite ideal.

Subject to this limitation of view, the author succeeds in giving us a clear and concise account of the chief stages in the march of progressive Liberalism, and maintains throughout the book a wholesome and enthusiastic tone which enables him to carry the reader with him through facts and details which, but for this enthusiasm, might tend to become dull and tedious. To set forth in but little more than two hundred pages the history of the civilized world during a century needs a power of condensation and a sense of proportion to which no one but a man of the most perfectly balanced mind can attain. The fact that Mr. Holland has lived during a most exciting and important series of events on the other side of the Atlantic has led him to go into disproportionate detail while describing those events, at the expense of unduly abbreviating his review of almost equally important events in European politics. His defence would probably be that in Europe struggles for liberty have for the most part been unsuccessful, and that he has avowedly "taken the sun-dial for his model," and described the victories rather than the defeats of liberty. But, even so, Italy deserves more than half a page; "a statesman named Stein" is dismissed in two lines; and Metternich is summed up as "this crafty but kindhearted Austrian." This may, perhaps, seem a little inadequate in a book where Emerson has a whole chapter to himself, and where the trivialities of Sabbatarian legislation occupy a special appendix, as well as a large space in the text.

Looking at the parts individually, by far the best is that in which the author relates from his own personal experience the events which preceded the Emancipation; and if any one wishes to refresh his memory on these events, he cannot do better than study chapters iii., iv., and v. of this book, whereby he will be able with ease and precision to follow the tangled threads of the party politics of the time, and will obtain a comprehensive view of the influences which

helped or which hindered the consummation of the struggles of half a century. As a matter of detail, the author is rather apt, owing to his distaste for anything extreme or violent, to underestimate the moral influence exerted by the great Garrison and his followers against the system of slavery.

There are many minor points raised in the course of the book to which exception might be taken; for instance, here are some: Napoleon was a practical nonentity; Hegel a dreamer; England is enjoying "practical universal suffrage;" the early Hebrews were "primitive barbarians" (what would Andrew Lang say to that?). The author thinks Mrs. Jellaby unreal; but he does not live in England during the Transvaal War. In the matter of ethics and naturalism, he has not yet realized the importance of motherhood as an answer to Huxley's "Romanes Lecture." And, lastly, in politics, as indicated above, he tends rather to Voluntarism, or what Huxley dubbed "Administrative Nihilism."

The style is somewhat jerky, and necessarily tends to become epigrammatic; but the diction is good, and there are very few American idioms. The book is thoroughly well printed in clear type, upon good paper with a wide margin, and is pleasant both to the eye and the touch.

W. H. YOUNG.

WÖRTERBUCH DES ENGLISCHEN RECHTS. Von DR. KARL WERTHEIMER. [575 pp. 8vo. 10 marks. Puttkamer und Mühlbrecht. Berlin, 1899.]

This book, in its general method of arrangement, resembles Wharton's well-known *Law Lexicon*. Though the articles are hardly so numerous, some of them are much fuller in the German than in the English work. This remark especially applies to constitutional law and to the machinery of government. Thus, the article on law contains a disquisition upon the extent to which the doctrines of Roman law have been recognized by English jurists, and have influenced the growth of our common law. Dr. Wertheimer remarks on the disappearance during the present century of the contempt in which common lawyers had held Roman or civil law, but he rejects Finlason's contention that the common law of England is, at bottom, simply Roman law, and instances the fundamental distinction made by it between real and personal property as being essentially Teutonic.

One characteristic of our legal machinery which arrests the author's attention is the paucity of judges and the vast proportion of actions which are commenced, but which never come to trial, being otherwise



decided. He attributes the readiness of suitors in this country, as compared with Germans, to settle disputes out of court to the heavy cost of legal proceedings, which even the successful party to an action does not altogether escape. He repeatedly animadverts on the excessive costliness of legal process in England. *Vestigia terrent*, is his brief comment upon our national distrust of the fairness of State prosecutions, for he has studied the State trials. He is, however, in general, chary of criticism, which seldom exceeds a note of admiration.

The feature which strikes him as most distinctive in our legal institutions is the great unpaid, and he devotes more than six pages to discussing it. He enumerates half a dozen German local authorities whose functions are with us united in the person of the justice of the peace. "Who then," he asks, "is this powerful official? A landowner, a clergyman, or a 'rentier' in the country, or a well-to-do tradesman in towns, appointed indeed by the Crown, but for the rest entirely independent, since he serves for honour, not for profit." The system could not be worked, he thinks, but for the large leisured class to be found in England. While admitting that the justices are not incapable of occasional stupidities, he adds, "but let us compare the independent activity of these men, looking neither above nor below, with the position of a continental prefect or landrath, who must dance to the minister's pipe, and we shall agree with the ancient Chief Justice Coke when he said, 'The office of Justice of the Peace is one whereof the whole of Christendom hath not the like when it is duly executed.'"

The article on Parliament covers twenty pages. The author criticizes severely the arbitrary policy pursued by the House of Commons in asserting for itself an authority above the law, as, for instance, in the case of impeachments and bills of attainder, of which he observes that "one word need hardly be wasted upon the baseness (*nichtswürdigkeit*) of this species of parliamentary 'kabinettsjustiz.'" This last term is usually applied in Germany to interference with the ordinary course of law by means of ministerial warrants. It may, indeed, be argued that in other respects the House of Commons has only wielded somewhat more extensively powers exercised by every other court of record; and that, as to attainder and impeachment, the parliamentary party in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. were justified in resorting to such weapons, because the battle against royal despotism and judicial subserviency could not have been fought without them. It was a life-and-death struggle between prerogative and privilege, and at that period privilege stood for popular freedom. A passage to this effect is quoted from Sir T. Erskine May. But our author adds, "It is naturally not impossible that under exceptional

circumstances these rusty weapons may once more be fetched out of the arsenal." With regard to the general claim of either branch of the legislature to determine its privileges, and to be plaintiff, judge, jury, and executioner in its own cause whenever it deems a breach of its privileges to have been committed, he refers to the censure passed upon it by Lord Brougham, that it gives a slap in the face to all the principles of the constitution. Obviously, any such exercise of authority requires to be jealously watched by the public. *Vigilantibus, non dormientibus, æquitas subvenit*, is a maxim susceptible of a wide political, as well as of a narrow legal, interpretation.

Some curiosity may be felt as to the extent of the circulation which a decidedly technical work on the law of a foreign country is likely to attain among the German reading public. Englishmen take a fair amount of interest in the concerns of other nations, but not even the close attention with which we lately followed the Zola and Dreyfus trials would create any very great demand for a work on French legal procedure in England. Dr. Wertheimer, however, is convinced that the need for his work (which is well up to date, containing references to Acts passed in 1898) is beyond dispute, and that it will find its public among politicians, philologists, and men of business, as well as among lawyers.

C. H. D'E. LEPPINGTON.

THE SOCIAL POLICY OF RODBERTUS. By E. C. K. GONNER, M.A., Brunner Professor of Economic Science at University College, Liverpool. [xxi., 209 pp. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net. Macmillan. London, 1899.]

In these days of superfluous book-making it is a pleasure to welcome a monograph which lays its readers under a very real obligation. To most people in England Rodbertus is a name, and not much more; he is vaguely associated with the development of scientific Socialism in Germany, and is known to have stood in some near relation to Marx and Lassalle, but this is about all. In Germany, on the other hand, the writings of Rodbertus have made a remarkable impression in economic circles; Wagner goes so far as to claim for him the title of a "Ricardo of Scientific Socialism." And in truth the social speculation and the economic philosophy of Rodbertus deserve study and exposition, more especially as he has not given his writings a systematic or methodical form. Professor Gonner's appreciation is all the more welcome; and we may say at once that it is characterized by judgment, insight, and sympathy. He has brought into relief the

salient and distinctive features of Rodbertus's method and doctrine, so that the reader has no difficulty in understanding the central ideas which run through his scattered writings (of which, by the way, Professor Gonner gives a useful bibliography).

The points of difference between Rodbertus and Marx, on the one hand, and Lassalle on the other, are noted by Professor Gonner; they are significant, and are certainly not unfavourable to Rodbertus. He had no sympathy with Lassalle's agitation, or with his scheme of State-assisted productive societies; at the same time, he provided the basis of the "Iron Law of Wages" which played such an effective part in the propaganda of Lassalle. But the "scientific" character of Socialism lost a good deal in the process of popularization. The doctrine of "surplus-value," again, appeared at quite an early stage in Rodbertus's theories; Marx certainly elaborated the theory, but in a way which made it at the same time more vulnerable. Rodbertus is careful, as Professor Gonner points out, to distinguish between the theoretical and the actual aspects of economic conceptions; labour, for instance, would and could only be the basis of value under the conditions of a nationally organized system of production. Nor does he regard profits or interest as an exploitation under the circumstances of competitive production; what he contends is that the proportionate share of wages has diminished with increased productivity, and that it does not receive much that under other conditions it would receive—"the process of expropriation (*Ausbeutung*) relates to proportions, not to quantities"—though it must be admitted that Rodbertus does not furnish any actual or statistical proof of this abstract proposition. He recognizes that "individualism under capitalist guidance" is a necessary phase through which society must pass on its road towards a national system of industry. "During it the capitalist, the undertaker (*Unternehmer*), and the landowner perform certain functions which in a correctly organized community would be undertaken and performed by the State." In the place of Marx's doubtful dialectics about "surplus-value," Rodbertus is mainly interested in emphasizing the fact that the mere fact of possession gives the owner of land and capital a vantage-ground in the bargain for wages, and that part, at any rate, of the produce which he obtains is simply the remuneration of possession. At the same time he points out that even under a system in which labour is made the basis of value, "the workman will not and should not be the owner of the total product of his labour." It may be added that Rodbertus does not look at Socialism from the point of view of any "natural right." As Professor Gonner observes—



"Both his criticism of existing conditions and his suggestions of reform are primarily inspired by the ideal of the State, and not by a desire for the equality of individuals and classes. His Socialism, in other words, grows out of the conception of a strong State; and to social stability, both present and prospective, as it is and in its development, all other considerations must yield."

Rodbertus has the instincts of a statesman and an administrator, and has not much interest in a "cosmopolitanism which is not based on the antecedence of patriotism." Lastly, the historical method of Rodbertus is, in Professor Gonner's words, "so vastly superior to that of Marx as to leave no room for comparison." It is certainly more philosophical. To Rodbertus the meaning of social, as distinguished from natural evolution lies in the creation and development of the social instinct. The social idea takes different forms according to different stages of social organization. Professor Gonner rightly emphasizes the historical method of Rodbertus as the pivot upon which all his doctrine turns. "He thinks, as it were, in history;" history is "the unquestioned source and embodiment" of his theories; it became with him a habit of mind rather than a consciously adopted method. It is this which makes Rodbertus's theories, even when they are reached by a more abstract method, "palpitate with actuality;" it is this which gives to his Socialism the saving grace of sanity; it is this which makes him at once so Radical and so Conservative. Socialism, according to Rodbertus, "concludes the series of emancipations which began with the Reformation;" but he recognizes, as Professor Gonner puts it, that there will be much wandering in the wilderness before the promised land can be reached. His justification of the relative necessity of private property in land and capital is quite compatible with his ultimate confidence in the will and power of society to work out its own salvation and attain economic freedom.

Whatever may be the ultimate worth of Rodbertus's theories, there can be no doubt as to their suggestiveness, and Professor Gonner has made a real contribution to social and economic literature by his study of Rodbertus—a study, moreover, that is worthy of its subject. Something seems to have gone wrong with a sentence at the bottom of p. 102, and it is doubtful whether the best analytical table of contents excuses the absence of an index.

SIDNEY BALL.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. By the  
REV. JAMES S. DENNIS, D.D. [2 vols. 954 pp. 8vo. 10s. 6d.  
each. Revell. New York. Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier.  
Edinburgh, 1899.]

There could be few stronger proofs of the increasing interest now taken in foreign missions than the fact that a college should appoint a lecturer on missions. Yet that is what has happened at the Princetown Theological Seminary in the United States, where Dr. James S. Dennis was in 1896 appointed to be the Students' Lecturer on Missions. The subject chosen for these lectures, Christian Missions and Social Progress, is one of peculiar interest, for there are many people who, while quite willing to admit that missions have done, and are still doing, a great work on distinctively religious lines, question their efficacy as social regenerators. Now, Dr. Dennis has boldly entered the lists against such critics, and has dealt in a most thorough way with the whole question of the share which Christian missions have had in contributing to the social and political progress of non-Christian nations. It is impossible to read, however cursorily, the two bulky volumes of evidence without feeling that the author proves his case to the hilt; and if the third volume which he promises is as convincing as the two already published, Dr. Dennis will have contributed a work of no small value to Christian social literature.

He himself writes from a large personal acquaintance with his subject, since for many years he laboured as a missionary in the American Presbyterian Mission in Syria. But these volumes by no means represent merely their author's own views, for besides making extensive use of a perfect library of current mission literature, he has collected evidence by means of "a carefully prepared circular, with detailed questions upon special aspects of the theme, which he sent to over three hundred missionaries, representing various societies in many lands." The result of these investigations is a veritable encyclopædia of interesting facts.

There are few people who could fail to recognize the terrible social evils of the non-Christian world. Whether one turns to the East, to India, China, Japan, or Korea, or to Africa or Madagascar, or to Mahomedan countries, or to the South Sea Islands, the same revolting picture meets one's eyes. Everywhere there has been the same shocking tale of intemperance, gambling, immorality, the degradation of woman, slavery, and brutality. In India there have been such social scourges as child-marriage and widowhood, with all its attendant cruelties and miseries, infanticide, heartless neglect of the poor and sick, and filthy insanitary conditions. In China there have been the horrors of the opium-habit,

foot-binding, gambling, compulsory prostitution, domestic slavery, revolting brutality of punishment and tortures, besides many other evils common to other heathen people. Amongst savage races, such as those of West Africa and the South Sea Islands, there have been rife the additional horrors of cannibalism, witchcraft, and burying alive. But all these social evils are far more easily mentioned than grasped. Commissioner H. Johnston has estimated that 30 per cent. of those who die in Central Africa are the victims of alcohol. In Lagos in West Africa it is said that on market-days, when the products of the country are bartered for foreign goods, "nineteen shillings out of every twenty are exchanged for gin and rum." In India much has been done for the cause of education. There are still, according to the last census report, only six women in a thousand who know how to read. Bad as the divorce question is in Christian countries like England and the United States, with its forty thousand divorces in 1894, it sinks into insignificance before the fact that in Japan in 1891 there was one divorce to every three marriages. The evils of child-marriage tell their own tale, if it be true that the total of married girls in India between the age of five and nine is over two millions, of whom fully sixty thousand are widows, doomed to a life of humiliation and contempt. In Korea official dishonesty is so rampant that the revenue paid by the people is estimated to be double the actual amount which the Government receives. Commercial deceit and fraud even in a comparatively honest country like China is very bad; formerly China supplied 96 per cent. of tea for Great Britain, but in 1894 only 12 per cent., "the result, not so much of the growth of tea culture in India as of the dishonest tricks of Chinese trade." These are just a few facts picked out almost at random, but they help to bring home the magnitude of the social evils prevalent throughout non-Christian countries.

Various remedial expedients have been tried, and tried without meeting with much success. Secular education, material civilization, state legislation have each in a measure contributed towards social progress, but have "failed to vindicate their efficacy" as social regenerators "apart from the inspiration, guidance, and co-operation of Christianity."

The moral forces of ethnic religions, such as Buddhism, Confucianism, Hinduism, and Mohammedanism, have all proved themselves quite incapable of uplifting and renewing society, because either their social ideal is a low one, or they offer no adequate motive for moral effort, or lack moral dynamic empowering men to reach their ideal.

But where all else has failed, Christianity, the religion which is



essentially social, has, wherever it has been introduced, changed the whole current of social life. It has created a new type of individual character, a new and enlightened social conscience, a form of education, which has appealed to man's whole and highest faculties. The hitherto practically non-existent philanthropic spirit has sprung into activity; national aspirations have been awakened; and higher conceptions of the functions of government have been formed.

These are great claims to make for Christianity, but abundant facts substantiate them.

First, there are the results of Christianity seen in the individual character. While so-called Christians at home have been trying to force strong drink upon heathen people, Christian missions have been fighting a brave crusade against it, and a man like Khama, the native South African Christian chief, has succeeded in prohibiting the drink traffic within his domains. It is noticeable, by the way, that the Transvaal Boer Republic, in spite of all its Christian professions, permits the natives employed in the Rand to spend yearly over a million and a half on drink. While State financial interests have defended the opium-trade, Christian missions have made uncompromising war against this blighting evil. It cannot be an altogether pleasant reflection to an Englishman that whereas Christian England will make no step towards abating this evil, Japan has, since Formosa passed under her rule, taken stringent measures to restrict the importation and use of opium. Further, Christian missions have restrained gambling, established far higher standards of personal purity, discredited self-inflicted torture and mutilation, arrested pessimistic and suicidal tendencies, and cultivated habits of industry, frugality, humility, self-respect, truthfulness, and honesty.

Secondly come results affecting family life. An entirely new type of womanhood is being produced through the means of Christian missions in India, China, Japan, Africa, and elsewhere. It is difficult to imagine what the utter lack of education of women involves; "a man, when he marries, finds himself belonging to one century and wedded to a century far back." It is pleasing to hear of Chinese women, through missionary efforts, taking high medical diplomas in America, and one can well imagine the fame of such a "Miracle Lady" practising in her own country, when one reads of a Chinaman who wheeled "his blind old mother in a wheelbarrow a thousand miles to consult her." And, too, there can be no doubt but that Christian missions are indeed "moulding the home life of heathen lands after the pattern of a finer ideal and a nobler culture."

Thirdly, there are results of a humane and philanthropic tendency.

Here, again, it is hard to overestimate the value of missions. They have hastened the overthrow of slavery. Of the regions round Lake Nyassa, Commissioner H. Johnston could write in 1896, "I have the pleasure to inform your lordship that, as far as I am aware, there does not exist a single independent avowedly slave-trading chief within the British Central Africa Protectorate." They have abolished cannibalism, put an end to human sacrifices, made so strong a stand against foot-binding, that "all China seems to be aroused on the question." They have promoted prison reforms and the mitigation of brutal punishments, and secured humane ministrations for the poor and helpless. They have organized famine relief; surely few facts are more eloquent to the good of missions than the contribution of £844 to the recent Indian Famine Fund from the people of Fiji, who sixty years ago were all pagan cannibals. Missions, again, have been largely instrumental in relieving the physical sufferings of heathen lands, by founding dispensaries, infirmaries, and hospitals, affording relief to millions annually. In China alone the number of mission hospitals is 122, and of dispensaries 242. They have cared for the lepers in asylums and colonies, and when we remember that there are probably quite five hundred thousand lepers in India, we recognize what a great work of mercy this is; we have read few more touching stories of heroic courage and self-sacrifice than that of Miss Mary Reed, the lepers' missionary at Chandag in North India. They have rescued and trained orphan children, promoted cleanliness and sanitation, and mitigated the brutalities of war. The striking contrast between former methods of warfare in Japan and the present methods is graphically illustrated; three hundred years ago heathen Japan, after a war with Korea, erected, amidst a loud outburst of national exultation, a memorial tomb of stone on a mound heaped over the buried ears which had been cut off from thousands of vanquished Koreans, and brought home as trophies of victory. In the recent war with China the policy of mutilation was almost completely changed to that of "humane consideration for vanquished enemies." The prisoners "had the same food as the Japanese soldiers in the barracks, and a real interest in their personal and moral welfare was manifested by the Japanese officers in charge. When the time came for them to be sent home, many begged to be allowed to stay." There are no less than seventy thousand members of the Red Cross Society in Japan at the present time. It is facts like these which compel us to feel that the missions are truly "the bearers of the choicest gifts of God into the sterile and impoverished life of the old social systems."

CLEMENT THOMSON.

**GOOD CITIZENSHIP.** A Book of Twenty-three Essays, by various Authors, on Social, Personal, and Economic Problems and Obligations. Edited by the REV. J. E. HAND. With a Preface by the REV. CHARLES GORE, M.A., D.D. [liv., 474 pp. 8vo. 6s. Allen. London, 1899.]

Mr. Gladstone is said to have denied that the Greeks, who were a logical people, could ever have uttered so foolish a remark as Hesiod's *νήπιοι, οὐδὲ ἴσασιν ὅσῳ πλέον ἤμισυ παντός*. The authors or editor of this volume seem to have been of his opinion. But for a book which professes to be a popular introduction to Christian Socialism it may seriously be doubted whether 528 pages is not a bushel which would hide any light. And these authors have not by any means all the same candle-power. Probably two-thirds of them might have been omitted without rendering darkness visible to any noticeable extent.

The office of the reviewer has been somewhat anticipated. If any one cares to turn to the Introduction, he will find in it not only a summary of each article, which will serve him with an excellent guide for skipping, but also a succinct critique. Behind the Introduction, again, is the final Court of Appeal—the Preface. It is only, therefore, to those who have not got a sight of the book itself that the reviewer can make himself humbly useful.

Three essays in the collection are concerned with laying general foundations. Mr. Rashdall, who describes his view as "Utilitarian," maintains that the State may coerce a man to any extent for his own good. By utilitarianism, however, he simply understands "the justification of government in the end which it serves" (p. 14), and he does not mean that pleasantness is to be a moral criterion, except *ceteris paribus*. The question between rival theories of political obligation seems really to resolve itself into the old dispute which, according to Dr. Caird, was the fundamental issue of the Reformation—"the negation of the claim of any doctrine to be accepted by the individual, which could not find its evidence in the movement of his own reason; of any law to be obeyed by him which could not be shown to spring from his own will." Hobbes, Locke, and the Moral Sense School are the outcome of this tendency pressed in a subjective direction, and they represent pretty nearly the typical Englishman of to-day. It is therefore to be regretted that Mr. Rashdall or Canon Scott Holland did not devote more attention to making the man in the street see why he should obey the law when he does not agree that it is for his own good. Canon Scott Holland, indeed, goes so far as to allow that "the attempt to enforce anything by law, which has not behind it the



authority of the national consent, is doomed to disaster." This is not so far removed from the principle of the Social Contract Theory, which, as Mr. Rashdall rightly points out (p. 8), is the idea of government by consent. Mr. Scott Holland probably makes too much of the pictorial part of Hobbes' philosophy. The contract is only an analysis of present conditions, and Hobbes does not pretend that it was a historical fact. It may be doubted, in passing, whether the "obligation" which the "natural man," according to Hobbes, submits to in entering society is as irreversible as Canon Scott Holland thinks, who says (p. 283) that "he cannot retract his act of surrender." For if the end for which he entered into the contract, viz. "the security of a man's person in his life, and in the means of so preserving life as not to be weary of it," is endangered, the covenant is void—"he is not to be understood as if he meant it" (*Leviathan*, pt. i. ch. xiv.). There is in Canon Scott Holland's paper a delightful characterization of the Sophist as the "*enfant terrible*" of Greece, "who blurts out everything that we should like to say, but dare not" (p. 279).

Passing to the more definitely economic articles, there are two papers by Mr. Hobson, on Capital and on Labour, which are quite admirable. He shows again, with new force derived from the complexity of modern conditions, what Locke was the first to show, that no one can rightly call the product of his labour "his product." "No individual living in society can rightly be said to make anything, still less to make its value" (p. 101). He points out that Mr. Carnegie's millions, apart from the natural resources which he drew upon, would have been impossible without "the growth of a vast civilized society, not only on the American continent, but throughout the globe, developing a growing need for rapid transport of persons and goods, which furnishes a 'demand' for steel rails, together with such a general advance in the arts of industry as enables them to make that demand effective" (p. 93). Another most useful paper is Mr. Gomme's on "The Municipality." There are some interesting extracts from Latimer's views on the social problem of his day. "I marvel," he said, "if any ruler can be saved." Evangelicalism does not seem, at that time, to have had as strongly in it what Archbishop Benson calls "something which is very concordant with wealth." Mr. Gomme's defence of the County Councils for "municipal trading" is good. "It is not municipal trading for the municipality to employ its own workmen to do work for any of the recognized municipal services. That is only a method of carrying on a service at the best advantage for the taxpayer, and is not in competition with the private trader, because the work is not sold to the public, but is wholly absorbed in its

service" (p. 58). "The word 'profit' must be eliminated from municipal finances. There is no such thing. When the municipality pays over surplus tramway receipts to the rates, it is taxing the tramway travellers for the relief of the general ratepayer" (p. 69).

The first essay of the section devoted to "Special Problems" is one by Mr. J. E. Hand, on "The Housing of the Poor." He hardly brings out the intensity of the need as clearly as he might. And is it true to say that "The Public Health (London) Act does not define what is overcrowding?" (p. 136). Mr. George Haw states that 400 cubic feet is the minimum allowed (*No Room to Live*, p. 17). But the paper contains a number of facts and figures which make it a very useful introduction to the subject. Another contribution which is positively bristling with information of the best sort is Mr. J. Theodore Dodd's on the Poor Law.

The last batch of essays deals with Social and Personal Obligations. The Hon. W. P. Reeves writes with information on "The Nation's Duties to the Empire." He maintains that "the colonist makes no great demands upon Britain. The cost of the Imperial Army and Navy may be great, yet he is but in a very small degree the cause of it" (p. 265). It is startling to be reminded that "the whites are now less than one-eighth of the Empire's inhabitants." But surely it is wrong to say that the difficulty of over-population which is "our difficulty in Asia to-day will be our difficulty in Africa to-morrow" (p. 268). Mr. Reeves points to the three millions which our administration has added to the population of Egypt. But it was only the other day that Lord Cromer wrote that the first need of the country is population. And what does he mean by comparing New Zealand and Jamaica in respect of producing-power as an example of the difference produced by education? "The population of the two places," he says, "is the same, but the external trade of New Zealand is six times that of Jamaica" (p. 275). The population may be the same, but surely the fact that the area of New Zealand is about fifty times that of Jamaica makes a difference.

Archdeacon Wilson's paper on "The Progress of Morality in the Relations of Men and Women" handles well a difficult subject. He rather, however, misrepresents the case when he says (p. 340) that the ballads and tales of Greece and Rome turn on love almost as much as do the novels and plays of later ages. It depends on what you mean by "love." Mr. E. F. Benecke, indeed, an accomplished scholar, has written a book to claim for Antimachus of Colophon, the friend of Plato, the honour of having discovered romantic love, and though this seems an exaggeration, we must admit that the Greeks of the classic

period had no very exalted view of the sentiment between man and woman. Aristotle even declares that the ideal age for marriage is thirty-seven for the man, and eighteen for the woman.

Of the other papers in this section, Mr. Carter's is to be specially commended. There is an excellent brief summary of the mediæval theory about "fair" prices. "According to their ideal, trade, like every other social institution, exists for the common benefit of mankind, and every incident of buying and selling ought to be equally advantageous for both the contracting parties" (p. 434). But will "equal advantage" do? Do not buyer and seller get about "equal advantage" under free competition? What we want is to prevent the rich from taking advantage of the necessities of the poor. A crust of bread to a starving man represents an advantage which could only be equalled by an enormous concession to a rich man. And yet "equal" must be interpreted subjectively, and not merely objectively, for the subjectivity of the value is the very motive for exchange. Mr. Carter contributes some interesting and cheering facts about what has been done to improve one or two industries in Oxford by means of preferential dealing.

The papers, as has been said, are of very unequal merit. Those mentioned, and the delightful one on "Citizenship in the Poets," seem the most important of them. No one should miss Mr. Hobson's, or Mr. Rashdall's, or Mr. Carter's.

LAWRENCE PHILLIPS.

OUR TREATMENT OF THE POOR. By W. CHANCE, M.A.  
[233 pp. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. King. London, 1899.]

"It would be a blessed thing," said a guardian in a remote urban district, "if all the members of our board could read Mr. Chance's book." "But there," chimed in his one lady colleague, "you might talk the hind leg off an iron pot before you could get these country guardians to go through it!"—so superior is the town-mouse, even in the smallest town, towards her country gossip. With the conclusions of the book before them, both these critics partly disagreed; its tone, the tone of a strenuous and unsparing worker, was what appealed to them, and strengthened their wish for an improvement on the slipshod, uncalculating charity dispensed by the majority on an unprogressive board.

The book consists of five articles and four appendices. The first and fourth papers are lectures to guardians on the effective use of in-and-out relief; the second disposes of all schemes hitherto put forward for



old-age pensions—schemes which are given in detail in apps. 1 and 2, and dismissed in app. 3; the third article undertakes to prove that friendly societies are the true providers of such pensions. The fifth, "In Defence of Poor Law Schools," gives reasons for believing that these great institutions can "depauperize the children, and make good citizens of them;" the fourth appendix contains tables showing the advance of pauperism in easy-going unions, and its decline under a strict limitation of out-relief. Several of the arguments in the book are so stated as to appear incontrovertible; but they are all familiar to readers of the Charity Organization Society's publications, and one fears, from a certain hard directness in the way they are stated, that they will scarcely penetrate to a wider circle.

There is one impression which the study of Mr. Chance's book and others of its kind cannot fail to leave—it is that of the great and increasing burden of work laid by custom, opinion, and the social conscience upon the "leisured" classes. The task of relieving destitution is not to be made easy: "inquire, visit, discriminate, revise, and revise again," is the chief exhortation of the Charity Organization Society, as the only safeguard for its high ideals; nor is that body alone in enjoining perpetual, cheerful attention to small recurrent details. Sir Algernon West has lately pointed out in the *Nineteenth Century* the enormous body of work performed by "the great unpaid" in many walks of life; but it is not only that slave of duty, the Englishman at home, who labours for less than no profit to himself; not only the Englishman abroad whose conscience hounds him on to strenuous, thankless effort beyond the minimum required by his salary; even in aristocratic Austria the spur is felt; "right up in the little towns" of the Balkan "occupied" provinces, "you will find gentlemen of the highest culture and the oldest family, who 'scorn delights and live laborious days' for the sake of their work."

What is the explanation of this insatiable demand for work, not unremunerated indeed, but greatly in advance of what its remuneration would warrant? There was a time, no doubt, when those who had the power to pay while others laboured, used their power; but now they put it by. The desire to justify their existence by at least some trace of arduous toil—if the trace is only in an office pigeon-hole—is spreading far; and it is an omen of all good if, as would seem, this is a part of the wish to share the lot of working men, and eat no portion of life's daily bread without due payment rendered.

THEODORA NUNNS.

THE CONSCIENCE OF THE KING. By JAMES CARMICHAEL SPENCE. [xii., 280 pp. Crown 8vo. 6s. Sonnenschein. London, 1899.]

Some years ago Mr. Spence and Mr. Donisthorpe set to work on a scheme initiated by Mr. Herbert Spencer, the object of which was "to present briefly, in a tabulated form, the contents of our statute book from early days onward, showing why each law was enacted, the effects produced, the duration, and, if repealed, the reason of the repeal." The colossal task was abandoned. Had it been completed it would have been of inestimable value to the historian; as it is, it has furnished Mr. Spence with some material for a vigorous pamphlet.

The pamphlet is an attempt by the analytical method "to get at the root of the mystery of politics." The thesis to be demonstrated is as follows: that the laws relating to the administration of justice are for the most part as wise as those determining what is to be held just are foolish. "The principles of justice were recognized of old as universal and unchanging." As for modern philosophers, "Thomas Carlyle, John Stuart Mill, and Herbert Spencer all agree that justice is the basis of right action." It is, therefore, of prime importance to settle the question—What is justice? The answer, however, "cannot be compressed into a definition or expressed in a formula." "Truth and falsehood, justice and injustice, are relative terms, incapable of definition in the abstract, but usually clearly distinguishable in the concrete." We touch the root of the matter when we recognize that justice must be "restricted to the only sense in which it is intelligible, the relation of *meum* and *tuum* between definite individuals as a definite matter of fact; when used in this sense there is nothing vague or indefinite about it." What, then, is *meum*, and what is *tuum*? "There is absolutely no difficulty in determining what is due to each—for this reason, that every man determines for himself what is his due."

The style is trenchant, and the facts adduced are worth serious consideration. It is to avoid injustice that the present writer refrains from criticizing a theory for which he entertains only an imperfect sympathy or comprehension.

W. G. POGSON SMITH.

LONDON STATISTICS, 1897-98: Statistics printed by the London County Council during the year 1897-98, etc. [cxii., 757 pp. Fol. 5s. King. London, 1899.]

This hardy annual makes its appearance for the eighth time, and is bigger than ever. But it is not quite so interesting as of old. The

boom in local government, which began in 1888, appears to be over for the present. The Leicester guardians who did not like vaccination have been reduced to submission by Mr. Chaplin. Glasgow, which only a few years ago talked wildly of using its police to prevent the post-office from laying wires for the telephone company, has been threatened with a fine of £53,000 per annum by the Secretary of State for Scotland because the discipline of the Glasgow police is not satisfactory to him. The demands of the London County Council have been mostly rejected by Parliament. The war has completed what was thus begun: town councils have been "thin" while most of their members have accompanied the local regiment to the station, and the time of town clerks has been entirely absorbed in receiving half-crowns for the war fund. The enthusiasts who expected the County Council to introduce the millennium in the twinkling of an eye have sunk into honourable obscurity, where they toil and moil at improvements in sewage disposal or in the methods of dealing with lunatics. The Council's enemies, who imagined it a monster about to deprive the rich of their property and the poor of their beer and skittles, have ceased to fulminate.

Under these depressing circumstances it is not very surprising if a reviewer of this ponderous tome finds it impossible to find in it anything new and either entertaining or instructive to put before his readers. It is in many ways a marvellous record of human activity, and we could wish that the central government had a few statisticians with the zeal and energy of Mr. Gomme. In view of the recent victory of the County Council in its struggle to bring the Salvation Army shelters under the same sanitary regulations as common lodging-houses, the table showing the amount of accommodation provided by these and similar institutions is interesting. The total number of beds or bunks provided was at the date of the return about 4400, of which about 3600 belonged to the Salvation Army.

EDWIN CANNAN.

**A DIVIDEND TO LABOUR: A Study of Employers' Welfare Institutions.** By NICHOLAS PAINE GILMAN. [399 pp. Cr. 8vo. \$1.75. Houghton & Mifflin. Boston, 1899.]

Mr. Gilman's book is a supplement to his earlier study of the various systems of profit-sharing, published ten years ago, and is no less instructive and encouraging. The case for profit-sharing, from the merely economic as well as from the moral point of view, comes about as near to demonstration as is ordinarily possible in dealing with human affairs. And yet, after some years of propaganda (Mr. Sedley Taylor's



book, the first English treatment of this subject, appeared in 1884, though the system had been previously described by J. S. Mill in his *Principles* as an "admirable arrangement"), and a much longer period of successful practical experiments (the scheme was introduced at the Maison Leclaire in Paris in 1842), there are to-day only some 322 cases of genuine profit-sharing in the whole of Europe and America. Of these, France presents the largest number, 109, closely followed by England with 94; then come Germany with 47, the United States with 23, Switzerland with 14, Italy with 8, Holland with 7, Austria-Hungary with 5, and nine cases in Spain, Portugal, Scandinavia and Russia.

These results, then, hardly encourage us to look for any very rapid or extensive modification of the wages system in the direction of a definite sharing of profits between capital and labour; and, indeed, we have also to remember that during the last ten years there has been a considerable mortality among schemes of this nature. However, Mr. Gilman now comes forward to assure us that the employer's sense of responsibility for the general well-being of his work-people is being shown in other ways. By various forms of "patronage" or "welfare-institutions," the best employers in all the more progressive countries are recognizing the moral claims of their employees to some share in the wealth which they help to produce, over and above the payment of a mere contract wage. Elaborate welfare-institutions, like those of the great firm of Krupp at Essen in Germany (the description of which occupies nearly 300 octavo pages!); industrial villages, like Port Sunlight, Bourneville, and Saltaire in England; benevolent plans, like those adopted by the Waltham Watch Factory or the Carnegie Steel Company in America: all these and similar schemes for the benefit of the workmen may fairly be described in Mr. Gilman's phrase as "an indirect dividend to labour," and should be welcomed accordingly.

There is, no doubt, as Mr. Gilman is careful to point out, a certain risk to the workman of forfeiting his independence by accepting this "patronage" on his master's terms. It is significant that employers' institutions of this kind have developed at a much slower rate in England and America than elsewhere; and even in Germany there seems to be a growing tendency among the workmen to look askance at the gifts of "paternalism." But, in spite of this risk, it is reasonable to assume that anything which tends to moralize industrial relationships, and to improve the material position of the artisan in regard to his home, his recreation, and his standard of life in general, is not likely in the long run to be wholly detrimental to his true interests.

On the other hand, it is a little surprising that employers as a class have not shown themselves more anxious to promote the principle of profit-sharing; they at all events have nothing to lose and a great deal to gain by giving the workman a direct concern in the efficiency of his work, and by strengthening the ties of mutual interest and good will which bind him to his employer. The explanation of this reluctance to adopt a new policy, even after it has been found to be entirely successful, lies in the fact that the appeal to mere self-interest is of little avail by itself; before it can become really effective it must be transformed into a moral ideal. And Mr. Gilman's sketch of a model employer, it must be confessed, represents a rather exceptional type of man. He will, for instance, frankly accept the principle of factory legislation, and will recognize that State regulation of the conditions of industry is both desirable and necessary; he will appreciate the good work which trade unions have done, and admit that they have a legitimate function to perform; he will be amicably disposed to settle incidental disputes by means of a conciliation board, or in extreme cases by an impartial arbitrator; he will encourage thrifty habits by means of benefit associations, or by allowing his workmen to acquire shares in the capital of the business; he will be anxious to see that his employees are properly housed, and that facilities for education and recreation are amply provided for them. All this he will do, says Mr. Gilman, because "he recognizes a moral obligation, incumbent upon the successful producer, to give a share of his fortune to his fellow-workers. This he does, not because it can be legally demanded, or is commonly esteemed a portion of ordinary justice, but because his large moneyed ability seems to him to impose the responsibility of that finer justice which men call generosity."

This, no doubt, is "a realizable ideal;" but it will require a great deal of persistent advocacy, and a direct and vigorous appeal to the individual conscience, before it will be frankly accepted and practically applied by the average business man. And the growth of joint-stock enterprise, with its long lists of shareholders whose paramount concern is for as large a dividend as possible, makes this educational work more difficult. However, there is no need to despair. Mr. Gilman's book is a sufficient proof that the ideal is actually being realized.

J. CARTER.

## POOR PEOPLE'S MUSIC-HALLS IN LANCASHIRE.

THE belief still survives that those who desire to be practically useful to the community in which they live have no need to be students of the conditions which govern the life of its members. It is, indeed, less widely and less firmly held now than it was even in days not long past, for year after year brings the record of new mistakes and blunders which have sprung from it; but discredited as it has been in many ways, it is still harboured by some minds, and it is most vigorously, though for the most part silently, defended by those who have to do with the "poor."

We are very far from contending that the collection of statistics is in itself a panacea for all social ills: the interpretation of the phenomena of social life among the poor cannot be made by merely mathematical processes; and sympathy is needed for the accumulation, not less than for the arrangement and use, of the facts which inquirers gather. But it is always to be remembered that, if modes of life cannot be revealed to those who "murder to dissect," and if an impertinent curiosity finds nothing but food for its own capricious appetite, yet benevolence, untrained and unsupported by a scientific method, can at best see only a part of the problem, and can prompt only partial and one-sided action. This is a proposition, of course, which is rarely impugned in words. The last generation has seen its application in many departments of social life, and not least notably in the study of the life of the working classes in our great cities. How people work, the wages they earn, the hours of labour, the terms of employment—these and a hundred similar questions have been raised, and answers have been found, or at least sought. Inquiries of this nature are not likely to be abandoned: they have a great charm for many students,



and they have an intrinsic value; and, moreover, as social conditions are never permanent, but always changing, old questions must ever be raised afresh, and new and newer answers, never final, but always tentative, be proposed. There was never a time when the problem of "the poor" was so much or so usefully discussed as the present; but, notwithstanding this activity of inquiry, one large part of the field has been very little explored. It is important to know what is the nature of people's work: it is not less important to know how they amuse themselves; for a man's favourite diversions provide a clue to his character and to his tastes. "No man is a hypocrite in his pleasures," Dr. Johnson declared; certainly very few working men pretend to like what they do not really enjoy.

We propose, then, briefly to describe and to make some comments on an entertainment of a kind most popular with the poor—that of the cheap music-halls, or "variety" theatres. And we shall speak of this entertainment as it is to be found in Lancashire; for, though the general form is the same throughout the country, local peculiarities exist. To discuss these peculiarities in detail would be an interesting but an endless task; few inquirers would, we suspect, be prepared to make an examination of the subject which would be more than fragmentary. We must be content to say that the investigations we have been able to make lead to the conclusion, which might be guessed *a priori*, that local characteristics do show themselves; that we have noticed some, and can believe in the presence of others which we do not actually know to be such in entertainments of this type given in the district to which our attention is confined. We are to speak of one of the chief amusements of "the poor," and we shall include among "the poor" not only the unemployed and those who are on the verge of destitution, but those also who are in a somewhat better position. We know no satisfactory definition of "the poor." It might be urged that those are poor who are without adequate food and clothing; but such a definition would be fruitless, for there are comparatively few people who are always in such a state of destitution. Or again, it might be held that a test

of poverty was provided by the amount of the balance left when the necessities of life were furnished. This also is useless; for, in the first place, the necessities of life vary in different grades of society; and, secondly, it is often the case that those who have least money, and appear to stand on the margin of destitution, have a larger proportion of their actual means to spare for *extras*, for amusements of various kinds than those who have a better income. We shall not attempt to frame a strict definition for ourselves; but, as one vague phrase may indicate the meaning of another equally vague, we may say that we shall understand by "the poor" those who are below the lowest rank of what are called the "middle class." We shall not consider clerks, or shopkeepers (except of very small shops), or shop-assistants, as belonging to "the poor." Labourers, artisans, porters, navvies, street-sellers of all kinds, are the people of whom we are thinking: and we believe that there are few more profitable subjects of research than the music-halls and "variety" theatres frequented by these men, with their wives, their sisters, or their sweethearts.

Admission to the largest part of these theatres can be had for 3*d.*, and the best seats rarely cost above 1*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* There are sometimes a few boxes, but they are a tribute to convention, and are hardly ever occupied.

The first thing that strikes a new-comer to one of these places is the familiarity of the audience with the theatre and with the performance; and, on inquiry, he will learn that it is not an uncommon thing for many persons to attend the same "hall" twice or even thrice a week. Many attend with a business-like regularity on Mondays and Saturdays: on Mondays, to "sample" the programme, and see if the performance is worth frequent visits; on Saturdays, by way of giving a last relish to the merriment of the half-holiday. There is a further reason for this familiarity: the programme is usually changed once a week, but the general character of the entertainment does not greatly vary with these nominal alterations. It is not surprising, then, that the audience should be perfectly at home. But familiarity does not spoil the amusement: the same jests, the same

songs, the same dances are heard and seen again and again by the same people, but with ever fresh satisfaction. The sense of novelty has indeed gone, and the applause is not often exuberant, though it is usually hearty. The people are stolidly pleased.

If it is asked what are the main attractions which draw these large crowds repeatedly, the answer is not doubtful. Light, and noise, and company are always to be had. Flaring gas-jets, or better still, the naked glare of the electric light, the vehement band, the shrill or thundering voice of the singer, the resounding, hammer-like strokes with which the ancient jokes are driven home, the loud clatter of the clog-dancer's feet; not least, the society of friends, with whom almost unceasing conversation is held throughout the performance (except when some break-neck acrobatic feat is in process), the freedom to smoke, and the opportunity of drinking beer or mineral waters and eating oranges and cakes,—these are powerful charms.

There is another fundamental characteristic to be noted: the entertainment is made up of a number of separate and entirely disconnected items or "turns"—perhaps ten or twelve in the course of the evening. This is of the essence of a "variety" programme. No effort of continuous thought is demanded from the spectators. Their attention is seized forcibly, their ears are filled, their eyes caught: but they themselves are almost passive, except when conjuring tricks are being done—then their intelligence is alert; otherwise they contribute nothing. There is little exercise in interpretation: everything is bald and plain and obvious; and even this passive attention is not maintained for more than a few minutes at a time. The song is quickly followed by the dance, the dance by a gymnastic display. The music-halls are managed upon the principle which can be discovered in the innumerable comic papers, which flood the bookstalls and are eagerly read by thousands of the working class (and of other classes besides). Here are scraps of information and tit-bits of merriment and cuts of fun, a heap of unrelated and incongruous morsels, upon which the reader feeds for want of, or distaste for, more solid nourishment. The



drama requires active and intelligent sympathy on the part of the spectators. Even the most sensational melodrama calls for some attention—there is some kind of continuity and connected movement in the plot, though the connexions are so patent and so hackneyed that the mind is not severely taxed in tracing them: but even this minimum of thought can be dispensed with in the entertainments which we are describing. Two reflections suggest themselves here: how little our national education has yet achieved for the people, if the occupation of their leisure hours is so completely destitute of thought as it appears to be! And how dull must be the daily life, and how weary and listless the minds of those who can find their amusement best in such entertainments! But let us pass from these preliminary considerations to particular points.

The band always starts the entertainment with an “overture” or a march, and plays again during the interval or intervals (for sometimes there are two) between the earlier and later parts of the programme. It is true that the audience pays little heed to these pieces; during the opening passage people are taking their seats, and in the intervals they are moving about, and eating and drinking at the refreshment-room bar. But the music is liked, and would be much missed if it were omitted. Besides these introductory and intermediate performances, the band also accompanies the songs, the dances, and the acrobatic displays. Its services are very important, and, though they impress the occasional visitor more powerfully than the frequent attendants, they are necessary to the enjoyment of the audience.

The songs themselves constitute in the poor people's halls a third or even half of the entire programme; in the higher-priced halls they seldom hold so large a proportion. The singer is often a dancer also, and frequently dances during the song as well as after it. Every song has a refrain or chorus, which is repeated once or twice by the singer, and afterwards by the audience, who join in it more or less heartily and vigorously according to the popularity of the singer, or the consonance of the sentiments expressed with their own prepossessions. At the present moment a patriotic song is very quickly learnt, and a

patriotic verse is added for the occasion to almost every song, whatever its general trend may be. The tune of one song is good for all. There is very little variety of movement or of cadence. There is commonly a transition, effected with great monotony of method from one key to another (as from G to D) and back again to the original. The music is admirably adapted to its purpose. It makes no great strain on the voice, for the compass is small; and the tune is of a sort that can be readily caught up. Not seldom a hymn-tune (whether deliberately or by chance, it is sometimes difficult to guess) is made to serve with very slight alterations; and sometimes again (though this we have found to be more common in the higher-priced music-halls) a hymn-tune is deliberately parodied, or the hymn itself travestied, and the ordinary tune, connected in most minds with religious words, is used with new associations. But it is not necessary to describe the music at any length, for it has been made familiar to willing and unwilling ears by the efforts of the Salvation Army and many a mission hall. We hasten to say that we intend no disparagement or slight to either of these agencies. On the contrary, we note as an interesting fact, and as an evidence of the unerring skill with which the means have been suited to the end in view, the similarity, or rather, the identity of character shown by the music of the music-hall and that of the mission hall. In both cases a form has been hit upon, which is at once simple and bright, easily rendered by the voice, and equally easily remembered—a form, moreover, which is capable of endless alteration and adaptation, and which, notwithstanding all that can be said against it, and justly, by the critic, has long been popular and still retains its hold upon the people. It is noteworthy, however, that though this common form, loosely framed, yet showing the marks of design, appears to have some permanence—a comparison of some tunes written forty or fifty years ago with some composed a few months since proves that the type can outlast a generation—the individual airs either fail to survive, or survive only as set to religious words, in which case it is not their intrinsic worth that saves them. They have indeed no individuality. And the cause of

this is surely to be found in the fact that they do not come spontaneously from the people, but are brought to them by purveyors who belong to another class. The music of the poor in our own day, and in the last generation, seems to be a debased form of the music, often trivial enough itself, of the richer classes, manufactured wholesale, like the tawdry imitations of jewels, with which the eyes of the poor are dazzled and deceived.<sup>1</sup>

The comparison of popular religious with popular non-religious music suggests some important practical lessons. It is to be observed that the sentiments of religion and the instinct for amusement both express themselves in an artistic form of greater or less cultivation or natural merit, and that the form in which either of these faculties expresses itself in any class is of the same nature as the form in which the other faculty embodies itself. This should be remembered by those who, whether in the domain of religion or in the realm of intellectual culture, try to bring new ideas to the less fortunate sections of the community. Such reformers must exercise patience and humility; but they need not despair. They must, however, be prepared for the action and re-action of form upon substance, and substance upon form. The new ideas which they bring with them will gradually create a new form for themselves, if they are accepted at all: but the old form, which is, as it were, in the field, is an active force; it not only consolidates the sentiments of which it is an expression, but it will only after a struggle yield to the new ideas, and in this struggle these ideas themselves will be modified. And it ought not to be forgotten that in a healthy community new ideas of value, with the appropriate forms for their expression, are as likely to spring from the poor as from any other class. It is because would-be reformers forget this that their labours are so often vain.

If we turn from the music to the themes of the songs, we find more variety. There are comic, pathetic, patriotic, and religious songs. The comic songs are generally, though not always sung by comedians or *comédiennes*; the pathetic by "burlesque artistes" or "character-comedians," and the patriotic by mere

<sup>1</sup> See Parry, *Art of Music*, pp. 80-81.



“singers” or “serios.” But these several rôles are not exclusive of one another; and a “burlesque artiste” may give a religious song, or a “serio” may sing a comic piece, or, once more, a patriotic song may be sung by anybody, no matter what his or her title may be. The truth seems to be that, though these titles may originally have had some distinctive, though arbitrarily assigned, meaning, as used in the music-hall, they are now employed, sometimes perhaps with a slight reminiscence of the first meaning, but for the most part quite indiscriminately. The early associations of the words, whatever they may have been, are often completely ignored. This theory gets support from the curious fact that there seems to be no distinctive dress for the several kinds of performers: the singers of comic songs cannot be distinguished by their costume, at any rate, from those who sing sentimental, pathetic, religious, or patriotic songs. One can often foretell, however, before the appearance of the singer, and without reference to the programme, which only gives a rough indication, what will be the nature of his or her song. A rat-tat on the kettle-drum and a jiggy line or two with the fiddles introduces the comic or the burlesque singer, while a melancholy tenor wail given out by a cornet often preludes a pathetic or religious piece.

The subjects of the comic songs are legion. The foibles of the police, the swagger of the soldier, the imbecility of the fop; drunkenness, rowdyism, sea-sickness; all kinds of bodily peculiarities, such as extreme thinness or fatness, lameness, or any other deformity; and some diseases, such as rheumatism, gout, or dropsy—all these are regarded as fit subjects of comedy. There is something primitive and barbaric in the selection of many of these topics, some of which, at least, are not unfamiliar to the schoolboy and the undergraduate, who are able, often without any offence, to make fun of the personal defects of their friends. There is, it must be confessed, no very brilliant wit, and there is certainly no novelty in these sallies; but they have a strong fascination for many minds. Sometimes, moreover,—and here we rise to a higher plane of the comic,—this or that physical oddity is seized upon, not so much for its own ugliness, as

because it stands for some quality of character, which is the real object of the ridicule or the attack. The beginnings—or ought we to say, the remains?—are here of a subtler art. But it is very difficult satisfactorily to account for the choice of some other subjects, which are equally recognized as comic. The quarrels of husbands and wives have always been lashed by the satirist and laughed at by the writer of comedy; but whenever the subject has been handled well, some restraint has been exercised by the writer who has chosen it for treatment. In the music-halls there is none of this restraint; there is not indeed the licentious freedom of some of our older writers of comedy, but neither is there their dramatic skill, for which there is hardly room (to speak of no other reason for its absence) in a short song. Nor is there the impersonal and prophetic note of the true satirist. There is a naked revelation of the sordid and hideous disruption of domestic happiness; the quarrel described is more often than not one of blows as well as of words, and nothing is omitted which is of a nature to torture the feelings, and outrage the sense of honour or of mere decency. And the horrible effect is not mitigated, when, as is often the case, the last verse of the song tells of a reconciliation as brutal as the quarrel itself. And yet this is a comic song; or if the reconciliation is the *motif* of the whole piece, it is regarded as serio-comic, or pathetic, or else (and here we are better able to understand the description) burlesque.

Again, prison-life, the treadmill and the gallows, are frequently the subjects of comic songs; or poverty, with its symbols of hunger and scanty clothing, is treated in the same way, and belongs to the same class of topics. How is it that poor people like these subjects? It must be said at once that many of the people who enjoy such songs are respectable and well-meaning folk; honest, straightforward, excellent workers, and not deficient in that sense of humanity which makes them good neighbours and kind friends, or in the proper pride which makes them loyal husbands or wives, generous sons and daughters, and constant lovers. How is it that steady middle-aged men and women, who have brought up their children respectably, find enjoyment

in a song the subject of which is the danger or the vice from which they have so carefully guarded their own sons or daughters? Nothing is further from the truth than the statement that these songs give a fair representation of the moral character of all the people who listen to them with pleasure. We shall not be at the pains to argue that no members of these large audiences delight in the brutal and the corrupt, for the sake of its corruption and brutality. It may be that some do; we fear that must be admitted. But of this we are convinced, that, as regards the great majority, their enjoyment of these things is no key whatever to the principles which govern their own conduct; and of this we are equally sure, that what seems to be essentially demoralizing in its tendency, if not in its actual effect, is more keenly relished by the better-class audiences which frequent the higher-priced music-halls, than by the poor people who go to their place in the pit of their favourite hall for threepence. If the question is pressed, What constitutes the charm of these outrageous performances? we can only offer very tentative answers. In the first place, it may, we think, very fairly be said that their very outrageousness gratifies many spectators, who get some relief from the strain of the propriety which they practice in these extravagant representations. When there is a conscious and deliberate exaggeration on the part of the composer and the singer, this also, conveying as it does an implicit, but easily appreciated criticism, appeals immediately to their moral as well as to their artistic sense, such as it is: to the artistic sense, because this overdoing of a part is accounted an essential characteristic of effective writing and convincing acting by people to whom the austerity and self-control of a good writer or actor would be insipid; and to the moral feelings, which in these people are always quick to respond to a suggestion, and prompt loud condemnation of the vicious and lusty praise of the good. We hope we may escape the charge of pedantry, if we add that the ludicrous may be described in the same formula for all classes, if a little freedom is granted in the interpretation. "The ludicrous is a defect, or ugliness, which is not painful or destructive." It is a far cry from Aristotle to the



modern music-hall; but his definition, imperfect though it is, may be of service. It is at defects or uglinesses that the spectators laugh; but there is no malice in their laughter: the defects at which they laugh are, for the most part, not such as, in their judgment, ruin the character in which they are found, and they are not painful to those who witness them. Here is the greatest obstacle in the way of intellectual sympathy between members of different classes of society. The objects of moral approval or censure are pretty nearly the same for all; the objects of mirth are widely different in the several classes. Defects or uglinesses which the readers of this *Review* would certainly consider both "destructive" and "painful," are not such in the eyes of the frequenters of the cheap music-hall. Other distinctions gradually fade; the distinction between the educated and the uneducated (we use the words in their widest sense) remains ineffaceable. This explanation helps us to account for the pleasure with which many pieces, unpleasant though they must be to a cultivated taste, are yet received by these audiences. It does not account for the enjoyment given by songs the subject of which must, we believe, be painful to the moral sense of all classes. In the case of these a curiously perverted artistic standard is brought to solace the listeners, and to save them from being too rudely shocked. "It's not real," they say; or, "It's only acting;" and they are at rest.

If we may suggest yet another reason for the fascination of these pieces, it is this. They always represent violent emotions expressing themselves with great animal vigour, and the performers themselves make enormous physical exertions in these parts. The long-sustained noise, the wild gesticulations, and the vehemence of the feelings to which utterance is thus given, are all much admired, and are watched with unflagging interest.

The sentimental songs remind one of the melodrama, which also is a favourite amusement of the same class of people. The sentiments themselves are sometimes a little nauseating to a severe taste; but in general, it is the treatment rather than the subject which offends the critic. A miner blinded by an explosion; an engine-driver whose nerves have been shattered

by the shock of a collision; a sailor returning from a long voyage to find that his wife has been unfaithful to him; a starving street-urchin begging a crust, not for himself, but for a father or mother laid low with some horrible and minutely described malady—all these are familiar figures on the music-hall stage, and the pathetic interest which attaches to them is enhanced by red or green lights flashed alternately upon them. There is crudity, certainly, in this; but there is nothing evil. Dickens has made his little Nell immortal by the help of very similar devices. One looks in vain for austerity in these attempts to touch the emotions; but sound emotions are thus stirred, and—it is important to remark—men seem to answer to this kind of appeal as readily as women.

The patriotic songs need little description. They are panegyrics of England and English valour at the expense, for the most part, of all other nations. They often suggest a vindictive and intolerant spirit, and not least at the present moment; but they are, of course, conceived in a vein of exaggeration, and probably do less than justice to the humanity of those who sing and those who applaud them.

The religious songs are more remarkable. We said earlier that the titles by which the singers are described in the programmes are not very clear or distinctive. A comedian may sing a sentimental song, without any intention of making it comic, and without rendering it ludicrous in the judgment of the audience. So any one may sing a religious song, but no singer will choose only religious songs for his turns. One religious song will be sung by the same performer who gives perhaps two comic songs, or a comic and a sentimental song. The costume of the singer is never grotesque for a religious song. A woman generally wears an extravagantly ornamental concert-room dress, and a man perhaps an ordinary dress suit, or a frock coat. Or if the song is of the type made famous by Mr. Corney Grain's parodies, the singer, usually a woman or a youngish girl, is got up as an ill-fed, but spiritual-looking child, a little ragged, but not without some scraps of finery—a little lace thrown over the head aids the effect—and wears an expression

of tearful solemnity. In the poor people's music-halls these songs are heard with very sincere pleasure by the whole house, and the fact that they are sandwiched between comic or burlesque songs seems to suggest no incongruity. The passage is easy from the sentimental to the comic, and from that to the religious. The philosophic new-comer may be disposed to think that the division between these departments is very slight, and judge too hastily that the whole entertainment is comic, whatever labels the different parts of it may bear. From a merely æsthetic standpoint there is, of course, justice in such a criticism; but it is not adequate as an account of the temper of the audience, and the effect of the several performances upon that temper. The general treatment of all the subjects covered by a "variety" programme is, as we have shown, pretty much the same; but it is none the less true that the comic, the religious, the burlesque, and the patriotic sentiments uttered on the stage appeal, as it were, to separate compartments of the spectators' minds. They do not recognize the possibility of any relation between one and another; and thus their laughter is genuine, and their awe is real, their merriment is unaffected, and their loyalty pure, though their minds are not delicately or intimately moved, nor their souls subtly or deeply stirred. The whole thing is honest and spontaneous, so far as it goes.

In the higher-priced music-halls, the religious songs are also well received; but they are often the sign that the programme as a whole is of a kind at which the spectator need not be prudish to wince. A comparison of the higher-priced with the lower-priced music-halls inclines us to think that the latter provide a more wholesome form of entertainment. Whatever is unpleasant in the poor people's music-hall is nakedly unpleasant, and for that reason less likely to exert a demoralizing influence. Nothing coarser is hinted or suggested than is baldly said and done. The thin gauze of affected propriety is not thrown over subjects intrinsically bad, to allure the eyes of ill-regulated curiosity. The pleasures of the poor, unless we are greatly mistaken, are often ruffianly, and sometimes beastly; they are not devilish.



We have discussed the comic songs at much greater length than any of the other kinds, because they constitute the chief part of the programme in almost all of these entertainments. The people do not resent a didactic song; indeed, they like an obvious moral; which, of course, is often incidentally conveyed in the comic song. But they come chiefly in order to get a good laugh, and they find what they want most readily in the comic pieces.

A large part of the comic effect is produced by the gesticulations and deportment of the singers. During their songs, they travel across the stage backwards and forwards, or from wing to wing with a half-dancing walk, and often dance or gallop round the stage between the verses. This is often very cleverly done. The thing is, of course, conventional, and the novices and less brilliant performers sometimes appear to be a little oppressed by the rules of their business; but the "stars," while conforming to the common method, introduce new antics of their own invention, which in their turn grow old and become part of the traditional manner. Of the most celebrated performers it may be said that "they have their exits and their entrances," and it is very clear that they are proud of them. To come on to the stage with an air of nonchalance, to look idly at the scene instead of the audience, or to enter at a fast run, or again to walk in backwards and pretend to be finishing a conversation with an invisible friend or foe; or to leave the stage with a somersault, or with an affectedly awkward bow, —all these tricks are practised, and they are rewarded by the approbation of the audience. A singer often talks for some minutes to the house, or to the band, or to the conductor, or to himself, and will begin his song quite unexpectedly in the middle of one of these harangues or soliloquies. All the while the fiddles and flutes keep up a meaningless tootling on or near the first note of the song, prepared to go on as soon as the singer is ready.

By all these means the sympathy and goodwill of the house are secured; every one is put in a good humour; the singer assumes that all his hearers are intimate with each other, and

that he himself is intimate with them all, acquainted with their history, their family affairs, their loves and hopes and sorrows. He tries to appear at once knowing and affectionate, and the audience is almost always prepared to accept him in both characters. What we have just said applies equally to men and women singers. There are, however, some differences of manner. The comedian is generally more boisterous and noisily absurd than the *comediennne*. The man often aims at buffoonery, and hits his mark; the woman often aims at fine-ladyism, sometimes more or less skilfully by way of satire, sometimes with a pitiable seriousness.

The dresses both of the men and of the women are, of course, important, and give evidence of premeditated art. A man may be dressed as a ragamuffin or tatterdemalion, or as a policeman—the constant butt of music-hall criticism; or as a volunteer—once an object of derision, but now of admiration; or, again, he may appear in a superb light grey frock-coat, irreproachable trousers, a faultless silk hat, or in an ordinary dress suit; or, if he is an eclectic, he may wear a blazer with a dress waistcoat and riding-breeches, or a frock-coat with knickerbockers and gay stockings; or, once more, he may dress as a woman, and will then assume the part of a housemaid, a charwoman, or a duchess with equal readiness. A woman will sometimes dress like a factory girl, but not often. Far more frequently she appears in a low-necked dress with short skirts, made of some very showily-patterned silk or satin; or in a dress with a preternaturally long train, and in a kind of garden-party hat. She is rarely without a fan, unless she carries lorgnettes, which seem to give still greater distinction. This is one fashion, which admits of variation; and, on the whole, it is the most popular, for a working-class audience loves finery. If the singer thus arrayed is able to explain in her first line or two that she is now staying at the Hotel Cecil, or that she has just returned to town from a visit to the Duke and Duchess of Gold-Nuggets at Broad-Acres, the illusion is complete.

But there are many other kinds of dress. A Norfolk jacket and skirt of khaki, with a Glengarry or some other military

cap, predispose the spectators in favour of the wearer. A large, middle-aged *comédienne* sometimes dresses very simply in a plain muslin gown, made like that of a girl of sixteen, and lets her hair fall on her shoulders. The dancers and the singers who attach special importance to their dancing wear garments designed to give effect to their peculiar steps. Or, once more—for we cannot describe the infinite variety of the costumes—a woman will dress like a man.

The costume, indeed, is so important that some performers, and particularly the women, advertise themselves as “quick-change artistes,” or, more learnedly, as “Protean artistes:” they come on the stage in one dress; disappear, and in an incredibly short time return in a fresh suit. This dexterity always wins loud applause.

We should very imperfectly describe a music-hall entertainment if we spoke only of the songs. There are other attractions, which it will suffice very briefly to mention.

Conjuring tricks, however old, are never stale; ventriloquism, on the other hand, which we take to be a much more modern accomplishment, is losing its vogue. Marionettes, which always fire the childish imagination, are much enjoyed, though they are rarely to be seen on the music-hall stage.

Far more popular than these performances are acrobatic feats, and dancing, which itself tends to become more and more acrobatic. The acrobatic and gymnastic displays seem to us to appeal to a higher artistic sense than any other part of these entertainments. These feats are certainly marvellous; and they appear to be very dangerous in some instances. We do not doubt that the riskiness greatly increases the fascination of these exhibitions, but it does not by itself constitute the charm. The precision of every movement, the accuracy of every effort, and, not least, the splendid muscular development attained by many of those who take part in them, all arrest the attention and please the eye.

The dancing has a different kind of interest. It is generally really clever, though not beautiful; it is certainly far more violent than graceful. The dancers sometimes go through



contortions which we have found painful to witness, though we observed that most of the spectators got from these exhibitions a pleasure quite untouched by pain; and they always work very hard, continuing quick and difficult movements longer than we imagined that exertions so violent could be maintained.

In the cheap music-halls men dancers are very common, and quite as much interest is taken in their performances as in those of the women dancers. Among the working classes in Lancashire clog-dancing and other steps are much practised; the people, indeed, are nearly as fond of dancing as they are of music.

A working lad or girl who can dance well has the opportunity sometimes of getting upon the stage. We have sometimes been present at an entertainment at which a group of such lads, belonging to the town in which they were performing, have danced before their old friends and work-fellows, by whom they were wildly applauded. Dancing may often be seen in the alleys and courts in the poorer parts of the Lancashire towns, and even in the side streets turning out of great thoroughfares. A crowd, not only of children, but of young men and women will gather round a barrel-organ, and in a few moments many couples will have begun to dance.

The stage dancing which we have seen at the poor people's theatres has seemed to us less elaborate, but, its usual ugliness notwithstanding, much more becoming than that which we have watched in other music-halls. It is sometimes possible to see an actor or actress who has performed at one of the richer halls give the same performance at one of the cheaper places of entertainment. A very instructive lesson may be learnt by those who will compare the two audiences. Much depends, of course, on the way in which any performance is received, and it is no less important than interesting that the poorer audience will invariably give a better, a sounder, and more humane interpretation to a dance or a song than that given by the well-to-do. The actors or actresses themselves respond to the interpretation, and though the substance of their performance may be unaltered, the manner in which it is accomplished, and the asides for which

there is always plenty of room, are changed to suit the audience. It can be seen by this alteration of manner—how far it is conscious is an engaging question—that the performers make the same estimate of the taste of these two kinds of audiences as we have ourselves been led to form.

Let us try to express in a few words the general impression made on our mind by these entertainments, which we have tried to describe in some detail. The student cannot but be saddened by the consideration that the working man has no better form of indoor public recreation than this; he will feel that a strain of coarseness runs through it all; he will reluctantly accept the truth that great numbers of people can find enjoyment in spectacles which have little or no beauty, and in performances which appeal rarely if at all to the higher powers of the mind; and he will experience a curious revulsion of feeling as he discovers that the moral sentiments of these people seem to receive an expression, which to them at any rate is not painfully incongruous, in such performances and spectacles. But if he is candid, we believe the student will not stop at this point. He will notice that the merriment provided by these entertainments is hearty and unaffected; that the enjoyment is social—it is shared among friends and comrades; that moral judgments, however grossly expressed, are yet formed and expressed, and that blame and praise are awarded to what is bad and to what is good unhesitatingly and with almost entire unanimity. If he looks in vain for grace and charm, he must not overlook force and naturalness, and he must be prepared to admit that what may be neither charming nor graceful in his eyes, may be both in the eyes of less well-educated spectators. There is no affectation here—no pretence of liking what is not liked; and in this honesty of appreciation lies a great hope for the gradual improvement of taste. And he must recognize this also, that the desire for diversion, for a stimulus which comes without taxing the mind, and stirs without straining the feelings, is natural and wholesome; and if he has any recollection of his boyhood, if he has ever been a boy, he will not find it difficult to understand a delight in noise and rough fisticuff wit for their own sakes.

These are elements in the whole subject of his study which he cannot neglect ; these qualities are positive, and, so far as they go, they are good.

It is worth while to ask what substitute a working-class audience, of the type which we have in view, has for the music hall entertainment. Shakespearean drama is not entirely unintelligible to such people, but it is not to be seen every night, nor for the same low prices. And it may well be questioned whether the comic opera and the musical comedy, forms of entertainment which are becoming more and more popular with the well-to-do, represent much higher artistic gifts on the part of the "artistes" or call for much finer powers of æsthetic appreciation on that of the spectators, than those of the performers in cheap music-halls or the people before whom they play. We have already said that the cheap music-halls give an entertainment which appears to be of a higher order than that of the higher-priced theatres of varieties. The pantomime can hardly be said to provide a nobler kind of amusement.

But one more comparison must be made : the cheap music-halls are strong rivals of the public-house sing-songs, which they tend to supersede. For these sing-songs a special room is generally provided in public-houses which have a music license, and admission is free ; but every one is expected to drink, and often solicited to drink. In the music-hall, even if there is a license for intoxicating drinks (which is not always the case) there is none of this solicitation. A man may drink or not as he pleases, and as much or as little as he chooses. The sing-songs are dangerous, at best ; and they are particularly dangerous for the young men and the girls, often in their teens, who are to be found with the older people attending them. Some of the public-houses in which sing-songs are held may be less strictly managed than they should be ; there are those who have their suspicions on this matter—a subject into which we are not prepared now to enter, and of which we shall not hazard an opinion. But this we can say, that, let the houses be as well conducted as possible, the sing-song, and the drinking which goes on during it, are sources of grave danger



to the young. It is not perhaps widely known that port wine is considered by many to be a teetotal drink, and is taken by those who would, on the ground of being total abstainers, refuse beer. The youths are inflamed, and the girls stupefied or made hilarious with these "teetotal" beverages, which they have taken in entirely respectable and orderly houses. The houses remain orderly and respectable; the young people leave them with sufficient propriety: but do they continue to be respectable and orderly?

It is not the least important thing to be said in favour of cheap music-halls, that they lessen the attractions of the sing-songs.

Dr. Johnson was thinking of another kind of entertainment, but his words, with which we shall conclude, may be applied, we think, not unfitly to our subject. "Sir," said he to Sir Adam Fergusson, "I am a great friend to public amusements, for they keep people from vice."

C. E. B. RUSSELL,  
E. T. CAMPAGNAC.

## A SIGNIFICANT CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF CURRENCY.

THERE are few passages in Lord Macaulay's famous history that continue to be read with as much general appreciation as his account of the recoinage of 1695-1700, the causes that led up to it, and the effects that followed.

"When the great instrument of exchange became thoroughly deranged," he says, "all trade, all industry, were smitten as with a palsy. The evil was felt daily and hourly in almost every place and by almost every class, in the dairy and on the threshing-floor, by the anvil and by the loom, on the billows of the ocean and in the depths of the mine. Nothing could be purchased without a dispute. Over every counter there was wrangling from morning to night. . . . The simple and the careless were pillaged without mercy by extortioners whose demands grew even more rapidly than the money shrank. . . . The ignorant and helpless peasant was cruelly ground between one class which would give money only by tale and another which would take it only by weight."<sup>1</sup>

In describing the remedial measures finally adopted, he dwells with eloquence on the combination of speculative and of practical abilities to be found in the alliance between Somers and Montague on the one hand, and Locke and Newton on the other, "the men to whom England owed the restoration of her currency, and the long series of prosperous years which dates from that restoration."

It is very true that, after the great recoinage of the silver at the close of the seventeenth century, the country was blest for many years with a complete immunity from monetary troubles. Indeed, troubles springing from the depreciation of the coinage have never since, in England, been of a serious character. At

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, vol. iv., p. 628.

the same time, this fact has to be taken in conjunction with another, and surely a very singular one,—the fact that the restoration, as regarded the character of the silver circulation itself, was of the most transient character. The recoinage had hardly been completed before the new full-weighted silver coin began to leave the country again in a steady and unceasing stream. Eighteen years after its completion the average weight of the silver was probably very nearly, if not altogether, as much below its standard weight as it had been before the recoinage was begun.

“In the reign of King William,” remarks Lord Liverpool, “when the silver coins were so very deficient, Mr. Locke had said, ‘It is no wonder if the price and value of things be confounded and uncertain when the measure itself is lost.’ To restore this measure the public had expended £2,700,000. But notwithstanding so great an expense, this measure of property, in the lapse of a very few years, was a second time lost, and had no existence, unless it had passed into the gold coin.”<sup>1</sup>

Speaking of the earlier period, Macaulay says—

“At length, in the autumn of 1695, it could hardly be said that the country possessed, for practical purposes, any measure of the value of commodities. It was a mere chance whether what was called a shilling was really tenpence, sixpence, or a groat. The results of some experiments which were tried at that time deserve to be mentioned. . . . Three eminent London goldsmiths were invited to send a hundred pounds each in current silver to be tried by the balance. Three hundred pounds ought to have weighed about twelve hundred ounces. The actual weight proved to be six hundred and twenty-four ounces.”<sup>2</sup>

That, no doubt, was deplorable enough. The strange thing was, however, that similar experiments made by Sir James Stewart and Harris, the author of the well-known *Essay on Coins*, years after the restoration, and while monetary prosperity still ruled, yielded a result hardly less unsatisfactory as regarded the weight of the silver. At this latter period, however, no one it seemed, except Stewart and Harris themselves, and a few

<sup>1</sup> *Coins of the Realm*, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *History of England*, vol. iv., p. 626.



other specialists, cared very much whether the silver was up to its standard weight or not. Business of all sorts apparently went on quite as smoothly with the light silver as it ever had gone with the full-weighted. The foreign exchanges were entirely unaffected by its depreciation. In William III.'s wars, English money could only be laid down in Holland at a loss of four shillings at least in every pound sterling. In the Seven Years' War, though the silver was in no better a condition, funds in any quantity could be transmitted to the Continent without the loss of sixpence in exchange.

If these facts were laid before any one unacquainted with the history of the period, he would probably say at once, "The explanation must be that, in the mean time, steps had been taken to adopt the gold standard, and to reduce silver to the status of token money." We know, however, of course, that nothing of the kind had happened. There was, indeed, no one on the surface of the planet at that time who knew how to "adopt a gold standard," and how to reduce silver to the status of token money. These things seem simple enough now; they were undiscovered secrets then. So far, indeed, was it from being the case that any steps had been taken to change the basis of our monetary system from silver to gold during the eighteenth century, that the clearest-headed observers of that epoch were, one and all, of opinion that no change had taken place. They held, on the contrary, that silver was still, as it always had been, the standard metal of England. Sir James Stewart refers to it as a matter universally understood that "silver is the standard and the ruling metal."<sup>1</sup> Harris and Adam Smith are of the same opinion. At the same time, all these writers admit and recognize facts which, we might have thought, would have led them to an opposite conclusion. Stewart, in one passage, explicitly recognizes the fact that the shillings and sixpences had become nothing else but tokens. Adam Smith very significantly observes, with regard to the recoinage of the gold in 1774,<sup>2</sup> that it had raised not only the

<sup>1</sup> *Principles of Political Economy*, vol. v., p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> *Wealth of Nations*, bk. i., ch. v., p. 55.

value of the guineas, but also, in the same proportion, that of the silver coinage as well. The silver coins, as he remarks, though much below their intrinsic weight, were "held up" in value by the gold. In substance, undoubtedly, he saw that the gold was already the *metal regulateur*, or, as we should say nowadays, was the standard. Still, he not only explicitly says that silver was the standard, but he always treats it as the standard in all his calculations with regard to the fluctuations of prices.

It is impossible, indeed, to take the most cursory glance at the state of things in England in the eighteenth century without recognizing that the gold standard existed there then just as it does now. The fluctuation of the foreign exchanges, owing to the depreciation of the silver, when Lord Liverpool wrote,<sup>1</sup> had already become a thing of the remote past. For very many years the exchanges had fluctuated only in conformity with the condition of the gold coinage, or with that of the balance of trade. The mint price of gold, too, had remained, for very many years, at the unvarying figure of £3 17s. 10½*d.* as at present, while the price of silver bullion fluctuated at any rate as noticeably as it did during the earlier years of this century. Every one of the conditions which we now regard as characteristic of the gold standard was then already present. Amid much that is uncertain and obscure, there are two facts that stand out clear and unmistakable. First, there is the fact that, by the middle of the eighteenth century, probably by 1720, the transition of standard had taken place; secondly, that it had taken place without any action, or, indeed, any thought of action, on the part of the legislature with the view of bringing it about; that it had come about, indeed, in the teeth of statutes that made both gold and silver equally unlimited legal tender, and that opened the mints to the free coinage of both.

When a nation such as Japan, let us say, decides upon the adoption of the gold standard nowadays, it has a plain course before it. After fixing a ratio at which the coins of the two metals shall circulate together, it closes its mints to the free

<sup>1</sup> *Coins of the Realm*, p. 141.

coinage of silver, leaving them open to the free coinage of gold only. At the same time, it probably will take the precaution of reducing the weight of the silver coins to something below the figure which would correspond with their intrinsic value in gold, lest a rise in silver should cause them to be exported. That done, the gold standard may be said to be adopted. It is interesting to observe how all this was practically accomplished for us in England in the eighteenth century by a purely natural process. What happened, to trace the course of events so far as it can be traced in detail, was this. First, in fixing the rates between gold and silver, in 1717, a valuation was adopted, on Sir Isaac Newton's recommendation, that was very slightly more favourable to gold and less favourable to silver than that ruling at the time in France, and Holland, and the greater part of the Continent. Theoretically the aim was to fix such a rate as would prevent the export of either metal; there was, however, as the wording of Newton's report shows,<sup>1</sup> a greater dread of making a mistake which would lead to the export of gold than there was of making a mistake which would lead to the export of silver. The result was that, to the close of the century, practically no fresh silver was brought to the English mints to be coined. The mints were thus indeed closed to silver as effectually as if they had been closed by statute. We have thus condition number one of the modern gold standard, the closure of the mints to silver, fulfilled. In the second place, immediately after the recoinage of 1695-1700 all the heavier coins were, owing also to the under-valuation of silver, at once picked out, melted down, and exported. What were left were very shortly sufficiently depreciated by loss of weight to be, at any rate, not more valuable intrinsically than they were nominally; otherwise they too would have gone to the melting-pot. As time went on, of course, they continued to suffer from wear and tear till, in the end, they were found to have lost from a third to a half of their weight. They thus came to fulfil the second of the conditions of a gold standard mentioned above—that is, the condition that the subsidiary coinage should contain less metal

<sup>1</sup> See *Coins of the Realm*, p. 83.



than that which corresponds to its nominal value. We see, then, how it was that, when the formal establishment of our monetary system on a gold basis in 1816 was undertaken in accordance with Lord Liverpool's recommendations, all that the legislature had to do, in regard to fresh issues of money, was to continue the *status quo*, to imitate the conditions that nature had already brought into being.

The significance of this chapter in the history of currency—which, by the way, Mr. Shaw passes over in silence<sup>1</sup>—lies in this, that it brings us in contact, as regards changes of monetary standard, with the great conception of Evolution. In regard to every other social and political institution the conception of Evolution has fairly taken possession of the field. In regard to the explanation of the phenomena of money—at any rate of modern money—its influence has, so far, not been conspicuous. When we see the elaborate machinery of the English constitution copied, almost as a matter of course, by every European State now, as it gains its liberties, we are driven to ask: Who was originally its contriver? what far wiser Washington are we to honour as one of mankind's most illustrious benefactors? There are many great names, indeed, connected with the progress of English political institutions, but their greatness did not lie in planning systems of government for future ages, but in maintaining and broadening, for the most part but slightly, the popular rights they found in existence. The very origin of the House of Commons, the great model of all the representative assemblies that the world has since seen, is lost in obscurity. If Simon de Montfort planted the germ from which it sprang, it is the force of the circumstances in which he found himself placed, rather than any far-sighted wisdom on his part, that we have to thank for it. We should find it, indeed, about as difficult to decide to what English statesman the chief merit in connection with the formation and establishment of the

<sup>1</sup> The period intervening between the date of the fixing of the guinea at 21s. (1717) and the act of 1816 is covered, in Shaw's *History of Currency*, by pp. 231–245. Mr. Shaw dwells much on the depreciated condition of the silver coin, but seems quite unconscious that it had already subsided into token money, and that a transition of standard had really taken place.

constitution is due, as we should to decide to which of the *Primates*, or of the prehistoric men, we owe the development of the first germs of the moral faculty.

Similarly, in regard to the history of money, our immunity from currency troubles since the close of the seventeenth century may indeed claim to be an achievement of practical ability beyond that of Somers or Montague, and of speculative genius beyond that of Locke or Newton. But if we are asked in whom did this ability and this genius reside, we are entirely at a loss for an answer. In describing the origin of cabinet government in England, Mr. Bagehot says "we blundered into it." It might be said of the gold standard, in a similar manner, that we blundered into it; the disastrous state of the depreciated silver being itself converted by an apparent accident into an essential feature of the new system. It would perhaps be truer, however, to say that, as the genius of the English nation in the political sphere, unaided altogether by theory, had evolved the House of Commons and the Cabinet, to be copied, when time was ripe, by the rest of civilized Europe; so, in the monetary sphere, it evolved the system under which, in the world of to-day, the standard can remain one and uniform, while the currency, as far as substance goes, can be as complex as that of the United States is now.

WILLIAM WARRAND CARLILE.

## POVERTY AND THE POOR LAW.

IN adding another paper to the discussion of poor-law administration which has been going on in the pages of the *Economic Review*, I shall not marshal any more statistics, of which its readers may have had enough, but briefly consider the question on general grounds, and from one or two points of view which I think are not often sufficiently brought into prominence.

We all recognize a very large increase, in the present day, of State action; many things are now done by the State or by municipalities which, not very long ago, were left to individual enterprise, or not done at all. Most of us, except the rabid theoretical individualist, have come to welcome this change as on the whole tending to the well-being of the community; but the State and the municipality are no exception to the rule of the division of labour—that is, to the fact that some things are best done by one set of persons or by one organization, and some by other persons or another organization. This is the practical and reasonable test of State action: Is the given thing—postal service, water-supply, road-making, what not—best done by the State, or by individual enterprise? This brings us to the question, Are the poor best relieved by the State, or otherwise?

Now, I believe it is safe to generalize, though I would guard myself against being supposed to assume that the generalization holds absolutely, that, in the first place, the State can, beneficially to the community as a whole, provide for such mechanical, material, and constant needs of the public as those instanced above—wants that will always exist in a healthy community, and that we should wish to see increase rather than diminish. One can include free education in this generalization: the supply



of children is constant—we do not wish it otherwise,—and the amount of education they should receive is not to be considered as a decreasing quantity. The State seems fitted to deal with the inevitable also, under which head the criminal, of course, occurs to one's mind. There are other reasons for the State dealing with these; and the action of the community as a whole in their regard, rather than individuals taking the law into their own hands to repress crime, is too elementary a point in political science to need illustration.

But this brings me, in enforcing this generalization, to the point I wish to make as regards poverty. Is the State the best agent to deal with poverty in all its branches? The State is best fitted to deal with criminals, both for the safety of the community and for the repression of crime and the diminution in the numbers of criminals; but is the State the agent most likely to bring about the destruction of poverty? The State may be said honestly to have tried to do it by the cruel and repressive measures found in old days on its statute-book; and such—repression, we know, failed signally. It tried again by the enlightened measure of poor-law reform in 1834, which was simply and solely a restriction of its own action in dealing with poverty, the cutting off one whole class of poor persons from State relief; and it succeeded notably in destroying a large amount of pauperism, and, quite truly, of actual poverty, simply by not dealing with it itself directly.

With poverty, therefore, it is true that the State may or may not be the right agent to deal with it, according to what section of the poor is contemplated. I would here again use a term which I cannot but think may represent a true principle. The State may beneficially deal with the poverty that is *inevitable*—inevitable, at any rate, for practical purposes of action under conditions likely, as far as we can see, still to last an indefinite time. By inevitable, I mean poverty caused by sickness, death, and, alas! as it is so largely, by sin and vice. The State, by providing for the sick in well-appointed infirmaries, for orphans in good schools or homes, for the vicious and reckless in well-disciplined and not too comfortable workhouses, cannot, I

believe, in any sense be said to increase the number of such, or to tend by its action to do otherwise than to diminish poverty.

After this we come to the debatable ground. Outside these there are other poor persons for whom relief is demanded in other forms—out-relief, as generally understood. Now, does the action of the State in giving these persons relief tend to increase, or, we will say, to keep up, their numbers; or does it tend to reduce them, that is to destroy poverty?—an end, I need not stop to explain, as beneficial to the individuals themselves as to the community as a whole.

A great deal of the argument, and a great deal of the clear understanding of the whole question, seems to me to turn upon this point—is our recognized aim to do away with poverty, or to retain it? We are dealing in this section of the poor with persons whom the inevitable has not got firmly in its grasp, with persons whose condition is variable, who must be regarded as human beings moulded and influenced by the laws which they encounter, and the inducements held out to them of action one way or the other. Towards such a morally floating population I believe the necessarily formal action of State aid to be bad, to tend to keep them in their dependent and unprogressive condition; and therefore I have come to the conclusion that out-relief is injurious to the interests of the poor themselves.

What do we wish for the poor? What ought to be the goal we have in view concerning them at this present stage in the development of our country—a stage, not of retrogression, not of stagnation, but of improved conditions of life among the working classes, of increased commercial wealth, and to a very large extent of rise in wages? Is this the moment which should be chosen to rivet upon the able-bodied widow, the temporarily sick, and the aged workman, dependence upon the poor law for support? If it is certain that such persons will receive fairly liberal relief from the State for the asking, is it likely that their present condition will improve, either as regards independence, forethought, and carefulness, or as regards wages? By the restriction of outdoor relief there seems to be an opportunity of giving another lift up to the condition of the poor, such as was

given in 1834 by the abolition of the same relief to the able-bodied; and this opportunity will be lost if the opposite policy of more liberal out-relief, as now frequently advocated, be adopted.

The point of agreement between the two schools is that both desire and demand that the condition of the lower stratum of the working-class population should be raised; the difference of opinion arises over the method by which this aim can be attained. Can it be brought about by more liberal direct relief—by the poor law providing pleasant cottage homes and adequate pensions for the old and infirm? Or can it only be done by encouragement to thrift through Benefit societies and provident medical dispensaries; by encouragement to energy and industry on the part of the able-bodied widow; above all, by a policy which shall tend to increase wages? A wage-earner should be able to go to his employer and say, “My wages must be of this amount because I have to provide for sickness and old age.” As long as the employer knows these are provided for, not by the man himself, but by the poor law, he calculates his wages-bill accordingly. Instead of *raising* the condition of the poor, it is impossible that the granting of relief by boards of guardians can do more than keep them from starvation, make them a little bit more comfortable at the moment, while at the same time permanently fixing their condition at the same level as at present. Of course, if one gives up the hope of improvement, if one says the poor will always be as poor as now, then the argument drops, and one would as willingly give out-relief as not; but this represents a policy of hopelessness, and should be recognized as such. I would urge another consideration: does not the superior working man, the decent middle-class man, believe in independence in itself as a good? Would he for himself wish to receive for his work a minimum payment, and the support necessary in his time of decay from the poor law? Why should we wish for the poor what we should actively repudiate for ourselves? Why should we pride ourselves on our independence, and yet not care for the poor man to be independent? This savours of a time we have outgrown, when the poor were looked upon as a caste existing for the



convenience of the better off; it is not the attitude of a democratic age, boastful of its equality: all that I consider good for myself I wish the poorest to have.

This may seem all very utopian, and be smiled at as unpractical. If we were living in a time of decline in wealth, in national physical health, in education, it might be justly so considered; but the reverse is our condition. Shall we lose the opportunity, by curtailing out-relief, of saying to the poor, "Now is the time for another step upward: wealth is increasing, you must demand your share of it in increased wages; healthiness of life is more possible, and you should need less medical relief, and support more easily provident societies; you are better educated, this should tend to the possibility of more forethought and intelligent thrift"?

Practically no one imagines that out-relief can be refused at once and absolutely throughout the country; all I contend for is, that, in the interests of the poor themselves, the movement towards its gradual extinction, and therefore to a gradual raising of the status of the poor, should not be arrested by an unwise sentimental recoil in the opposite direction; that the *aim* in poor-law administration should be to free the poor from the necessity of relying upon it, not to make it a permanent quota in their calculated means of livelihood. The poor law is, I conceive, only adapted to deal beneficially with the residuum (I use the word advisedly), apart of course from its action in sick infirmaries and as regards children; there will long remain the drunken, the idle, the vicious, for whom the tender mercies of the poor law are necessary and salutary. For others, the aim of poor-law reformers has been that they should be thrown back upon their own exertions if able-bodied, on increased wages, on improved material surroundings, brought about perhaps by municipal action by which their working powers may be safeguarded; on the gentle charity of neighbours if weakly; and on their own thrift, and the bounden duty of children, if aged. And poor-law reformers claim that such a state of things would represent a distinct step upwards in the condition of the poor, and that the abolition of out-relief would be a most powerful factor in bringing it about.

The mode of action by which out-relief has been abolished by some boards of guardians has been often described. In touch with the board there is some organized form of charity in the shape of pensions or almshouses, and some kind of labour bureaux for able-bodied widows, while to leave them free to work if the family be large, one or two or more children are educated in schools or homes; such agencies grow and flourish where there is intelligent interest in the administration of poor relief. We know that the chief difficulty may arise within rural unions, though we also know that within one such the greatest success in the policy of abolition has been demonstrated. In rural unions, no doubt, the withdrawal of out-relief would have to be very gradual to prevent hardships occurring: but it is amongst our agricultural poor that we more especially desire improvement; and the answer to the difficulties advanced is *more land* for the agricultural labourer. If a restriction of out-relief meant, as I believe it would mean, a great impetus given to arrangements for his obtaining allotments, better gardens, and small holdings, who would not welcome it? Is it not more than likely that the conscience of landowner and farmer, or, if it is better to say it, their practical sense of the possible, would be stimulated if they knew that the meagre wages they offer to the respectable labourer were no longer subsidized in old age by the doles of the poor law? There is conscience enough left amongst them for them to say, "In that case I suppose we must do something for him!" And the land—the allotment, and the garden—is a resource of the greatest value to the old: a man works on his own bit of land long after he has ceased to command wages from an employer.

Lastly, we all recognize many and many good qualities amongst our poor. We may say of them, if we like, as our newspaper correspondents have been saying day by day lately of Tommy Atkins, their military representative, that they are the finest people in the world; but even morally we should like to help them to improve where they fail—and they have their failings. It is undeniable that the poor of foreign nations are more thrifty, and accept the care of their aged relatives as

a matter of course—rather, one may say, as a sacred duty. Should we be doing our poor an injury if the administration of our poor law tended to foster these two virtues, thrift and filial piety, instead of, as now, often discouraging them?

These are the general reasons on which the abolition of out-relief is advocated. The actuating motive of its advocates is to improve the condition of the poor. The only plausible practical argument on the other side appears to be that the deserving poor can be granted out-door relief without the demoralizing effects which have been insisted on—that to the industrious and careful only should such relief be given. To which the answer is, that practically boards of guardians are bodies by whom the distinguishing of the worthy from the unworthy is not possible. Unwieldy in size themselves, made up of varying material, pressed in large unions by overwhelming numbers of applicants, any one who has watched the action of boards must be convinced that it is impossible for them to discriminate accurately and justly. How painful and degrading a process it is for the respectable poor to pass by scores before a board, and to have thrown down to them miserably small and inadequate doles of half-crowns or crowns by way of pension, can only be conceived by those who have witnessed the proceedings of large urban or rural unions.

The only entirely valid arguments on the opposite side that I know are:—

(1) That of hopelessness—"It is impossible to abolish out-relief."

(2) That of the theoretical socialist—"The State ought to keep people."

(3) A curious one, held by some individuals of the superior working class—"We avowedly wish to do away with all personal charity; we wish to substitute State action for charity; we consider a man degraded if he takes help from his fellow." This goes farther than the speakers contemplate; it cuts into the roots of our human existence and withers them, for we live by love and law, and not by law without love.

C. M. TOYNBEE.



## FIFTY YEARS OF BRITISH INDUSTRY FROM THE WORKMAN'S POINT OF VIEW.

LOOKING backward for more than half a century, I have some very vivid recollections of that period branded upon my memory, as it were with a red-hot iron. I was born in a Yorkshire village, which at that time was of considerable importance as an industrial centre. Within my own memory, almost every house in the village was a workshop; and within the memory of some who are still alive, the vicarage was no exception, for the vicar's daughter had to supplement the small stipend which her father received by her own earnings as a hand-loom weaver, and his sermons were composed to the tune of the shuttle.

There were no parlours or spare rooms in those days. Each house had a remarkable number of windows, but every bit of available light was utilized for a pair of hand-loom (a "pair" of hand-loom simply means one loom). The sleeping accommodation was in the garret, with nothing but the grey slate between the bed and the sky; and the roofs of the houses were often in such a dilapidated condition that one could lie in bed and watch the twinkling of the stars with not even a sheet of glass to obstruct the view; while, during the winter months, one would often find a drift of snow on the bed-coverlet. We sometimes hear people talk about the good old days. But though I should not like to say that people were not fairly happy in those days, I am inclined to think that, if we could have seen a glimpse of the future, our lot in life might have seemed more bitter.

However, I have no intention of entering into the harrowing details involved in a transitional period. It is more to the purpose to state what, in my opinion, were the gains and losses resulting from the change. In the first place, when the change

was an accomplished fact, the earnings of the working-classes had considerably improved, but their general position had become more servile. Under the old methods of industry the workman could scarcely be said to have a master, in the sense in which we use the term under the factory system. In those days labour was given out on commission. The workman never saw his master from the day when he received his materials and instructions, to the day when the work was presented for approval and payment. No time limit was enforced; the work might be done in a week, or, if more convenient, in a fortnight. This method of employment had a peculiar advantage as compared with the factory system: the weak and the strong, the slow and the quick, enjoyed equal chances of obtaining work. Unless pressed for a quick delivery of his goods, the master had no incentive to drive his men too hard; while, if he wished to increase his business, it was easy enough to put out additional work. And as each workman owned his own tools, it made no difference to the master how many days or weeks were spent upon the job. But when the implements of labour became the property of the employer, the position of the worker was completely changed. The master had to consider not only the amount paid in wages, but also the interest on the capital invested in plant and machinery, which varied in proportion to the efficiency of his workmen. Thus was introduced the grinding policy which drives the less active and capable men out of their trade, and forces them into the lower grades of industry, or, at the worst, into the ranks of the unemployed.

In the second place, we have incurred a serious moral loss in regard to the influences of home life upon the young, for which our educationalists have not yet succeeded in providing a remedy. Under the old methods of production, a boy or girl was daily, almost hourly under the eye of parents, and even the worst parents are much more careful about moral contagion for their children than most strangers; but in the modern factory children are placed under the worst kind of influence, and, as a natural consequence, parental authority and respect for parents grow less and less. It is sad to think that most of our

educational efforts have been in the direction of making men and women more efficient machines, rather than responsible moral agents. "Morals and manners are not in the code," the head master of an elementary school is reported to have said; "there is no grant for teaching them. It is enough that we should be first and foremost as an industrial nation."

One more observation I wish to make with reference to this change, which has been the most important in its effect upon the labouring classes in the whole history of British industry. We are told by evolutionists that every development is destructive as well as constructive, that the progress of one section of the community is built upon the ruin of another section, and that most often the greater in point of numbers. And so it was in this case. As I have already mentioned, under the domestic system of industry all the implements of labour belonged to the workers—that is to say, they were capitalists in a small way, as well as workmen; but the industrial revolution completely destroyed the whole of this property. Capital, which had hitherto been the servant of labour, as it ought to be, became a cruel, grinding taskmaster, dictating the conditions under which it would employ labour. It would be difficult to exaggerate the responsibility of this change in the ownership of the means of production for most of the evils under which the labouring classes have had to suffer.

Take, for instance, the village in which I was born, and at a period I can well remember. There would then have been not less than 225 houses in the village, and each house would possess on the lowest average four looms, each loom representing a capital value of £6.<sup>1</sup> Here, then, we find £5400 employed as capital in a little village, at a time when money for investment was not very plentiful; and if a village of about a thousand inhabitants lost £5400, how great must have been the loss to the labouring classes throughout England! Is it any wonder that they should revolt against the new conditions? Communities, as a rule, are not philosophical, but are apt to judge matters which directly concern them by their present and immediate effects.

<sup>1</sup> This estimate has been given to me by a maker of looms.



I have no intention of giving an historical record of the many changes that have taken place in industrial methods. I wish rather to consider a few of the more important lessons which may be learned from the actual course of events. For instance, what did this new kind of capital bring into the industrial world? Its first result was not so much a change in the technical methods of industry, but rather the substitution of steam and water power for manual force. In some cases the change did involve some slight alterations in the old hand-machines; but the capitalists did not bring with them the intelligence necessary to utilize the new machines. They did not, for they could not bring what they never possessed. Where, then, did the intelligence come from? The machine, in its first conception, was very little removed from the old hand-machine, and it required very little extra skill on the part of those who understood the old methods to adapt themselves to the new. In fact, the success of the new conditions depended almost entirely upon the skill and intelligence of the trained workers, and the capitalist may be said to have supplied nothing but his gold.

Again, in regard to industry in general, it may be said that each particular industry passes through three distinct and successive stages. First, there is a period of small but quickly recurring changes; next, a period of violent but less frequently recurring changes; and then a period comparatively free from change. Each of these phases of industrial development has characteristics peculiar to itself, which, so far as my experience goes, are always the same, however often repeated, and are most important for a proper understanding of the labour problem.

In the first stage, when the changes are small and come in quick succession, they are as a rule very beneficial, and all parties participate in the advantages resulting from them. Improved methods of manufacture lead to a gradual reduction in the cost of production, with very little displacement or destruction of capital. Goods are placed upon the market at continually diminishing rates, which brings them within the reach of a larger number of people. In consequence of this expansion of

trade, more plant is put down, which in its turn creates a larger demand for labour, and insures an increased remuneration.

Very different is the result of the second stage of development. Violent changes are bound to be disastrous, and involve great displacement and destruction of capital. Sometimes almost entirely new plant is required, and the capital locked up in the old machinery is almost completely destroyed. Many masters leave the business, some being unable, and others unwilling, to make the necessary outlay. Of those who remain, some stick to the old methods of production to the bitter end; while others who have been wise in anticipation, and have husbanded their resources, are able to adapt themselves to the new requirements. Fresh blood and fresh capital come into the field to take the place of those thrust out by stress of circumstances, and we thus have three or four classes of individuals engaged in the same industry with very unequal chances of success. The result is, that the new blood and the new capital get the run of the field, and reap enormous profits; till, with the consequent influx of further capital, competition begins its deadly work, and one by one the old masters with their old methods fall out of the race ruined. I can remember many families, whose ancestors were once considered pioneers of industry, which now belong to the ranks of the wage-earners. It should be observed, however, that, as a rule, great changes of this nature are only adopted by slow degrees throughout a trade; and this fact has a very detrimental effect upon the interests of the working classes. On the one hand, it enables a small section of the capitalists to accumulate wealth quickly; and, on the other hand, it prevents the work-people from sharing the advantage of improved methods of production, either in the shape of increased wages or lessened cost of the necessaries of life, at least for some time after the change was initiated. During that time the whole benefit of the improved methods is monopolized by the capitalists.

In the third stage, which is comparatively free from mechanical changes, it might be expected that we should find a much greater equality of opportunity for all concerned. But, on the contrary, other causes now begin to operate which are far more

potent and far-reaching in their effects than those we have been considering—such as, for instance, differentiation in manufacturing processes and specialization in labour. Thus the manufacture of cotton, which was once conducted in all its parts by a single master, is now divided up among a number of quite separate industries. First of all there is the distinction between the spinners and the manufacturers. The former are again subdivided according as they produce fine or thick counts; while the latter are known as makers of velvet, or fustian, or fancy goods, or some special kind of cloth, each of which may be said to be a trade by itself.

The specialization of labour is more noticeable in the skilled trades. Take, for instance, a boot or a watch, each of which was formerly made complete by the work of a single individual, and thus required a great amount of technical skill. But nowadays each part is produced by a special department of the trade, the technique of which is easily acquired; and we have as many separate classes of workpeople as there are parts in the made-up article. No doubt by this method of employment we get the maximum of efficiency, but it does not present an altogether pleasant aspect for the skilled artisan. However desirable it may be in the interests of the community, we can hardly fail to see that its tendency is in the direction of weakening the position of the skilled artisan. Some, perhaps, would not regret this, in view of the fact that the inequalities which prevail amongst the labouring classes tend to prevent any common action. The skilled artisan, with his good wages and strong trade organizations, has often been able to maintain or improve his position at the expense of his less fortunate brethren.

There is no doubt, of course, that the result of all these changes is cheaper commodities. But is this the object sought by those who initiate the changes? On the contrary, it may be said that generally the chief aim is to get the better of a neighbour in the scramble for wealth, and that the individual master does not allow either the consumer or the workman to share in the new benefits until forced by circumstances to do so. May we not say, then, that the true rationale of industry is



made subordinate to a sordid struggle after wealth, and that this is the prime evil of our industrial system? Industry is meant to provide for the ever-growing wants of mankind; but, in fact, the objective of most industrial undertakings is a monopoly of labour products. Why should we wonder, then, at the unequal distribution of wealth?

It is true that the contrast between great riches and grinding poverty, existing side by side in the same community, has challenged serious attention in recent years. There are earnest reformers who believe that the evil arises from the abuse of private property, and urge as a remedy the nationalization of land and all the means of production. I am almost at one with them as to the cause, but I am not so sure of the remedy suggested. Others hope for a change in human nature, and look for a time when every man will have a juster opinion of the rightful claims of all his brethren. I should like to indulge in that hope, although to me it seems a very forlorn one.

For my own part, I agree with those who believe that the remedy must proceed from the workpeople themselves, by taking the initiative in industrial enterprise. I have been a workman now for half a century, most of the time as an employee under an individual master. For the last thirteen years I have been employed in an industrial partnership society, and for some five or six years previously I was one of the committee of management. Concurrently with this period of about seventeen years, I was also a director of a joint-stock business, employing somewhere about two hundred people. Having thus had considerable practical experience in different methods of industry, it may not be amiss for me to state some of the conclusions at which I have arrived.

Referring to the last report of the Hebden Bridge Fustian Society, in which I am now employed, I find that the society commenced in the year 1870, with a membership of ninety-five individuals and a capital of £83. The main purpose of this society was and is self-employment. Its capital is held by private individuals, workpeople, and other societies; but the amount held by any single individual or employee is limited to

£100. The rate of interest on capital is limited to £5 per cent. per annum. All surplus profits, after providing for the payment of capital, depreciation on the fixed stock, and other charges recognized by the members, are divided between the workpeople and the purchasers. At the present time the capital of the society amounts to over £28,000, of which £9216 are held by the employees, £11,191 by purchasing societies, and £8259 by individual shareholders. Each employee has a vote in the election of the managing committee, and, after acquiring £20 either in subscribed capital or accumulated bonus, a full voice in all transactions of the society. This method of employment, therefore, strikes at the first great objection to the individualist system, for the most that any single capitalist can take out of the business is only £5 per annum. Thus, while it does not prevent the use of private capital, it spreads the interest over a wider area of small investors. It is true that great fortunes cannot be made under such conditions. Even if the amount of capital was not limited in each case, the fixed rate of interest would prevent any excessive accumulation of wealth in the hands of non-producers. It is only when all the surplus profits can be appropriated by capital that large fortunes are rapidly made.

Further, it should be evident that the policy of "grind," which is so marked a feature of the competitive system, has much less scope in an industrial partnership than in a private concern. In the first place, the motive is to a great extent absent. When all the profits of a business go into the pockets of the shareholders, it is only natural that they should desire to have as large a dividend as possible. But when the remuneration of capital is limited to a fixed percentage, and any surplus profits are returned as a bonus to labour and custom, there is no object in forcing the pace. There is no motive for filching a few minutes at each meal-time, or for working the hands over-time beyond the urgent requirements of the business; for the simple reason that it would not benefit capital in the shape of a larger return, but would be rather playing into the hands of the workman and consumer, who would reap all the advantage to be derived from the extra use of the business plant.

Again, when every worker has a share in the capital employed in the business, his status is quite different from what it usually is. He has a voice and vote in the election of the manager, which gives him a position as a man and partner in the business, instead of being a mere machine; and as he becomes less able to keep pace with his younger fellow-workmen, he is less liable to be thrust aside without consideration. It is no doubt a fact that the cost of production largely depends upon the efficiency of the workman, and therefore it is not surprising if, in a private concern, the least active and efficient men are dismissed at the first convenient opportunity; but the position of these men is much more secure when any loss incurred through them is shared by every other employee, who in his turn will probably require the same consideration.

Another question is concerned with the importance of the individual master in industrial enterprise. Does he represent the guiding hand in a business or merely the financier? Now, for my own part, judging from personal experience of large undertakings, I should say that the case where an independent master is necessary for success in commerce is the exception and not the rule. Every business is divided into departments, with a number of foremen who thoroughly understand the needs of their own particular departments. The master probably knows very little about the actual working of any department, and has to trust to his foremen for definite information; and, in the case of large undertakings, there is usually one head foreman with a general control over all the various departments. In smaller firms, where the capitalist has risen out of the ranks of the wage-earners, the master very often does fill the double function of master and foreman; but in this case it is more often a question of economy than expediency, and as his business and profits increase, he takes less and less part in the practical management, and trusts more and more to paid service. Hundreds of men, who possessed very little capital and only ordinary ability, have left the ranks of the artisan class to become employers of labour, and, in a comparatively short time, have amassed considerable fortunes. There is nothing, therefore,



in the nature of the work, so far as I know, to prevent a society of workmen being equally successful in business.

Capital is a necessity, no doubt, and the want of it may be a difficulty to overcome ; but I do not see why capital should not lend itself as readily to a co-operative undertaking as to any other business concern. No proof is required of the fact that the country possesses a large amount of surplus capital, ready to be employed in any profitable enterprise. And though investors are generally reluctant to embark in any scheme which avowedly forsakes the old competitive methods, the success of the Hebden Bridge Fustian Society shows that any sound and successful business can always command an adequate supply of capital. In its infancy this society had a hard struggle for existence. The idea of self-employment was a new one, and it was only by paying an exorbitant rate of interest that the necessary capital could be obtained. To-day, however, the financial position of the society is assured, and it could easily acquire almost any amount of capital for the development of its trade.

WILLIAM GREENWOOD.

## THE GLASGOW FAMILY HOME.

PICTURES of ancient Glasgow show a great monastery and cathedral pleasantly situated on the banks of the Molendinar, a small stream which, half a mile away, lost itself in the Clyde (now the poor Molendinar makes the journey in a sewer). Forming nearly a straight line from the Cathedral to the Clyde was a street, the upper half being the famous High Street, the lower part the still more celebrated Saltmarket. Where the two parts joined stood Glasgow Cross, and from this centre three other thoroughfares branched off—the Gallowgate and London Road eastward, and the Trongate to the west. The buildings fronting these streets represented every variety—official residences, hotels, the houses of the gentry and rich merchants, shops, and small dwellings; sometimes standing side by side, sometimes separated by orchards or by wings of the gardens which sloped down to the river, then famous for its salmon fisheries. As business requirements and families increased, the thrifty burghers enlarged their houses in front, and built workshops and cottages behind, utilizing every bit of ground available before going further afield. In this way grew up a congeries of buildings without order, of every form, for every purpose, and so crowded that the only vacant spaces were the narrow wynds and closes absolutely necessary for traffic.

While the town was small, the fresh breezes from firth and country reached every part; but as the town spread outwards the country became more distant, the breezes less penetrating, and these wynds and closes became hotbeds of filth, disease, and crime. Then came the development of railways and modern industries, bringing country people and Irish labourers crowding into Glasgow. Seventy-five thousand people were huddled together in these dens about the Cross; and with practically

no sanitary arrangements, with the merest pretence of police control and lighting, and with no restraints on builder, landlord, or tenant, their condition was most deplorable. Thus the authorities were compelled to adopt the most drastic remedies. The Improvement Act of 1866 gave powers to purchase all this densely crowded and heavily rented property, and to assess (on occupiers only!) during fifteen years, the tax being 6*d.* in the £ for five years, and 3*d.* in the £ for ten years. The administration of the Act was vested in the "City Improvement Trust," which is a large committee of the town council. The total cost of the property compulsorily acquired under this and later Acts amounts to about £2,250,000.

At first, after the earlier demolitions, the land was very slowly taken up again for new buildings. Some of it was sold to private purchasers, and between 1871 and 1879 seven Corporation lodging-houses were built, accommodating 2092 men and women. Later on, under fresh Acts of Parliament, many blocks of workmen's dwellings have been erected, and other reconstruction work has taken place. But many years elapsed before the Trust showed any prospect of being able to recoup itself for the enormous outlays on the areas cleared, the formation of new wide streets, the reorganization of sanitary rules, and other improvements. Now, however, when the ground has been nearly all utilized or disposed of, the annual accounts show a very encouraging credit balance. In September, 1899, the total assets of the Trust were valued at £1,306,412 17*s.* 11*d.*, while the liabilities amounted to £1,291,216 17*s.* 6*d.*; and the surplus revenue for the year is given as £4387 18*s.* 9*d.*

It would be extremely interesting to discuss the question as to how far the housing problem has been solved in Glasgow, but that is outside the limits of this paper, which deals with only one item on the municipal programme of reforms. It may, however, be said that the rooting out of these slums, the great development of sanitation, and the enforcement of stricter building regulations, have had a very marked influence on the death-rate.

A few years ago the Trustees had an awkward corner of land



to deal with, which they utilized by erecting upon it the Family Home. They had become convinced that the provision of ordinary dwellings did not satisfy all the needs of the people for whom they had to cater. The lodging-houses provide for the floating population, and largely succeed in removing the casual lodger from overcrowded tenements; but there is an evident need for special accommodation for widows and widowers with children, and for others in exceptional circumstances. A widow or widower must be out all day to earn a livelihood for the family. The children may be left in the nominal charge of a relative or a friendly neighbour, but the probabilities are that they will get but little attention, and will spend most of their time and receive most of their education in the gutter. The widower will not even be able to make up a little in the evening, as a mother may, for the lack of care during the day. There are also families of orphans who may keep the home together by their own exertions, if suitable provision can be made for the young ones. For these classes, then, the Family Home was devised. It is intended to enable a parent to work freely without the anxiety of leaving young children by themselves, and to reduce the burden of household work which has to be done after the day's labour is over. It gives the children a better chance of becoming good citizens by taking them off the streets, keeping them clean and well-fed, ensuring their regular attendance at school, and by providing, so far as an institution can, the home life which would otherwise be lacking. Of course the success of such an experiment will depend mainly upon a wise and sympathetic administration; and the cash account will not be the measure of its usefulness, unless it includes the saving to the community by the prevention of the ignorance and crime bred amongst city children left to themselves.

The Home was erected in 1896, at a cost of £17,000. It stands near the Saltmarket, in the heart of the old slum district now largely reconstructed. Substantial, plain, thoroughly well-built and fitted, it is evidently the result of much thought and of a generous desire to make it deserve success. At the same time,

it has not been forgotten that the charges for rent and food should be as low as possible. If the plainly painted corridors and rooms without fireplaces (the building is heated by pipes throughout) look bare, comparison must be made with the homes exchanged for this. There are about 160 family rooms. The common rooms include a large dining-hall with a platform for entertainments, recreation-rooms for adults, a room for lectures or meetings, reading-room (in which no papers or books were visible; a subscription of a halfpenny per week would provide an ample supply), and the children's playrooms. On the ground floor is the kitchen, well arranged, well fitted, and in excellent order. All the cooking and kitchen work is done by the staff, and no one else is allowed to enter. On March 3rd there were resident in the Home 111 adults and 180 children, thirty or forty rooms being unlet. The staff consisted of a superintendent and matron (Mr. and Mrs. Jeffrey), the house-keeper (Miss Murray), two kitchen assistants, three nurses for the children, and twelve women cleaners.

Widowers pay 5s. 6d., widows 4s., per week for one room, and this includes heating, electric light, free use of baths and common rooms, and freedom from taxation. The men's rooms are kept clean by the staff, but the women are expected to do their own cleaning, hence the difference in rent. Each room is furnished with a bed fully equipped, two chairs, a small table, and a little cupboard under the window. The beds are good and well-kept, and all the cleaning seems to be thoroughly done; the bed-linen is changed fortnightly, and is washed free of charge. One child is charged 1s. 10d., two children 1s. 7d. each, three or more 1s. 4d. each per week, and this includes full board and the care of them during the day. As the rooms are small, not more than two adults and one child, or one adult and three children, are allowed to occupy a single room. If there are more children, sleeping accommodation for the extra number is provided elsewhere at 8d. per week each. In the case of one family, consisting of the father, two grown-up boys, and a girl, the girl sleeps in another room. Originally it was thought that some of the children of large families could sleep in rooms

occupied by small families, who would receive the extra payment, and the charge was arranged on this basis. In practice, however, it has been found necessary to accommodate these children in separate rooms or in the nursery.

The rooms have one obvious defect ; there is no lockfast place unless the tenant provides a box. The servants must enter daily to clean, and it is not fair to expose them to unpleasant suspicions if articles are missing. A complaint is also made that servants are too freely supplied with keys to family rooms. One servant should be allotted certain rooms, and no one else should be allowed to enter those rooms in the absence of the tenant.

Of other special regulations, the following should be mentioned:—Rule 3 requires payment for rooms and childrens' board to be paid each Saturday in advance ; and failing payment, the tenant has to remove at once. Adults buy checks at the office for meals supplied to them. By Rule 5, "Residents are required to be in the Home not later than 10.30 p.m., unless when arrangement has been made with the superintendent for admission at a later hour. Lights are to be turned off at 11 p.m." And Rule 9 orders that "No spirituous liquors are to be brought into the Home."

Meals are supplied to adults at stated hours : breakfast, 7.30–9.30 a.m. ; dinner, 12.30–2.30 p.m. ; tea, 5.30–7.30 p.m.

The following are the tariff rates:—Breakfast or tea—two slices of bread and butter and two cups of tea, 3*d.* ; extra for bowl of porridge and milk, 1*d.* ; ham and eggs, 3*d.* ; small fish, 1*d.* ; cold meat, 3*d.* ; stew, 2*d.* ; cheese or egg, 1*d.* Dinner—chop and potatoes, 4*d.* ; stewed steak and potatoes, 4*d.* ; steak pie, potatoes, and rice pudding on Sunday, 7*d.* Generally, soup and two kinds of meat are provided, and puddings on Sunday when all are at home. Some difference is made daily, to give variety to the bill of fare. In the week ending March 3rd the meals supplied were 660 breakfasts, 283 dinners, and 611 teas. Many men take out food for the mid-day meal.

The children's board consists of breakfast at 8.30 a.m.—porridge and milk, with coffee and bread and butter ; dinner at 12.30 p.m.—soup and bread, sometimes rice, or stoved



potatoes, with coffee and bread and jam; tea at 4.30 p.m.—tea and bread and butter. During the afternoon, and again at supper-time, each child gets a “piece” (slice of bread and butter or jam). Twenty-one full meals and fourteen “pieces” per week for 1s. 7d. is distinctly cheap. The quality and quantity are apparently satisfactory. Many of the parents add a few pence per week to the regular payments, so as to allow of little extras—a bit of fish, ham, or egg.

The tenants report the food to be good and well cooked, and the portions supplied quite enough for a meal. One or two grumbles were made that no food could be got between meals, and that they were not allowed to bring in raw food to cook if they took a fancy to something tasty. This seemed to bear on the freedom and homeliness of life in the home, as, if visitors called, or in cases of sickness, it might be desirable to have food available at any time. It was, however, admitted that oil-stoves are allowed, and that tea might be made in the rooms; also that, if working late, or when required at other times, special meals would be prepared to order. No meals are served in the rooms, and tenants are discouraged from bringing in food to cook, as frequently the remnants have been found in a corner, under the bed, or choking the waste-water pipes. Also, if much liberty is allowed in such matters, it would add to the labour and involve additions to the working expenses, which the present scale of prices will not bear. This, too, is probably the reason why no lockfast cupboards are provided, as they might be used to store improper or unhealthy articles.

Sickness creates a difficulty which cannot be provided for by strict rule. Naturally the sickness of a tenant brings much extra labour and responsibility on the staff, and at the same time cuts off his means of paying the weekly account. The difficulty has been met in part by the formation of a benevolent association, which is managed by the residents, who subscribe 2d. per week, and make small grants to members sick or out of work. The management cannot allow payments to get into arrears, nor recognize any cause as a sufficient reason for non-payment.

The whole *raison d'être* of this experiment is the hope of safeguarding the bairns. Rule 6 states that "children are to be under the sole control of the superintendent and matron from the time the parents leave in the morning till 7 p.m., or until the parents return." Some of the older ones go out to work; those of school age attend the nearest school; while the infants are constantly in charge of the staff in the nursery or playground, except in the evening, when they may be with the parent for a short time. The matron is assisted by two senior nurses, who sleep by turns in the nursery, and a junior assistant. The little ones are rather pallid, but all the children look healthy and cheerful. They are all fairly well clad, which may signify the standard of the parents' earnings, or the stimulus of a common desire to keep up with the other residents, or the influence of official remarks. A daily visit is paid by an independent medical man, and immediately a case of sickness occurs the child is isolated in a special room. Infectious cases are removed to the hospital, but ordinary ones are dealt with in the Home, the medical charges being paid by the parent. Besides the nursery there is an outside playground at the back, a small playground on the roof of the kitchen, and a large recreation-room upstairs for the children, while the long corridors will give opportunities they will not miss. With the exception of a swing outside no toys were seen, but mention was made of a rocking-horse given by one of the magistrates. At the suggestion that many people would gladly send in toys, it was explained that the trustees were anxious to let the tenants live their own lives in their own way, without any assistance or notice which could in any way lead them to look for gifts or help. To the question whether special training was given to the little ones, the reply was in the negative. The children were taken care of, fed, kept clean, and generally watched over, but nothing more could be attempted at present. It cannot be easy to manage 180 children in such a home. They must be controlled, or the place would be a pandemonium; but if, as sometimes happens, parents object to their children being punished, they are free to leave at the week-end. Necessary clothing cannot be provided if the parent

cannot or will not pay for it, so that the control is quite different from that which usually prevails in a school or institution.

While assisting them to live under better conditions, it is not intended to relieve parents of any responsibility they ought to bear. This, however, does result to some extent, and it is not easy to prevent it. It is only human nature to ignore a duty if it can be transferred to some one else. There are also men whose domestic affections are strangely distorted. One man, a head gardener, thought so little of his family that he never allowed his wife and children to sit at table with him. He took his food first, and then they divided amongst themselves what remained. Baillie J. P. Mackay notes that "Parents do not seem to take much interest in their children. This is indicated by the large number of children running about the Home after 10 p.m., and parents not about." But would the children get more attention elsewhere? And, as the influence of the Home grows, may it not raise the tone in this and in other ways as experience is gained?

It appears that there are no recognized lady visitors, and that any suggestion of this kind would not commend itself to either the trustees or the staff; and some of the tenants might consider such aid an interference with their private affairs. Can it be doubted, however, that the judicious help of a few experienced and sensible ladies would be of great value? While admiring the excellence of the work and its general policy, I am inclined to think that three or four women cannot "mother" 180 children. They can feed them, keep them clean, and exercise some surveillance over them, but more than that is impossible. The members of the Kyrle Society collect the rents for the Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Company, and exert a most wholesome influence over the tenants. Similarly, if a number of ladies would engage to take charge of the children in the Home for an hour or two daily, it would provide a relief from the strictness of official routine, and help to supply the most important factor of family life. Even an occasional visit from a kind and sympathetic woman would be quite worth while. Children reared in public institutions are nearly always stamped



with distinctive features which sometimes hinder them in after life. In the Family Home the presence of the parents, the attendance at ordinary day-schools, and the impossibility of imposing complete control, will prevent the worst effects of barrack-life; but it is evident that some of the characteristics of institution-bred children are appearing, and these will become more patent as the children now in the nursery grow up. A committee of lady visitors, by providing other and more home-like influences, would help to check this tendency, and to make life for the children more like what it should be in an ordinary family.

If more Family Homes are built, they will almost certainly be smaller. Experience seems to indicate that thirty or forty families form a group quite large enough for satisfactory management. These might be maintained as cheaply as a larger institution, and would obviously be far better for the children.

There are one or two further questions, which may be briefly considered. It may be asked, for instance, whether the Family Home attracts the right kind of people. The casual labourer and the "poor," who, according to Mr. Booth's classification, earn less than 21s. a week, are obviously more in need of such assistance than the fairly well-to-do artisan class; it is the former who suffer so terribly from overcrowding, and from the ever-rising rents in populous centres. Yet it seems as if the efforts to help them never penetrate beyond the artisan class, those below being moved on to new slums as insanitary areas are cleared. Thus in the Family Home the residents are nearly all in receipt of good wages. There are two or three labourers, but most of the men belong to some regular trade, such as mason, compositor, cabinet-maker, commercial traveller, packing-box maker, stevedore. One of these has nine children, so his weekly bill may be estimated as follows:—

	<i>s. d.</i>	
Rent .. .. .	5	6
Nine children at 1s. 4d. each .. .. .	12	0
Five extra beds at 8d. each .. .. .	3	4
Man's board .. .. .	6	5
Washing and extras .. .. .	2	3

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£1 9 6

The weekly account of a labourer earning 20s. per week, and having three children, would amount to—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Rent .. .. .	5	6
Three children, at 1s. 4 <i>d.</i> each .. .. .	4	0
Man's board .. .. .	6	5
Washing and extras .. .. .	1	1
	<hr/>	
	17	0

This leaves only 3s. per week for clothes, doctor, amusements, etc., and to make up for holidays and slack times when he cannot work. No doubt the labourer and his family are altogether better off in the Home, but, cheap as it is, it practically enforces a higher level of comfort than he can afford. In a separate house they can live more cheaply, because they do without many comforts and even necessities; and the above estimate assumes that the whole income is spent on the family, whereas in most cases a proportion would be retained by the man for his personal expenses.

Those responsible for the Family Home hold out no hope of any cheaper provision being made for the labouring classes, either in the present institution or in a new one on a different basis. Moreover, though the Home was primarily intended for widows, it has been found that the women prefer to live in a separate house even of the poorest class; and as it has proved undesirable to have both sexes in one building, the Home is now to be maintained for widowers only. But do not widows find themselves at the same disadvantage as the labourer? A widow going out charring, and averaging five days' work, can earn 12s. 6*d.* per week and her food. But, supposing she has three children, her weekly bill at the Home would be—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Rent .. .. .	4	0
Three children at 1s. 4 <i>d.</i> each .. .. .	4	0
Two days' board .. .. .	2	0
	<hr/>	
	10	0

This leaves only 2s. 6*d.* for clothes and sundries, and to allow for irregular work. Where the woman works in a factory she

will do well to earn 12s. or 14s. per week without food, in which case the Home is too expensive for her. Here, again, the opinion is expressed that the trustees will not promote another Home for widows, and that it is impossible to reduce the present scale of prices.

What, then, is the chief value of the Family Home? It has been pointed out by Baillie Anderson that it is extremely difficult even for a prosperous artisan to obtain a good housekeeper. A widower may try to keep his home together, and to fulfil all his responsibilities towards his children; but in how many cases is the housekeeper neglectful, lazy, or worse! how often are the children ill-treated, and trained in evil instead of good! how often must the man rescue his property from the pawnshop! In such a case, when a man cannot find a trustworthy relative or housekeeper, this Home will at least ensure that his children are fed, clothed, sent to school, and kept off the streets, and that his money is not wasted. But it has obvious limitations. Any arrangement which would provide satisfactory "mothering" and a good home influence would be infinitely better for children than any public institution. If a man can succeed in bringing up his children properly in his own house, he is not the man to be benefited by the Family Home. There is a definite need for such a place, a definite part for it in the great work of social elevation; and if it is properly used with full understanding both of its opportunities and of its limitations, it will certainly have a great and permanent influence for good.

Baillie Anderson has complained of the want of appreciation on the part of the tenants for the efforts made on their behalf. But this is by no means unusual. Indeed a public man has to learn the lesson that great reforms are often carried out in spite of the people most directly benefited. In this case, however, the Baillie and his co-workers have not had to wait long for the pleasure of seeing some satisfactory results. As a matter of finance it is expected that, when all the rooms are let (and they are being steadily taken), the Home will be self-supporting; and a visitor has only to look at the children, and imagine how much worse they would be living without any control in a poor



district, to recognize that for them it has been a substantial gain. The experiment has been tried only for three years, so that the influence of the Home has hardly yet made its mark deeply enough to show what its full effects will be. It is the first of its kind, and therefore much of the work has necessarily been of a tentative nature. But the results already obtained are quite sufficient to encourage the committee to persevere in this enterprise, and to merit for the Glasgow Family Home the continued interest of every earnest social reformer.

F. W. MOORE.

## WAGE-EARNING CHILDREN.

THE Parliamentary return of children in the elementary schools who, while nominally at school during full time, are also employed for profit out of school hours, has recently called public attention to an aspect of child-life which constitutes a serious menace to the future prosperity of the nation. As an outcome of the interest aroused by this return, a Committee on Wage-earning Children has been formed, whose objects are to increase the efficiency and promote the reform of existing legislation, and to guide public opinion and spread information on this question throughout the community. This Committee has already issued a Report,<sup>1</sup> which sets forth very clearly the effect of existing laws for the protection of children engaged in casual wage-earning, and offers some important suggestions as to possible amendments. It also points out that, while existing legislation to some extent provides a remedy, it is largely inoperative, by reason of exempting clauses, and, still more, because there is not behind it a sufficient driving force of public opinion to insist that it shall be carried out.

The Parliamentary return is, as the introductory memorandum frankly confesses, incomplete, and the numbers given are far below those of the children actually employed. Some schools return particulars only of children in receipt of actual money payment, and omit those of children working for their own parents without wages. Others send returns only of children who are obviously overworked, or who are employed regularly ; while many furnish no information at all, on the ground that the matter is too private to allow of inquiry. Among these blank or defective returns we find the following remarks :—

<sup>1</sup> Copies may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, 60, Bedford Gardens, Kensington, W. (Price 1d.)

"The times on the accompanying sheets, in the case of the children employed in hawking newspapers, are based on the boys' own reports. I am afraid that, in most cases, they ought to be increased from 50 to 100 per cent. . . . In addition to the above-mentioned, there are a dozen or more boys (First Standard) who sell, say, half a dozen papers and a few boxes of matches, of an evening, at a profit of from 9*d.* to 1*s.* or more per week ; and as people from the music-halls often and readily give a penny for a halfpenny paper or a box of matches, boys are encouraged to remain in the streets until late at night. The 40 hours per week entered against this name is the time of the boy's regular employment. In addition, he is frequently absent from school working for the same employer.

"In addition to the boys mentioned, a considerable number of others are employed over 20 hours per week, in singing out of school hours. Owing to the late hours, hot rooms, and various other evils connected with this employment, it seems to me the boys thus occupied are suffering as much as the newspaper, shop, and errand boys—slaves working for less than 1*d.* per hour.

"Thirteen girls out of thirty-two earn money at shirt and button-making.

"During the hat-sewing season, many girls of all ages are employed, both before and after school, in sewing hats for their mothers. Some have been known to work from 6 a.m. to school time, and again from school-closing till bedtime.

"In addition to these, very many children are employed by their parents in the cabinet-making and boot-trades, without remuneration.

"Besides the above, there are many girls who are employed in the evenings and on Saturdays, minding other people's babies, and doing general housework, for which they get a few pence per week, and, in some instances, some of their meals.

"The number of hours given is very unreliable. Milk-selling from 7.15 to 8.30 often covers 7.15 to 2, and in no case is there any scruple to extend the 'one or two hours' to half or whole days.

"The above are instances of difficulties we have to contend with. We might cite other cases, all of which so much hinder our work and the children's progress."

It is evident from these and similar remarks that, defective as the information given is, its omissions strengthen rather than weaken the arguments for legislative interference, since the names included are, in many cases, only those of children who are obviously and regularly overworked.



Such as it is, the returns contain the names and particulars of 144,026 children who are working for profit. Of these, 131 are under *seven*, and 1120 under *eight* years of age. We find two children of six, the first of whom (a girl) delivers milk for 35 hours, and the second (a boy) for 28 hours weekly. Another boy of the same age makes bricks for 28 hours; and yet another works on a farm for 24 hours weekly. A nurse aged six minds another baby for 29 hours a week for a wage of 2*d.* and food; another for 18½ hours for 3*d.* Others of five sell firewood, mind babies, pick peas, and "fetch errands" for hours ranging from 6 to 15, and nine instances are given of employment in home industries from 1 to 15 hours for no wages.

It is an axiom laid down by one of great authority in matters ethical that "in all labour there is profit;" but it is difficult to understand how the most materialistic economy can see anything but wanton waste and destruction of national power in the labour of these babes at such occupations as carrying coals, sweeping out stables, stone-breaking, brick-making, delivering milk, newspaper and other street selling, match-box making, and so forth.

Among the countless hard cases noted in the higher standards are two of lads of ten and twelve working on farms, the first for 12 hours daily; the second from 6.30 a.m. to 9 p.m., a total of 87 hours per week. A butcher's boy begins work at 5 a.m., returning to it after school till 10 p.m.; on Saturdays his hours are from 8 a.m. to 10 or 11 p.m. A boy employed as billiard-marker is at his post every night till 12 o'clock; and the hours of a newspaper seller are returned as—Monday to Friday, 7 to 8.45 a.m., 12 to 1 p.m., 4 to 10 p.m.; Saturday, 7 to 10 a.m., 12 to 2 p.m., and 3 to 11 p.m. Many boys employed as milkers, farm-labourers, and market-boys, begin the day's work as early as 2 and 3 a.m. In one case an unfortunate child works in a dust-yard four nights a week, from 6 p.m. to 8 a.m.

The hours of seven fisher-lads in Cornwall, whose ages vary from nine to thirteen, are returned as about 80; those of thirty-two farm-boys range from 70 to 90; of five shop-boys—one of them putting in 14 hours daily—from 72 to 84; of eight

errand-boys, from 72 to 81 ; of three carrier's boys, from 72 to 84 ; and one newspaper-boy works 100 hours, plus the time nominally devoted to the acquisition of knowledge.

When we come to the girls, though the hours are far more indefinite, and the work apparently more casual and irregular, the tables present no less iniquitous a record of young lives made bitter with hard bondage. Their work consists chiefly in the various forms of domestic slavery, known as home industries, in which they appear to be employed for any number of hours—in minding babies, cleaning doorsteps and windows, work in and for shops, “fetching errands,” street selling, mangling, etc. Thus, two girls are employed daily, one at 3*d.* per week in house-work and errands, from 7.45 to 10 a.m., 12.30 to 1.30 p.m., and 4.30 to 8 p.m. ; the other, at 9*d.* per week and her food, in carrying out parcels for a milliner from 7.30 to 9.30 a.m., 12.30 to 2 p.m., and 4.30 to 8. A girl of twelve is employed in “general work” for 41 hours a week, also for 9*d.* and her food ; and another for 58 hours, for 2*s.* 3*d.* and a meat pie. The hours of three entered as nurse-girls are returned as from 70 to 77 ; those of a maid-servant and of a shop-girl as 78. “It is shameful,” says Ruskin, “for a nation to make its young girls weary ;” but for these, and countless others, weariness must be their lot from year's end to year's end. From all sides come reports of how they are too heavily taxed for their strength, and have no real childhood ; how they are kept from school with the excuse that they are too tired, having been hard at work ; or how they arrive at school exhausted in mind and body, and unfit to attend to the lessons.

Among the employments which may be classed as distinctly injurious, morally as well as physically, are newspaper-selling, which accounts for 15,182 children ; miscellaneous street selling, in which 2435 are engaged ; billiard marking ; lathering at barbers' shops—which, as often as not, are synonyms for betting agencies, and where the boys are working till 10 and 11 p.m., and on Saturdays till midnight—and all occupations in and about public-houses. Children so employed are daily exposed to temptation in its most dangerous and seductive form. They

quickly learn to bet and gamble; the girls become prostitutes; and all alike, before they arrive at maturity, acquire a distaste for the irksome routine of regular employment, which exercises a marked and harmful influence upon them in after life. "If you suffer your people to be ill-educated, you first make them thieves, and then punish them;" and the statistics from Manchester, Bradford, and Liverpool, as to the proportion of children who have drifted from street-hawking into a life of crime, amply prove that they but rarely develop into skilled workers or respectable citizens.

It is, perhaps, in those families where home industries are carried on that the harmful effects of excessive overwork are most apparent. In almost all these trades we find juvenile labour employed to an extent which must be seriously detrimental to health and education. There are few elementary teachers who, in districts where the sweated trades abound, could not give countless instances of children who are working at every possible hour of the day, and often far on into the night, and who are continually kept from school to earn a few pence. In one school of 307 girls, sixty-five were found to be employed before and after school hours, in such trades as sack-making, box-making, artificial-flower-making, and boot-finishing. Indeed, many managers and teachers have added to their returns strong condemnations of the injurious effect upon the children of this attempt to combine education and wage-earning, and have expressed their hope that the question will be dealt with, "in order to meet and relieve the onerous conditions under which many of the young have to gain education."

To read through the pages of this strange record of our national callousness, is to realize that there are in our elementary schools to-day thousands of children who are crushed beneath the grievous burden of toil imposed upon them, despoiled of every natural healthy joy of childhood, and for whom the golden key to the treasure-house of knowledge is for ever out of reach.

"How," said one, whose whole life was spent in the effort to ameliorate the lot of our child-workers, "can you expect to get manly men and womanly women out of creatures from whom such toil is exacted?"



Surely labour, brow-sweat, hard earnings come soon enough, without having God's great gift of life crushed, defaced, contorted in the spring-time of youth. It is tampering with the very seed-corn from which we hope to reap the harvest of a noble national life."

We, as a nation, are slowly beginning to realize the arrears into which we must fall if we fail to care for all the physical, moral, and intellectual needs of our children. More and more we are being forced to acknowledge that the battle for industrial supremacy has to be fought and won—or lost—not in the mills and factories, but in the class-rooms of our elementary schools. It is during these years of childhood that we make or mar that type of character which it is of vital importance to maintain; and there is no more mischievous heresy extant than the belief that the cheapness of child-labour can compensate for deterioration in the moral and physical fibre of the workers. Looking at it from a purely commercial standpoint, then, it is bad national economy to leave these 144,000 wage-earning children to the mercy of blind chance, and to allow so much of the future working power of the nation to be "scattered in all ways of wildest waste." The economic value of their industrial efficiency more than justifies the cost of the trouble and expense in ensuring it; and where self-help is powerless for self-redemption, it is the duty of the State to step in to preserve that standard of vigour and efficiency which are essential to social well-being.

The old, time-worn argument that the parents are the best judges of the advantages or disadvantages of protective legislation, is one that has been brought against every successive step in the path of progress. Had it been permitted to prevail, we should still be without any Acts for the protection of children working in our mines and factories, and still without any system of compulsory education. The parents are not unprejudiced judges. When we come to the stratum of society where life is the mere satisfaction of primary wants, the main idea with the majority of parents is to get the children out to work as soon as possible. They are too short-sighted to see the inevitable and far-reaching effects of their action; and reason offers no sanction

for the theory that they, whose interest it is to oppose reform, are those best qualified to decide as to its necessity. In this matter, just as in regard to school attendance, they require the education of the law to arouse them to a consciousness of parental responsibility.

The remedies proposed by the Committee on wage-earning children are, first, the enforcement of the existing laws; and, secondly, further legislative action. As regards the first point, it should be observed that the protection of children in general (that is, as distinct from special classes, such as those employed in mines, mills, etc.) began with the Education Act of 1876. By this Act it is laid down that—

(a) "A person shall not take into his employment any child. (Section 5.)

(b) "A child in this Act means a child between the ages of five and fourteen years." (Section 48.)

(c) "Every person who takes a child into his employment in contravention of this Act shall be liable to a penalty of forty shillings." (Section 6.)

(d) "A parent of a child who employs such child in any labour exercised by way of trade, or for the purposes of gain, shall be deemed to take such child into his employment." (Section 47.)

It is clear that if the above provisions stood alone, the protection of children would be complete from the age of five up to the age of fourteen. But the Act of 1876 contained a number of exemptions, the most serious of which is contained in section 9 (2). This clause is evidently the product of conflicting ideals in Parliament, resulting in the compromise of an important principle. By allowing a child to be employed any day and any hour, so long as its school work is not interfered with, it qualifies that absolute prohibition of the employment for wages of children of school age which is enacted in section 5. It is, however, safeguarded by the clear and emphatic provisos that the employment must *not interfere with the "efficient elementary instruction"* of the child, and that the child must "obtain such instruction" by regular attendance for full time at school, or in some equally efficient manner. Moreover, it is over-ridden, so far

as children between ten and thirteen are concerned, by the Act of 1880, which runs as follows :—

“Every person who takes into his employment a child of the age of ten, and under the age of thirteen years, resident in a school district, before that child has obtained a certificate of having reached the standard of education fixed by a by-law in force in the district for the total or partial exemption of children of the like age from the obligation to attend school, shall be deemed to take such child into his employment in contravention of the Elementary Education Act, 1876, and shall be liable to a penalty accordingly.”

This clause gives complete protection from all employment “for the purposes of gain,” whether in or out of school hours, to every child between the age of ten and thirteen until it has obtained a certificate of exemption. The point at which it may obtain this certificate depends on the various by-laws; but, under the Act of 1899, no certificate can be obtained before the age of twelve, unless the child is to be employed in agriculture. The by-laws of many districts make it practically impossible to obtain a certificate before thirteen, and districts which fall a little behind this standard have power to make their by-laws more stringent.

Therefore, whilst the children between ten and thirteen (and thereabouts, according to local by-laws) have complete protection under the Act of 1880, the children between five and ten and between thirteen and fourteen depend for protection on the Act of 1876, with its serious exemptions. As a natural result the law is rarely enforced to its full extent. Few school boards, and still fewer school attendance committees, have gone beyond the stage of preventing the children who ought to be in school from working elsewhere *during school hours*. The full force of the Act, if strictly applied beyond mere considerations of school attendance, would secure for children of tender years complete immunity from “labour, exercised by way of trade.” But so long as public opinion applauds local authorities which do not prosecute and magistrates who do not convict, the law is doomed to failure.

While, therefore, the most pressing need is to educate the



cial conscience of the community to respect and enforce the existing law, further legislation is urgently required. For instance, children working in home industries should be protected by the repeal of section 98 of the Factory and Workshops Act of 1878. Domestic workshops are subject to special regulations, and are exempt from the statutory provisions relating to local times, notices, holidays, accidents, and rules for dangerous employments. (Sections 16 and 61, Factories and Workshops Act, 1878, and section 8, Factory and Workshops Act, 1891.) But any effective supervision is made impossible by the following clause:—

“The exercise in a *private house or private room by the family dwelling therein*, or by any of them, of manual labour for the purposes of gain in or incidental to some of the purposes in this Act in that behalf mentioned, shall not by itself constitute such house or room a workshop, *where the labour is exercised at irregular intervals, and does not furnish the whole or principal means of living to such family.*”

By the repeal of this section 98 of the Factories and Workshops Act, 1878, all domestic workshops would be brought under the eye of the factory inspector; and section 16 of the same Act, which was meant to restrict the labour of children, but has been practically a dead letter, could be more strictly enforced.

Similarly, the case of children employed in street selling demands special treatment. It is true that this trade is regulated to some extent by the Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 1894; but the existing provisions are altogether inadequate, as is shown by the fact that Liverpool, Bradford, St. Helens, and other towns have sought to obtain additional statutory powers. It is suggested, therefore, that the Home Office and the Education Department should be asked to bring in a general enabling bill to allow local authorities to regulate by means of by-laws not only street trading, but all other street employments, such as calling workmen, delivering papers and milk, soliciting orders, etc.; and to prohibit them for young children within certain specified hours. Such by-laws should be sanctioned by the Home Office and the Education Department,

with power to withdraw the sanction from time to time, so that the by-laws might be revised as experience should dictate.

In the long run, men do get very much what they persistently ask for, as the history of every country and of every great movement abundantly proves. The kind of education given to the children of England will approximate to the ideal of education held by the English people. Whatever the conscience of the nation demands as a standard, to that in time it will rise, and until it has so risen, it cannot attain its fullest, freest life. The future of these children, then, lies in the hollow of our hand. Is it too much to expect that, in the face of absolute peremptory facts, such as those now before us, the world will at last—

“Be wrought

To sympathy with hopes and fears it heeded not,”

and will demand and procure for this multitude of little impotent folk the efficient protection of the law?

EDITH F. HOGG.

## A FOOTNOTE TO RUSKIN.

RUSKIN carried ethics into art, and both into economics. His clue to the solution of the economic problem is what he finds in the life of the artist-craftsman, working out his end under the inspiration of the moral motive, and in the light of the moral ideal. The implication of ethics in economics and the reversion to the Greek conception of Political Economy is the more familiar side of the *contaminatio*. Equally important and equally Greek, although with a difference, is the analysis of what is implied in the work of art and the extension of the results to work as such.

The artist in general lives by his art, but only because the service which he renders is such as to command food, clothing, and the like. He creates form-values; he does not elicit material values. His work makes for the good of life; it does not support life itself. He is a secondary, not a primary, to use a once popular phrase. It follows that somewhere outside of his art-work there exists a surplus of food and clothing from which he is supported. Thus Ruskin is led to his physiocratic doctrine of a surplus from the land, which forms the real wages-fund from which all art and all manufacture need to be supported. This raises for him the problem of the ownership of land, the problem of population, the problem of wages.

As to land, the individual's right to a den, if he is not to be worse off than the brute, and to so much land as will feed him is inalienable. But "in well-regulated communities this quantity of land may often be represented by other possessions, or its need supplied by wages and privileges." That is, the pauper gets as much as, and the rest of us more than, would be got through the exercise of natural rights. The income of the squires, if not theirs, is, at any rate, not that of the landless



classes. This inference to something like the existing order might be valid if no man starved but by his own fault. It is valid against communism, not so obviously so against collectivism. The picturesqueness of the art-patron appeals to Ruskin's sentiment, and the optimism which lays it down that good work is sure of good bread leaves Ruskin on this question in the individualist fold, with occasional yearnings after (very) Fabian socialism.

As to population: if agriculture is the only work in a position of independence in the matter of bare livelihood, it is fearfully obvious that the secondaries may multiply beyond the food-supply. The Malthusianism which his contemporaries got out of their doctrine of the determinate fund of capital devoted to wages, Ruskin derives from his view of the sterility of all but the organic. He gets it, like Chalmers, from the determinateness of the food-supply as wages-fund. It should be modified by his perception of the place which efficiency has in determining output, or it should mitigate his optimism. It is characteristic of Ruskin that neither alternative is realized. Yet the Malthusianism, though disguised with sentimental prettinesses about *rosières* and the like, is there, and necessarily there.

The artist is supported from the food-fund which he does nothing to increase. It follows that what one receives more means so much less for another. It follows also that those who have the surplus food at their disposal are "arbiters of the will and work" of the community. This is very nearly Professor Taussig's point as to the wages-fund. But Ruskin sees—as any one who looks at art-work cannot but see—that, although there is pain normally involved in labour, a "quantity of defeat which has to be counted against every feat," it is not the pain, but the power of it, that wins recognition. Labour may be suffering in effort," but the important point is, that—

"out of a given quantity of funds for wages, more or less labour is to be had, according to the quantity of will with which we can inspire the workman."

This is an efficiency theory of labour, and if applied throughout

—in agriculture, for example—would amount to an efficiency theory of wages. Unless, indeed, the point of diminishing gross returns is, in agriculture, reached very shortly after the point of diminishing proportionate returns. But his view of the sterility of all secondaries, and of the determinate character of the food-fund at any moment, prevents Ruskin from taking the great step forward. Greater results from stronger will and stronger effort?—yes. Greater food-fund?—apparently no.

“Unless there be a supporting power in the product of the occupation, the wages given to one man are merely withdrawn from another.” The inference for Ruskin, in the light of the ethical presuppositions of economics, is not the individualist one, which is commonly made from the efficiency theory in its various forms, but almost the communist one of first Christianity—“It shall be given unto this last even as unto thee.”

“Time for time, skill for skill” is the Marxist conclusion as to wages reached by this upholder of the squires in their landed property; until, under changed laws, they can be expropriated with strict justice—*i.e.* until he that is without sin among us casts stones. But to such a formula there are two important qualifications. First, the worker is to have, according to Ruskin, the conditions, by way of food, clothing, and the like, accorded him which will enable him to do his best work. This is doubtless not to be computed for each individual, but for groups. But the doctrine, which amounts to that of Professor F. H. Giddings’ essay on *Natural Wages*, would have to admit differences of material conditions of maximum efficiency for different grades of labour. Just as Marx’s value-theory breaks down from an actual labour-theory to a theory of a conventional standard of labour, so Ruskin’s formula, not merely of a living wage, but a natural wage, based on computation of the normal conditions of maximum efficiency, destroys the other formula of “Time for time, skill for skill.” His theory of giving the best education to the best intelligences shows that he held by the maximum-efficiency formula with some tenacity. Yet it might be thought not to satisfy the somewhat exalted notion of justice to which he makes appeal on the land-question. My maximum efficiency, or that

of my class, may only be attainable through other persons or other classes failing of theirs. If the food-fund theory be true, it is only a rather baseless optimism, traversed by its Malthusian implication, which can think it probable that the absolute maximum efficiency of one class of secondaries can be attained without reducing the conditions open to others. In fact he asserts this.

Secondly, all are to be paid alike that the bad workman may go unemployed. "Unto this last," except he be a bad workman! What is to become of the unemployed is obscure. If they are to starve, Ruskin is as severe on the bad artist or craftsman as the worst individualist of an unmoralized business-world. If they are not to starve, what is to become of them? Are they to be diverted to agriculture, or are they to enjoy their share of the food-fund in leisured dignity? Is it an ironical assimilation of the destiny of the unemployed and unredeemed at one end of the conventional scale to that of those at the other?

The hindrance due to too great returns in exchange for the products of his skill, so noteworthy in the life of many an artist, and the ethical reflection that it shall not profit an artist to lose his own soul and gain all else, determine Ruskin's attitude on wages: that is, it is determined by regulative ideas drawn from ethics and æsthetics.

The sterility of art on another side helps Ruskin to another characteristic doctrine, though it originated rather in his personal problem of great inherited wealth, viz. his condemnation of the taking of interest. The dead material of the artist only grows instinct with life through the will behind his labour force, the soul he may not sell. Value, then, arises from nature and from labour, and from nothing else. It follows that wealth depends on the power to use; that capital is simply the tool of labour, and earns no interest. The canvas is not organic and reproductive. It is insignificant beside the work of art which adorns it. It is worthless if defaced by bad work. A canvas and palette to him who can use them, and no usury for them, since they earn none. The first maxim, which connects with the maximum-efficiency formula, might be fatal to "the squires." The second maxim has cut itself off from any



reasonable theory of interest, whether a time-theory—Ruskin is curiously deficient in time-sense—or a productivity-theory. It tends, therefore, to an exploitation-theory, though Ruskin's physiocratic views would have naturally bloomed into Shylock's "naïve fecundity-theory." Given the sterility of art and the assimilation of all crafts to art, and there follows Ruskin's view as to machinery. If machine-industries, *i.e.* those which use instruments whose "action is in some particulars or moments beyond the control of the human hand," must needs be sterile, and as much as the fine arts requiring to be supported from the food-fund, they are indifferent from the point of view of what avails for life, and to the artist they are, in terms of a somewhat conventional attitude, detestable. Ruskin is moved here by either a frankly arbitrary æsthetic canon or by an attempt to treat all work as art-work. The admission of wind-driven machinery suggests the former. The analogy to Morris suggests the latter. The discussion among "arts and craftsmen" as to the merit of cast-iron as subject for artistic treatment, and the fact that we need to be reminded by a recent writer that there is "a music of the halls sound and good of its kind," show the difficulty of working the merely arbitrary canon, and the perhaps greater difficulty of maintaining that all work is art-work.

Ruskin would have it that all save agriculture is sterile materially, all else save the fine arts sterile also spiritually. He would accordingly eliminate the machine-industries, transport, and retail-trade. Yet he finds that he cannot dispense with commerce, owing to the need of interchange, not so much of local products as of local skills—the fire-using of the north with the tactual delicacy of the south, and so forth. But trans-oceanic transport is not artistic. It is operated by machinery; and the less at the mercy of wind, the greater the control by man. So that to the amateur of Venetian and Dutch art it is philistine. Nor is manufacture artistic. But here Ruskin would perhaps claim that ideally it might be, would we but return to the handicrafts with their scope for the personality of the workman. The answer of the orthodox economist is that only from the point of view of a false conception of the sterility of manufacture

can indifference to quantity of output be maintained; that we must not exaggerate the effects of factory organization in stunting personality; that too mechanical operations are handed over to machines; that there is an offset in the keener intelligence of the skilled machinist. On the other hand, if there were no further answer, we should perhaps have to admit that the exploitation of men by machines, and the putting of "things into the saddle," and the divorce of work and that wherein the worker finds his happiness, are phrases behind which lies an ugly meaning.

The further answer does not escape the non-optimism of this result. It lies in falling back on the Aristotelian doctrine of *Banauasia*. There are servile employments, because there are servile men. Aristotle, while classing the fine arts with the handicrafts, and apparently implying only differences of degree, holds that there are those who can serve in various ways, but the expression of whose personality in their work is equally as much a defect in it as the impression of their thumb upon it. Not every man can become an artist in any sense of the word, because, in the phrase of Mr. F. W. Bain's *Body and Soul*, which contains the best translation into modern equivalents of this somewhat brutal doctrine, there is a special economy of art due to a rare quality in the product of art as opposed to the common commodity. The product of art is the result of a creative power in the artist, an imitation, not of the works of nature, but of her method. It satisfies a special and not the general demand. It strives to produce not a great output of similar products, but something which must be in its essence unique.

The point is the qualitative distinction between the least characteristic workmanship of genius and the most characteristic work of non-genius. The impress of personality in the one case gives the enhanced value of the joy for ever. In the other the impress of personality is neither required nor supplied with advantage. I want a tea-cup and a plate easily cleansed, not too precious to lose without overwhelming sorrow. Not one in gold by Michael Angelo, nor half a dozen in the rarest of

blue porcelains, but several, replicas, it may be, of the same pattern, will best serve my turn. An irregularly shaped one, in which John Smith, with no power but much good-will in that direction, has expressed his personality is not beautiful because misshapen, nor because dear. And if I want the highest art, I cannot have it.

I cannot, and our vast population cannot be indifferent to the increased output of machine-industries. And if there be "natural slaves," *i.e.* those who can execute under direction, but who have no right, because no capacity, to express their personality, in the artistic sense, in their work, then there are such things as servile employments, there is *Banania*.

Though Ruskin has not explicitly adopted in its completeness the identification of work and art-work, he fights against the conception of *Banania*. We all, of course, reject slavery as an institution. We cannot allow the control of the whole life of a man by his fellow-man. And we deprecate the "white slavery" of the present, a far more terrible thing than the "domestic service" of Aristotle. And we say that a man, as man, must express his personality somehow and somewhere. But, happily for the many, there are subordinate employments where the rare gifts of high art are not asked for, where they could not now, or ever, be supplied if asked for.

Ruskin's treatment of *Banania* is to say that an employment is only servile if the worker fulfils that only and nothing else. It follows that his concrete ideal, and that which he actually recommends, is for all to earn their bread by agricultural labour, and to consecrate the residue of their time to that which is not bread alone.

But only *declassé* labour is unskilled. Agricultural labour is skilled. Many could not earn their bread by it. Others would have the conditions of maximum efficiency in their life-work hopelessly destroyed by it. The violinist's hand must not hold the spade. The fine arts only arise through the apparent sacrifice of some. They can only persist through the apparent sacrifice of some. Division of labour is an organic growth, and not limited by backward glancing idealizations of mediæval



artistry or Japanesque craftsmanship. If the apparent sacrifice is not allowed to degenerate into a real sacrifice needless and thoughtless, it is enough,—or all that is attainable.

Such a doctrine is not necessarily opposed to collectivism. It does, however, imply that within any collectivism compatible with it a differentiation of conditions would arise which would not satisfy the mass of working-class socialists. Ruskin was no collectivist. Only volunteers could serve in his ideal community. And, indeed, either his voluntaryism, or an equivalent scope under collectivism for the personalities able to create a want and uniquely to supply it, is a necessary element in the society of the future as of the past. For not all work is, or can be, art. It follows that Ruskin's passage from art-work to labour as such must be denied the character of strict inference, though accepted as a suggestive analogy of restricted range.

HERBERT W. BLUNT.

## NOTES AND MEMORANDA.

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF THE CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS.—I have been invited to give some account of the recent Congress at Cardiff, and to deal with a few of the chief questions which were discussed. For one who took some part in the proceedings it is not easy to preserve that calm, unbiassed frame of mind essential to impartial criticism, and so becoming in a contributor to the *Economic Review*. If, in addition to being a delegate, one happens also to hold strong views, and in some vital matters to be quite unsound in the co-operative faith as laid down by some of the high priests of the movement, then the task of reviewing the Congress in an impartial spirit becomes extremely difficult. However, the readers of this *Review* will be quite competent to take off a liberal discount from my opinion of men and things, and the knowledge that they will freely exercise this privilege emboldens me to undertake the task.

My first word about the Co-operative Congress must be one of congratulation. The delegates, numbering some thousand or more, stuck to their posts admirably, and this despite the fine weather outside and the heat inside. With no tables in front of them, as at the Trade Union Congress, the large gathering assumed the form of a huge public meeting rather than a deliberative assembly, and the temptation to leave the hall was great. It speaks volumes for the real and sustained interest of the delegates in the business of the Congress that so many attended each day. But, for all that, anything like debate was out of the question. Nominally supreme, the Congress is really at the mercy of what the politicians call the caucus. To a large extent this is inevitable, and, like many other lapses from strict democratic methods, it probably works, on the whole, for the good of the movement.

But, with an instinctive hostility to governing bodies, it seems to me that the delegates might with advantage retain to themselves more direct power. For example, the standing orders committee should, in my opinion, be elected by the Congress itself, and not appointed by the Central Board. There were not wanting signs, notably in the case of the old-age pension resolutions, of a lack of discrimination and

judgment. But my objection is rather to the principle by which the standing orders committee is selected than to particular details of its proceedings. The body which has control of the business of the Congress should be chosen from the delegates, and not composed of men some of whom may not even be the elected representatives of any society. This may not be a vital point, but it is one which democratic assemblies should not neglect.

Then the Congress might well take full possession of the three days set apart for its proceedings, and not leave itself, as now, at the mercy of a hasty vote, prompted from the platform. It was nothing short of a scandal to rush through, in the morning sitting of the last day, such important questions as the proposed memorial to Robert Owen, co-operative house building, alteration of rules, public sale of land, co-operative exchange currency, stores in poor districts, the selection of the next place of meeting, and the customary amenities at the close. There was a feeling amounting to disgust at this sacrifice of duty for convenience or pleasure, and it ought not to be repeated, otherwise the much abused politician will begin to think that co-operative delegates are not so much superior to the tribe to which he belongs as several delegates, with characteristic modesty, loudly declared to be the case. Doubtless three days are not required merely to register official decrees in the shape of reports and resolutions, but they are entirely inadequate if there is to be even a semblance of discussion at the Congress. At any rate, the Wednesday afternoon should only be taken away on a distinct motion from the delegates, so that the natural course of things would be to sit on the whole of the last day.

One of the incidents which will remain fresh in the minds of the delegates was the frank avowal of Mr. W. C. Steadman, M.P., that he had not much sympathy with distributive co-operation, which to him seemed little more than ordinary capitalism under a working-class name. It must be confessed that my friend Mr. Steadman did not come out of the ordeal well. He was rather lost in his economics, but, for all that, his speech served a useful purpose. It reflected fairly faithfully the feelings of the average London trade unionist, who sees the stores at their worst as commercial concerns, and is too near Leman Street to escape the atmosphere of mere shopkeeping co-operation, excellent in its way, but with no appeal to the workman in search of an industrial ideal. It was significant that Mr. Steadman, deficient as he was regarded in elementary knowledge of the co-operative movement, grew quite enthusiastic as he mentioned the bass-dressers' co-partnership society in East London, about which he knew two things — their gallant struggle (now fairly successful) to keep their workshop in



existence, and the little or no help they received from the Co-operative Wholesale Society. Though one cannot regard Mr. Steadman's criticism as either well-informed or altogether consistent, it certainly served to throw a flood of light on the attitude of a section of organized workmen, especially in London. It may be wilful blindness for these people not to see the perfection of a co-operative system which leaves the worker, as such, exactly where he is under private employment of the best kind. But they do not, and can actually turn away from the bewildering greatness of the Wholesale to a small society of workers engaged in the noble task of making free industrial citizens.

The keenest debate of the Congress was that on direct Parliamentary representation. New ground had been taken up. It was no longer a proposal to return co-operators, as such, to Parliament. Impracticable as that was, the latest move was still more fraught with danger to the co-operative movement. The motion had the virtue of honesty. It simply asked the Congress to affirm the Independent Labour Party's policy, and the supporters made the usual attacks on the Liberal party and on those Labour leaders who belong to it. This audacious attempt to exploit the co-operative movement in the interest of the Socialist party had a very bad beating. It was not a repudiation of all political action—the continued existence of the Joint Parliamentary Committee proves that clearly enough—but a determination not to convert the societies into branches of a Socialist party. No great industrial movement can cut itself off entirely from politics; but there is a vital difference between supporting or opposing a particular political principle or measure, and the alliance or affiliation with a distinct political party, with a specific programme. The crushing vote against the policy of isolation and class warfare was a surprise to some, and a pleasing evidence of good sense to many. It meant that co-operators realized that citizenship was the real basis of true political thought and action, and they were not prepared to make Socialism a test of fidelity to the principles of co-operation. If the motion had been carried, it would have put outside the political pale a Liberal or a Tory co-operator. Such a division in the household of co-operative faith would work enormous mischief, without any compensating advantage.

For sufficient reasons, the discussion on the alleged bribery of co-operative employees was cut short, but not before it was evident that there was a firm determination to tackle this evil in a thorough fashion. Despite the comforting assurance of one delegate that corruption was nothing like so prevalent inside the movement as outside, the dark shadow of bribery and jobbery hung over the Congress,

not even members of store committees being exempt from suspicion. Democracy is subject to most of the vices of other forms of government, though they assume different shapes, and are more susceptible to publicity. Sound at heart the co-operative movement undoubtedly is, but the whole body is not free from the vile disease, and it is to be feared that not even exclusive dealing with the Wholesale Society would entirely stamp it out, though the scope of it would be materially narrowed.

The discussion on old-age pensions revealed some confusion of thought and much blundering in procedure. The proposal to refer the two schemes drawn up by the special committee to the societies, to be remitted to the next congress, was met by what was really intended as an addendum, but which the chairman could only receive as an amendment. The effect of it was to declare in favour of universal State pensions, and the promoters of it simply desired that the members of the societies should have an opportunity of choosing between national and sectional old-age pensions. This seemed only a business-like method to pursue; but, largely on account of the unfortunate way it was presented, the Congress would have none of it, the two official schemes alone holding the field. There was a good deal of misconception as to each other's position during this discussion. Some of us strongly oppose the turning of the co-operative movement into a wing of any of the political parties, whether Radical, Tory, or Socialist, but that does not mean that we set our faces against all political action. That is impossible, and even those who resisted the attempt to allow co-operators to decide between voluntary and State pensions were members of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, and had concerned themselves with all kinds of bills during the present session of Parliament. Old-age pensions is just one of those questions which cannot be adequately considered apart from the political standpoint. It may be wise for co-operators to use their money to provide pensions for themselves on the security of stores and subject to conditions of purchase, etc., but, on the other hand, it may be equally wise to leave that provision to the State, and to employ their limited resources in other directions. But in any case it would be sheer folly for co-operators to shut their eyes to the agitation in the political world for old-age pensions, and this quite apart from their views about them. Whether they favour political action or inaction, the fact remains that a Government is likely some of these days to introduce legislation, and the effect of that they cannot escape. For a large movement to omit this factor in their consideration of schemes involving serious liabilities is to make a huge mistake.

But one other subject can be noted—the co-operative exchange currency motion of Mr. Bruce Wallace. Here the Congress was brought into the domain of elaborate theory and fanciful experiment, into the realm of the unreal and the dreamer. In spite of the high character and splendid devotion to duty, as they understand it, of Mr. Bruce Wallace and his co-workers, to some of us this proposal was rank communism, to be scotched as quickly and as effectually as possible. Co-operation, once embarked on this path, would soon become the prey of the faddist, who, whether sincere or insincere, would lead it into the swamps of failure and disruption. However, Congress showed a little more consideration for the feelings of Mr. Wallace than to reject his motion outright, and referred it to the Central Board—a fate in some respects as bad as that some of us desired for it. The strongest opponent of exchange currency may safely leave it in the hands of that body.

Speaking directly for a million and three-quarters of working men and women, quietly and successfully engaged in the most important movement of the century, the Cardiff Congress proved itself to be a level-headed body of social reformers. But there was somewhat of a lack of the fresh, living spirit of the pioneers of great causes. The tendency was to exalt commercialism over industry, to forget the workshop in the store. Co-operation is not mere idealism ; it uses business methods to put its principles into operation. One felt, when surveying the sea of faces at Cardiff, that they stood for the high-water mark of democratic achievement in the domain of constructive reform. But something seemed needed to stir them as with a holy impulse, not to be wasted in fruitless endeavours to attain the impossible, but to move them to enduring deeds. This inspiration cannot come from those whose goal is an all-embracing centralization—a kind of glorification of the rule by committee. They have their reward in mammoth shop-keeping. Nothing but a nobler conception of labour and a full recognition of that industrial commonwealth in which the worker is a free and responsible citizen can supply the incentive for the forward march of the co-operative forces.

F. MADDISON.

**THE TIED-HOUSE SYSTEM AND RETAIL TRADE.**—The public is more or less familiar with the system of “tied houses” in connection with the liquor traffic, but probably few people are aware of the extent to which this system has been developed in other branches of retail trade. In most towns there is an increasing number of shops which are not really under the control of those who are nominally in charge



of them, but are managed by some central firm with branches in every direction. For instance, the following facts refer to a town in the north of England. In a block of buildings comprising sixteen large shops, twelve are branch establishments. In the same street there are seven separate shops belonging to one firm, each trading under a different name, and only one of them using the name of the proprietors. Four of them, indeed, stand side by side, and apparently have no connection with one another. This is by no means exceptional, for in almost every branch of trade there are firms which have branches in nearly all the more important towns in England. In my own business I know thirty firms which average over a hundred shops each, and several of them have over three hundred.

This system has been developed in various ways. A successful shopkeeper often opens branches in his own town or in the neighbourhood. He is generally a well-known man, trading in his own name, and often does not have more than a dozen or score of shops; but when, as frequently happens, such a business is turned into a limited liability company, the number of shops is generally increased. Again, many shops which are apparently independent are bound to wholesale firms by financial ties. If a man starts business with insufficient capital, he may only be able to avoid bankruptcy by accepting a loan from the wholesale merchant or the manufacturer. In this way he may be allowed to carry on the business in his own name, but he has really forfeited the entire control of it. Or, again, manufacturers and wholesale houses sometimes endeavour to extend their business by opening retail establishments. These shops have to bear an assumed name, or must appear to belong to an independent company, since retail dealers will not buy from wholesale firms which enter into competition with them.

It must be admitted, of course, that this method of conducting retail trade possesses peculiar economic advantages, which enable it to compete with and ultimately to supplant the small retail dealer. At any rate, the system of multiple shops is being rapidly extended in all branches of retail business, just as the manufacturers are combining in all directions to establish what is virtually a monopoly in their respective trades. On the other hand, it is important for us to be on our guard against the obvious risks and dangers of the new system. It is hardly fair, for example, that wholesale houses should be allowed to use the special knowledge acquired by dealing with a number of retail firms in order to compete with the latter on their own ground; at the very least they should be compelled to register all the retail shops under their control in their own name. I know one firm which is

trading under sixteen different names ; and another which has opened two branches under different names, facing each other in the same street, and pretending to be in fierce competition.

Moreover, the system is apt to lead to various fraudulent transactions. Some manufacturers not only retail their own goods, but profess to make all the goods they offer for sale. In fact, it is practically impossible for a single firm to produce all the articles required in an ordinary retail shop ; and, as a commercial traveller, I often do business with firms which advertise that they make all the goods they sell.

Again, since the system weakens the sense of personal responsibility, the standard of commercial morality tends to be lowered. The man who sells the goods has nothing to do with fixing the price, and has no idea how much profit is made by the sale. He receives the bills for advertising, and the tickets giving the price and description of the articles to be sold, from the central dépôt ; and though he may be aware that the trade description is false, he is obliged to use it, even at the risk of bringing himself within the range of the law for misrepresentation of the goods. No doubt this evil is not unknown among ordinary shopkeepers, but it is greatly increased under the new system : the salesman excuses himself on the plea that he is simply obeying orders ; and the trader who issues the directions assumes that, because some one else does the actual selling to the customer, he is not responsible for the fraud.

Another bad practice which is fostered by the system is connected with the traffic in " job lots " for special sales. Sometimes a firm buys the stock of a bankrupt at a large discount. The goods are then removed to the central warehouse, and are mixed up with other soiled articles, and perhaps with large quantities of new stuff bought for the occasion. It is then widely advertised that on a certain date this stock will be sold at a great reduction, and the public, always on the lookout for bargains, will probably make purchases amounting to several times the value of the bankrupt stock. Now, the ordinary retailer has only one shop where this can be done, and the fact that his assistants know how the goods have been bought tends to restrict the abuse. But under the new system there is nothing to prevent a firm from having such a sale at each of its branch shops ; and, in fact, it is not unusual to find a firm which has bought a bankrupt stock valued at about £2000 advertising that they are selling goods to this amount at each of ten or twenty branches.

It is probable that the State can do but little to lessen the evils of the tied-house system beyond insisting upon the proper registration

of all retail firms, and imposing severe penalties for false trade descriptions of any kind. But if the extent to which the system is growing were more generally known, perhaps something might be done to educate a better conscience among those who are responsible for its actual working.

#### COMMERCIAL TRAVELLER.

INDUSTRIAL ASSURANCE.—The latest blue book on *Life Assurance and Annuity Business, etc.*, contains the following remarkable figures in regard to the largest of our Industrial Life companies. During the year 1898 the amount paid to 14,339 agents for the weekly collection of premiums from 12,345,115 policies was £951,506 12s. 11d. The special new business charges amounted to £460,145 3s.; the expense for stamps at head office was £58,874 7s. 6d.; the charges for superintendence amounted to £197,939 10s.; the medical fees to £56,444 11s. 11d., and other head-office expenses to £317,566 18s. 3d. The shareholders received in dividends and bonus £425,000.

When we remember that the average insurance under each policy is less than £10, we cannot help admiring the colossal structure which has been raised on this narrow base. It is a marvellous illustration of the power of little things. We must also confess that an institution ramifying thus widely, and bringing millions of individuals under its influence, must accomplish a vast amount of good. Nor can we doubt that the expense incurred in doing the work is most rigidly restricted, for the experience gained by doing business on so vast a scale must enable the managers to fathom every secret, and to guard against every risk. The average wage of 25s. a week received by the above army of collectors represents a large output of activity, vigilance, fidelity, and business capacity. At the same time, we cannot help noticing the great amount of expense incurred in comparison with the total annual receipts from premiums, interest, and rent. Taking three of these collecting companies at random, I find that the percentages of expenses to income, if I read the returns aright, are respectively  $45\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $47\frac{3}{4}$ , and (about) 49.

It is a very notable contrast to turn to those companies which do not employ collectors, and to discover that their expenses in four random cases are  $7\frac{1}{4}$ , 8 nearly,  $11\frac{1}{2}$ , and  $12\frac{1}{4}$ . I am not concerned with any accidental differences among the companies of this type, although they might give rise to very important considerations as to forms of accounting and methods of business. I wish to direct attention to the contrast between the poor man's insurance, affording what must be considered the luxury of personal canvassing, and that of the well-to-do,



involving no greater hardship than the writing of a cheque or the purchase of a money order. In the first place, it is evident that much of the cost must be due to the smallness of the insurances effected. If the average amount insured were doubled, the percentage of cost might probably be halved, since there would be no reason to expect any increase of outlay. In this way we can readily understand that the poor are at a natural and permanent disadvantage. It must be relatively more costly to insure under £10 policies than under a system in which the policies average £100 or upwards, since there must be much expense for printing, clerical work, and book-keeping, which is as great for a small policy as for a large one. After making every allowance, however, on this head, the essential difference remaining between the two types of insurance is the expense of collection; and it is doubtless true, as we should be assured by the collectors, that a vast majority of their clients would not under any other system insure at all.

The collectors, therefore, render an indispensable service, for which they are not overpaid. There is a rough justice in competition, and if the value of a thing is just what it will bring, we need not doubt that the societies deserve the extensive patronage they receive. The difficulty meeting us here is the lack of initiative and organizing power on the part of the masses. When wage-earners are indignant over the fortunes made by their employers, it is quite relevant to reply that the function of the *entrepreneur* is indispensable so long as the workers shrink from the risk and trouble attending co-operative production. The captain of industry renders an essential service, and his reward must be commensurate with the urgency of the want which he supplies. The alleged tyranny of capital might perhaps be mitigated if public opinion were clearly expressed in favour of a reorganization of our banking system. If a public department is inefficient, if foreign policy is left largely to the discretion of individuals, if reckless almsgiving creates an army of loafers, if drunkenness is to some extent due to the want of suitable recreation-rooms, we may trace these evils and a hundred others very largely to the inertia of the public mind, which prevents the application of remedies calling for alertness and energy.

Just so, if the method of insurance adopted by the working classes is unduly expensive, we may safely attribute it largely to thoughtlessness, or timidity, or want of organizing power. We must not forget, at the same time, that there is a sad lack of means in the lower ranks of the working classes for making provision for the future. We cannot refuse to listen to the objection that, when a man's income is below subsistence level, thrift becomes a questionable virtue. And

those whose nominal wages are good but precarious make an equally strong appeal upon our sympathy, for they are under the temptation of forgetting their poverty, and of spending their ready money without thinking of the coming days of unemployment. One whose income is very uncertain may well hesitate about committing himself to the payment of regular premiums under pain of forfeiture. This, however, is no reply to criticism of an expensive mode of insurance, for the millions do undertake to pay premiums, and if it is only twopence a week towards burial money, there is all the more reason that they should make the best possible bargain. A person contributing 10s. per annum in two half-yearly payments without the intervention of a collector would certainly receive 50 per cent. more benefit than under the collecting system. At the age of twenty probably as much as £25 could be insured for that amount, and the companies would certainly not object to the issue of £25 policies if there were a demand. The first objection to the change would probably be: "I'm no scholar: I don't want to write letters, and I should forget the time." These are difficulties which may gradually disappear with the spread of education; but behind them is the fact that the collector renders a real service by following the company's clients into every corner of the kingdom. The ignorance of the people might also lead to a want of confidence in the stability of the company, and it might be suspected of promising too much. Illiterate people, who understand and accept an agent's statements, might be utterly disqualified to examine a balance sheet. We might be told, again, that the half-yearly payment would be no real saving of trouble, for if the weekly pence were not carefully put aside the 5s. would not be ready when wanted.

These and other less relevant apologies would surely prevail with the vast majority, and it is only to a select few that the improved method would appeal. To those, for example, who belong to a co-operative store the question should present no difficulty whatever. Suppose the case of a labourer who can only spend £20 a year on domestic commodities. If he draws the moderate rebate or dividend of 10 per cent. he will have 20s. placed to his credit every half-year, and out of this the store officials might regularly pay his premium without putting him to the slightest trouble. The store could, in fact, assume the functions of agent and collector without any house-to-house visitation, the necessary formalities being completed when the members visit the store on other business. The huge figures I have quoted show that there is great scope in industrial assurance for economies, which would benefit the poorest of the population. Poverty is at once the evil to be remedied, and the hindrance to our remedies. We cannot elevate

the poor unless they will join in the effort, and my modest suggestion is more or less vain because those who need it most will not understand it. It is for this reason that our social advances must be very slow ; and when we fully realize this, we shall not be so readily discouraged. Above all, we must guard against showing impatience of the lethargy and indifference of those whom we are seeking to help. There is, perhaps, one class that may be blameworthy for improvidence, and their improvidence may have a direct bearing on the general question. I refer to young unmarried men, from whom Canon Blackley proposed to exact a compulsory levy of £10, in order to provide a pension investment. When we consider the outlay on bicycles and other appliances of sport, to say nothing of the vice of gambling, we may rightly suspect that a slight increase of prudence at a certain age would go far to raise the standard of comfort in the households of the poor.

W. E. SNELL.

THE SPREAD OF CO-OPERATION.—The periodical gatherings of the International Co-operative Alliance furnish welcome opportunities for comparing notes as to the progress made by Co-operation in various countries. The reports prepared for the congress about to assemble at Paris (July 18-22) afford satisfactory proof that the movement, to which working-men have been taught to look for an improvement of their condition by self-help, is not only steadily growing in force wherever it is already established, but that it is also carrying its sway further and further on new ground. There could be no more conclusive testimony to the fact that the alliance is serving its purpose.

The *United Kingdom* continues to maintain its general lead, though in point of number of societies Germany far exceeds it. It is surprising to learn that in Great Britain as many as 556 registered co-operative societies still hold aloof from the union, preferring the weakness of isolation to the strength of combination. The number of societies comprising the union has only increased in the last twelvemonth from 1640 to 1651 ; but this is explained by the fact that the prevailing tendency in the British co-operative world is altogether in the direction of strengthening and extending existing societies, rather than of starting new ones—for which a great deal may be said. The collective roll of members has lengthened from 1,646,078 to 1,729,976 ; the collective share-capital has grown from £19,759,039 to £21,381,527 ; the annual sales have increased from £65,460,871 to £69,835,000 ; the investments from £11,681,296 to £13,469,339 ; and the profits from £7,165,753 to £7,823,272. All this is in respect of the 1613



societies which have made returns. The characteristic features referred to are most noticeable in the retail distributive societies, the number of which has increased only by five, to 1473, whereas the sales have gone up from £42,578,299 to £45,047,446. The membership in these societies has at the same time grown by 78,341, to 1,617,460. The two wholesale societies, as usual, show a substantial increase in their sales, viz. from £16,267,078 to £19,226,564. From the very trifling increase in the number of productive societies, only by six, and the actual decline in their sales by £175,745, one might be tempted to conclude that the productive movement is on the wane. All the decline, however, occurs in the baking and corn-milling societies, and more particularly in the productive departments of this description belonging to the wholesale societies. Otherwise there is an increase. The societies now stand at 153, with £2,725,935 annual sales; and profits have risen from £166,268 to £178,871. The movement, therefore, is still sound and strong. For the first time the annual report has something to show in the way of co-operative banks. In England there are not yet great results to boast of, though such banks as that at Newport, in Monmouthshire, and that at Finsbury Park are making steady progress in their small way. But in Ireland the village bank has been found a most valuable addition to co-operative machinery, and there is already an array of about sixty such banks to testify to the utility of the institution, none of which has ever made a bad debt. Co-operative societies for the pursuit of agriculture just about maintain their old status; but co-operative dairies are multiplying, and co-operative insurance is likewise extending. Educational work has received grants to the amount of £57,595: there is scarcely a society now which has not its own educational department, and the Women's Co-operative Guild is everywhere making its presence felt. Again, from the returns made by 224 societies—there are more which might have replied—it appears that no less than £5,147,526 has been laid out in the construction of improved working-men's dwellings, for the most part (to the extent of £3,402,006) in the way of repayable advances made to members building their own houses. In all, 24,038 houses have been built; and of these 4,247, representing a value of £917,397, remain the societies' own property. A noticeable impetus has been given to this building movement by the Royal Arsenal Society of Woolwich, which proposes to build (by degrees) no fewer than 3,500 houses on its own freehold land, to be let to members on ninety-nine years' leases. That is the work that our savings banks ought to do; and it is to the credit of co-operative societies that, in their capacity of savings banks, they have set them the example.

The tale which *France* has to tell is in the main encouraging and satisfactory. Co-operative production, from the days of the Revolution the pet child of French co-operators, is extending apace, especially away from the great industrial centres, where it struck root first. Those centres have now grown sufficiently strong to be able to act as nurseries for wider districts. The adoption by the *Travail* of the British system of increasing their capital by the enlistment of non-working members has proved a decided success, and bids fair to become tolerably common. This may help to make co-operative production independent of the favour by which it still benefits, and benefited more particularly while the Great Exhibition was in preparation, shown by imperial and local authorities in the preferential assignment of contracts. M. Gide boasts that, with its 250 co-operative workshops, France still maintains the lead among countries in the matter of co-operative production. On the other hand it is disappointing to find that profit-sharing, which is likewise a practice upon which the French are wont to pride themselves, has entered a period of stagnation. Either under the influence of returned good times workmen are too well off, or else the tension between employers and employed has become too severe for amicable arrangements to be made. In any case the practice does not spread, and comparatively little interest is shown in it. However, there is one feather of which French co-operators are in a position to make a show in their cap, and that is that most of their co-operative stores practise profit-sharing. Unfortunately their profits continue only trifling. For it ought to be borne in mind that, apart from some very notable exceptions, French co-operative stores are small and humble, and not too well managed, without any union or cohesion among them, and with no sort of unity of organization. Their various systems represent a veritable chaos of different practices, for the greater part rudimentary and antiquated. The number of co-operative stores continues large. Indeed it is supposed to have increased. But there is no account kept of their numbers, and the societies carefully conceal the amount of their sales, dreading taxation for "profits" by a legislature and administration which foolishly subsidize with one hand while taxing with the other. A good time is believed to have set in for French co-operative stores. Learning wisdom from the experience of socialist co-operators in Belgium, who raise large party funds by means of co-operative supply, French socialists are abandoning their anti-co-operative attitude and becoming friendly. There has been much talk of the construction of improved working men's dwellings by means of co-operative building societies, and, to meet the popular demand, Government and the Chambers have made some public funds available

for the purpose. But the result is disappointing. There are only fourteen building societies; and all the building that they have done scarcely exceeds £40,000. Co-operative banking is likewise still under a cloud, except in the country districts, where M. Durand has set up the Raiffeisen banner, and, with the help of the clergy, multiplies his humble but useful village banks—similar to what we have in Ireland—by the score. The other banks are still too much banks, and too little co-operative, and therefore excite no enthusiasm, just as a reduced Lipton's, however much it might be pleased to call itself a co-operative society, would fail to interest our working-folk. The "pride of place" among French co-operative institutions, as regards numbers, belongs to the agricultural syndicates, the figure for which is now put at 2500, with 800,000 members. Much of their growth and prosperity is unreal, due to Government favour, to gifts and to subsidies. And even so, in respect of magnitude of transactions and variety of form they are outstripped by agricultural Co-operation in Germany. However, they have one feature to distinguish them to their advantage, and that is their good understanding and unity among themselves. In point of organization they differ almost as much as do French supply or productive societies, various sections adopting strikingly different systems. But in their unions, which are capitally organized, they all stand shoulder to shoulder, supporting and acting with one another.

Germany continues all alive with co-operative action. Its army of co-operative societies has in the past year grown from 16,069 to 16,912. The majority of these, that is 10,850 (as compared with 10,259 in 1898), are co-operative credit associations. However, German co-operation now assumes a great variety of forms. Its growth is more particularly apparent in respect of agricultural co-operative institutions, and more specifically of agricultural credit institutions—a fact in a great measure due to the substantial encouragement given to certain types of societies by the several Governments, resulting in large additions to the co-operative ranks, but under conditions which suggest hot-house forcing and precarious existence, rather than *bonâ fide* developments called for by a genuine demand and reliance on self-help. To set against this there is the gratifying fact to record, that most unions of the kind referred to appear to be patching up their differences, and combining for common action, under pressure from exacting merchants' "rings." Thus, united agricultural co-operation promises to show a remarkably strong front. Quantitatively, the most striking results have, as usual, been attained by the co-operative banks of the Schulze-Delitzsch type, which are rather middle-class than working-men's societies. The 862 credit associations of



this species making full returns show a collective membership of 497,111, with £6,082,846 share capital, and £1,979,907 reserve fund, and, with the help of these resources, a business—that is, advances made—to the amount of £95,363,263. When we come to the unions of small agricultural banks of other types, we find the results shrink, as one would think, out of all proportion. Thus, 3149 banks of the Haas type are shown to have lent out only £3,467,915, and 2014 Raiffeisen banks of the straitest sort only £1,510,301. It is true, their loans were granted for very much longer periods, and therefore, as a matter of account, represent very much larger sums. Moreover, it ought to be borne in mind that they are very much smaller, and deal with a much poorer class of members. Apart from industries practised in connexion with agriculture, such as wine-pressing, distilling, and the like, co-operative production indicates little progress, societies having increased from 179 to 198. However, agricultural productive societies have gone up from 1932 to 2017, and co-operative dairies now number 682, with 50,638 members. Supply societies suffer a great deal from traders' persecution abetted by Parliament. Their number has gone down from 1396 to 1373. On the other hand, co-operative building societies have multiplied from 192 to 244, and are proving more active and successful every year.

Co-operation in *Austria* shares to a considerable extent the more salient features of the German type. It is built up on the same foundations, and experiences a similar treatment at the hands of Government and the trading classes. Supply societies and Schulze-Delitzsch banks—the latter forming the backbone of the co-operative organizations existing—are under a cloud. Raiffeisen banks and agricultural societies find themselves petted, and coddled, subsidized and generally favoured. However, amid all their bounty, the authorities take care to insist upon the adoption of sound rules, and are strict in the inspection of accounts. Therefore they may be said to be doing good in a questionable way. In addition to the peculiar characteristics already referred to, Austrian co-operation has this typical feature, that it is hopelessly split up by divisions dictated by race-feeling. The Germans have their own unions, the Poles theirs, the Czechs again keep themselves wholly apart, and lately the Slovenians have set up their own little cluster of societies. In all, Austria now possesses 5092 co-operative societies, of which number 4032 are credit associations, and 2048 are those of the Raiffeisen type—that is, small village societies. The supply societies number 712, and did in 1898 a business of only £2,700,000. Co-operative production and co-operative building are backward.

Co-operation is very diversified in *Hungary*, and is evidently spreading; but there are hardly any statistics to quote from. Co-operative banks continue to lead the way. A Hungarian publication states 1002 to be in existence. However, it is doubtful if all these deserve the name of "co-operative," and if of those which deserve it more than a small portion practise really the best kind of Co-operation. For Government and rich people have meddled in the matter, and set up their great Central banks, one of them endowed with £240,000, to lend to people and lead them away from self-reliance. One of these Central banks is reported answerable for as many as 701 local banks formed with its money. Furthermore, Parliament has insisted upon forcing upon co-operators a law which, in the teeth of a protest raised by their central board, places obstacles in the way of that unlimited liability without which Raiffeisen banks, the favourite form of co-operative credit association in the country, cannot exist, inasmuch as without it people grow careless. This result is said to be already showing itself. Transylvania has a cluster of very good Raiffeisen banks, organized, together with very successful co-operative wine-presses, from Neuwied. Some Magyars will have it that these banks are assuming something of a political character, as a pro-German institution. Elsewhere "Christian," *videlicet* Roman Catholic, banks have been set up. A curious experiment is in progress, namely, of extending co-operative supply by means of a Central bank, endowed by Count Karolyi, who has been very generous in his support of Co-operation. By this means, up to the end of 1899, as many as fifty-six co-operative stores had been started. There is a good deal of co-operative supply independently of this, bearing, generally speaking, a "class" character, but scarcely any co-operative production. The number of co-operative building societies has increased to 390, and there are fifty-nine co-operative dairies.

The country which has comparatively the most marked progress to show is *Switzerland*, where very active and capable men have been strenuously at work for some years, establishing, organizing, uniting. The present number of co-operative societies in Switzerland is 3,400, as compared with 3,100 in 1898, and only 2,400 in 1895. The majority of these are agricultural. There are as many as 1400 dairy societies, and 360 for the improvement of breeds of cattle. In an agricultural country like Switzerland such societies are much appreciated, more particularly among the smaller folk, the village societies dealing in ordinary household necessities as well as in specifically agricultural articles. However, there is an almost total absence of agricultural banks; and, since the Report makes no reference to the great

*Schweizerische Volksbank*, which is genuinely co-operative, and has become a gigantic institution, carrying on business all over the country, but which is not in the union, it looks as if co-operative credit were quite unknown in Switzerland. Co-operative supply has of late years developed remarkably well. There are, indeed, only 110 societies; but these number among them 81,200 members, out of a total of 111,200 reported as belonging to all co-operative societies in Switzerland. The large society of Basel, which in respect of some of its arrangements leaves even our great societies behind, alone musters about 19,000 strong. Pending the creation of a wholesale co-operative society, which is held to be very desirable, the supply societies maintain a centre for common purchases, the turnover of which stood, in 1899, at 3,300,000 francs, as compared with 1,800,000 francs in 1896. The union of agricultural supply societies in Eastern Switzerland, which consists of 125 societies, in the same way provides for a certain amount of purchases in common. Productive co-operation is for the time still in abeyance, although the leaders of the movement have come round a good deal from their former opinion adverse to co-operative production and to profit-sharing. However, the prevailing opinion is that production must, and should, be dependent upon supply, and that, therefore, a strong fabric of distributive co-operation must above all things be built up, to furnish a market to production. In the mean time, the newly formed Swiss union is extremely active in promoting education of every kind among the people among whom it hopes to work. No doubt, with such workers as the Swiss union possesses, and with so valuable a coign of vantage already occupied, Swiss co-operation may be assumed to have a brilliant future before it, which is likely to be all the more rapidly attained in view of the direct relations recently established with British co-operation.

Co-operation in *Italy* has recently passed through a trying period. During the past twenty years Co-operation has grown and developed to such an extent that it has been felt necessary to prepare a new Co-operative law, which, as an official Report just issued by the Ministry of Commerce intimates, is already lying ready in one of the ministerial pigeon-holes, awaiting a quieter time for its consideration in Parliament. However, a couple of years ago the Italian nation was in a state of uproar, under the leading of people who call themselves Socialists, though it does not by any means follow that they are such. The "A77" of that mutiny was not socialism but excessive taxation, more particularly of foodstuffs. As it happened, the discontent which called itself Socialism is strongly represented in co-operative societies, more particularly productive and labour societies, which have showed a great



development. Most of these were dissolved by the police, many had their property confiscated, and though some have been reconstituted, a considerable number have succumbed for the time, and the whole movement has sustained a check. The leading form of Co-operation in Italy, as in Germany and Austria, is credit, upon the progress of which, during the past thirty-seven years (really only thirty-four), M. Luzzatti has written eloquently in the introduction to a volume of official statistics just published. As a matter of fact, co-operative credit has, along with other banking, and, indeed, business generally, yielded ground quite lately. The total number of co-operative banks (not counting the host of agricultural banks, *casse rurali* and *casse cattoliche*, with respect to which no statistics are published) stood for 1898 at only 696 (only 687 actually doing business) as compared with 730 (703 doing business) in 1893. Share capital (at present standing at 103,736,000 lire), deposits (377,590,000 lire), loans (824,182,661 lire), profits (6,833,000 lire), have all receded. The official account tries to divert attention from this perfectly intelligible decline, by comparing the results of 1898 with those of twenty years ago. However, more seems to have been done by the banks in supporting other co-operative and provident institutions, aiding the erection of working men's dwellings, and providing loans to small cultivators and other poor people (*prestati sull'onore*) in a semi-charitable way. It is difficult, under the present official system of classification, to distinguish between productive and supply societies, since societies are grouped according to the nature of the goods which they handle. Thus "agricultural" societies may be distributive or productive, and "foodstuff" societies the same. Co-operative production, though scattered and divided into many small establishments, is really stronger and more popular than would appear from the official tables. Societies of the constructive order had fallen in 1898 from 380 to 349, owing to the compulsory winding up of the large societies of *braccianti* and *muratori*, suspected of subversive aims. On the other hand, printing and lithographic societies, which are generally strong and well conducted, show an increase, from twenty-one to twenty-four. Textile societies still figure at six, manufacturing chemical societies have gone up from one to twenty-nine, societies turning out glass and cement wares two to eleven, and so on. Supply societies have increased from 445 to 508. But their business is small if measured by a British standard, though a few societies, such as the *Unione Militare*, the *Unione Co-operativa*, and the supply society of *Sampierdarena* show considerable strength. Agricultural and viticultural societies have gone up from forty-two to fifty. This number, embracing productive as well as distributive

societies, includes a few co-operative dairies, but none of the several hundreds of *comizi* and *sindacati* which we should identify with "co-operative agricultural societies," the growth and increased activity of which form one of the most salient features of co-operation development in Italy during the latest period.

*Belgium* is another country in which Co-operation is much influenced by Socialist opinion. The Socialist societies, *Vooruit*, *Maison du Peuple*, *le Progrès*, *la Populaire*, decidedly lead the entire movement. The *Vooruit* of Ghent has about 17,000 members; the *Maison du Peuple* of Brussels even more. The *Vooruit* last year set up its own new pretentious premises at a cost of £44,000. And the Socialist tendency which preaches co-operation as a means of providing funds for propagandist political action shows no signs of abatement. Otherwise supply does not indicate the same strength, though the attention of co-operators is now mainly concentrated upon it, for the same reason which has led to a similar result in Switzerland, namely, that productive co-operators have become strongly impressed with the necessity of setting up co-operative supply to provide them with a market. Accordingly all efforts are now bent upon strengthening supply. A union of distributive societies has been formed, which has been joined thus far only by 43 out of 123 societies. Previously there was only a loose federation of committees. Societies do not mind joining the union; but, with curious inconsistency, they object to buying through a common channel. Among the thousand or so (there are no statistics kept) "co-operative" societies now existing a good many are not really co-operative at all; for instance, the so-called co-operative distilleries. Co-operative production is not really strong, because there is no sufficient market. The public do not encourage it; and working men have also lost faith in it, owing to past failures due to bad management and the incapacity of leaders. Accordingly societies rise up and go down, as they did in England in early days. Nevertheless there are some printing and shoe works, carpenters' and joiners' societies, co-operative cornmills and the like, which do well. There are a few interesting specialities worth noting, such as the society of feather and flower workers at Brussels, and the sabot-makers of Cerfontaine. The Federation of People's Banks now embraces twenty-two societies with 14,379 members, the turnover of which in 1898-99 figured at 422,079,911 francs, advances to the amount of 80,864,406 francs having been made in the year. The Belgian People's Banks are rendering particularly valuable service in strongly insisting, at the instance of M. Micha, on what is technically called the *ristourne*—that is, what, in co-operative supply, we call "dividend," i.e. the return of the profits

netted in the main to customers, in proportion to their custom, due provision having first been made for the reserve fund, for profit-sharing among employees, and for a limited dividend upon capital. The sooner this practice becomes general the better will it be. In addition to the twenty-two *banques populaires* there are something like three hundred Raiffeisen village banks, most of them distinctively Romanist in character, and advisedly keeping out people who are not "good catholics." Their transactions are not very large. The State Savings Bank also continues forming Raiffeisen banks of an undenominational type, which, under proper safeguards, it supplies with money. The more striking feature of Belgian Co-operation is, as elsewhere on the Continent, the rapid increase of agricultural societies, the formation of which is favoured by the Government. From 1897 to 1898 the number of co-operative dairies alone went up from 167, with 17,022 members, to 227 with 24,519 members. The latter are for the most part very small men, their mean holding in cows being 2.91. This is as it should be. In 1898 these dairies turned out among them 12,802,785 francs' worth of produce, mainly butter, at the rate of 522 francs per member.

In the *Netherlands* the number of registered co-operative societies has largely increased, from 595 in 1897 to 924 in 1900. Really the number is larger, for there are a good many societies co-operative in principle, but not so in form, which ought to be included in the list. These are mainly village societies, formed for the common purchase of necessaries, or else for making advances to members. The registered loan and deposit societies still only number 87, but that is a great increase on the 28 registered in 1897; and though the business done is small, it is useful. The number quoted does not include the denominational Roman Catholic village banks formed by the *Boerenbond*: co-operative production is still very poorly represented, apart from the excellent building societies, by only 25 societies. The building societies, which are setting up working men's dwellings by the hundred, have increased from 59 in 1897 to 81. Co-operative dairies are another class of societies which show a striking increase, from 266 to 416, and are generally doing well. Agricultural supply societies have gone up from 122 to 166, agricultural sale societies from 10 to 16. Ordinary supply societies number only 72, as compared with 55 in 1897. They are well managed and successful. There are 3 butcheries and 34 (as compared with 22) bakeries; moreover, 14 societies for the sale of fuel, or fuel and potatoes, which is a distinct Dutch speciality. There can be no doubt that in that most business-like of all businesslike countries, which has the Hague for its capital,



under able leadership Co-operation is making very satisfactory progress.

The distinctive feature of Co-operation in *Denmark* still is its remarkable strength in specifically country districts. This is partially due to an antiquated law which, in the interest of shopkeepers, prohibits the carrying on of "trade" by other than the urban trader within a radius of seven miles from every town. Now it is a debatable point what constitutes "trade;" and the co-operative societies are not given the benefit of the doubt, except they be composed of inhabitants of rural districts establishing societies in the neutral zone. Such societies are ruled not to be "traders" within the meaning of the law. Another explanation which reads oddly to British eyes is this, that the standard of education is higher in rural districts than in urban, and that townsmen are not yet sufficiently educated to be qualified to practise Co-operation. This is owing to the excellent "people's high schools" established in country districts only, for the benefit of the peasant population. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that Danish Co-operation bears a distinctively agricultural character. There are at present no fewer than 1052 co-operative dairies, with a members' roll of 162,000, which employ for that purpose fully four-fifths of the milk turned out in the country, and sell butter annually to the value of about £7,000,000. There are 25 co-operative bacon factories, having 54,000 members, and converting three-fifths of all the pigs reared in the country into ham and bacon, to the value of about £1,000,000 per annum. The co-operative "Egg Export Society" now numbers 22,000 members, and disposes of about one-sixth of all the eggs carried out of the kingdom, to the value of £110,000 per annum. In addition there are breeding societies, sale societies, purchase societies, and so on. Indeed, one peculiar feature of Danish agricultural Co-operation is the subdivision of the great host of societies according to distinct objects; so that a man having many interests may belong at the same time to as many as 8 or 10 different societies—one for horse breeding, another for cattle breeding or pig breeding, a bacon factory, a dairy, a common purchase and a sale society, an egg society, a honey society, and so on. Each particular trade is carried on by distinct societies, and this system is said to result in good business. The agricultural supply societies have their own wholesale department. Apart from all this, there are 837 distributive societies, with 130,331 members, showing an increase of 133 in the last year. Of these only 8 have their seat in towns. All except 133 sell only to members. Co-operative production scarcely counts for anything outside the agricultural area. Indeed practically all Danish Co-operation is

summed up in the word "agriculture." And for intending agricultural Co-operation there could not be a better model to study than the country of Harold and Canute.

Within the last year *Sweden* has taken its place among nations practising Co-operation. The credit of this is in a great measure due to M. G. H. von Koch, who a few years ago visited this country with a view to studying co-operative institutions, and who succeeded in September last in bringing together at Stockholm the first Swedish Co-operative Congress, attended by 43 delegates, representing 40 societies, with about 8000 members. This Congress forthwith constituted itself the Swedish Co-operative Union. The second annual Congress is to meet this summer. The membership has in the meanwhile slightly grown. There is an attempt to be made this year to form a wholesale society, which really is the keynote now making itself heard throughout co-operative Europe. Everywhere it has come to be understood that the most important step now to be taken is the formation of a wholesale society to focus business. Since there are in Sweden 324 co-operative societies, all of them distributive, but for the most part not selling on the Rochdale plan, and as interest in the co-operative movement has become vivid among the working population—more particularly those engaged in the timber trade—there ought to be ample scope for development as well as for the perfecting of existing machinery.

The most encouraging progress recently made in the organization of co-operative societies in *Spain* has been rudely interfered with by the Cuban war. The general tendency, however, is still towards development and union. There are known to be in the 35 provinces of Spain 263 co-operative societies, whereof 225 are distributive, 25 productive, 1 building, and 12 credit; but there are more, of which no account is kept, especially in Catalonia and Asturias. The movement is most strongly developed in Catalonia, where there are 121 societies, 110 being distributive. The productive societies are of all descriptions—agricultural and horticultural, societies of carpenters and joiners, metal workers, vermicelli makers, armourers, bakers, etc. Among the supply societies, those doing the largest business are the military and civil service supply associations, one of which, at Corunna, did a trade in 1896 of 778,423 pesetas or francs.

*Russia*, though still very backward in respect of Co-operation, is evidently making honest efforts to take its place by the side of other countries. The number of the Co-operative societies subject to official control appears to be increasing very slowly indeed, that is, at the rate of only nine societies per annum, and had in this way, by the close

of 1896, grown only to 282. But it is to be assumed that there are other societies of which the authorities take no account, more particularly since the list includes no productive societies whatever, nor agricultural, or gardening, or labour societies. What Co-operation exists with official sanction is still very tightly enclosed in official uniform. It is in the main governed by "model rules," drafted and sanctioned by the "Permanent Commission" of seven, appointed in 1896. The statistics to hand are very incomplete. Co-operation appears to have pushed its way into all provinces. For, although the Baltic provinces, having a German population, provide for it a peculiar stronghold, it has established its hold in a small way even upon Central Asia, which has eleven societies, and on Siberia, which has nine. Supply Co-operation, though still poorly supported, and benefiting its members to a considerable extent by discount arrangements with other traders, as well as providing them with questionable credit, is evidently ambitious. For it has set up, as auxiliary productive departments, fourteen bakeries, two flour-mills, one slaughter-house, and four clothing-shops. Moreover, the societies in the Moscow district are trying their hand at a wholesale society, which the St. Petersburgers hope to eclipse by a wholesale society intended for all Russia. The trade of 100 societies officially given, having among them 55,294 members, a share capital of £235,838, and a reserve fund of £42,585, is returned by Colonel Gerebiatieff as £1,485,479, yielding £70,731 profit. Supposing there to be no mistake about this, it indicates considerable strength in capital, which M. Gerebiatieff explains to be very essential, inasmuch as the societies buy largely on credit, and are credited and allowed favourable terms, in proportion to their capital. There are some strong societies connected with particular services, such as the Imperial Guard, M. Putiloff's railway works, and the Okhta Gunpowder Factory. The goods dealt in are in the main food-stuffs, drapery wares, boots and shoes, and wines and spirits. There are ostensibly three varieties of co-operative credit institutions, all of them working for rural constituencies. Of one kind, formed since 1896, more or less on the German model, but with very free adaptations, there were at the end of 1896, 634, having 212,734 members, a share capital of £649,898, and a reserve fund of £185,658 and making advances in the course of the year to the amount of £1,898,290. Another form of bank is that of the Auxiliary Volostnoi Bank, which in the same year numbered 575, employing a capital of £358,280 belonging to the volosts, £304,473 held in trust for orphans and other private persons, and £62,489 belonging to peasants, with the aid of which they lent out £558,161. The third variety is represented by



the 262 village banks, which in 1896 held £204,552 capital, and £125,322 deposits, and lent out £239,601.

Only quite recently has *Finland* taken its place among nations practising Co-operation. There are as yet no figures to report, except it be in respect of co-operative dairies, which, in a country exporting annually 13,000 tons of butter, have very naturally managed to gain a footing before other Co-operation could be thought of. But the birth of national Co-operation among the Finns is of striking interest; for here, as in Denmark, it was national humiliation which drove the nation into the arms of Co-operation with all the devotion of patriotic enthusiasm. The governed, seeing their political quasi-independence gone, came to a unanimous silent resolve to concentrate all their efforts upon the promotion of economic and intellectual welfare. And the Government, having ruthlessly destroyed the Finnish constitution, showed itself willing to salve the wound by favouring an economic evolution which promised a large increase of taxable value. It has given the country, only this year, a co-operative law; and it allows the society formed to propagate Co-operation an annual grant of about £8000, out of national taxation, materially increased, generally speaking, for military and administrative purposes. That propagandist society has very appropriately taken the name of *Pellervo*, the mystical hero of the great Finnish epopee of *Kalevala*, who sows useful seed in desert places. Something like 75 per cent. of the population of Finland being agricultural, of course agriculture is the first calling to which Co-operation has been applied, on the model, partly, of the French agricultural syndicates, partly of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society. And certainly the promises of success seem fair. For nowhere has Co-operation obtained from the first start anything like the same general support. Small and great seem to vie with one another in its promotion and prosecution, taxing themselves freely, in subscriptions, to the extent of as much as £80 a year one man. Special University lectures are given at the University and elsewhere, and are attended by many hundreds. University students spend their vacation time in carrying the co-operative message into the remotest nooks and corners of the whilom kingdom. The Co-operative Review *Pellervo* has rapidly increased its circulation to 28,000, more than any other Finnish periodical, not a newspaper, can boast. And two national poets have hymned the praise of Co-operation in verses which one may hear sung in all parts of the country. The local organizers are extremely hopeful of fruitful results.

The reports on co-operative progress made in *Roumania* and *Servia* are still in abeyance. In *Servia*, Co-operation, more specifically of

credit and applied to agriculture, is known to have advanced not a little within the last three years, and to be answering well.

In the *United States* Co-operation of the industrial kind still fails to gain anything of a footing. But within the last ten years there has been a great "boom" in co-operative creameries, which keep spreading, more particularly in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Illinois. In Iowa there is at the present time a reaction in favour of the proprietary system, which reigns unchallenged in Nebraska and Kansas. Mr. Atwood, chief of the Dairy Division in the United States Agricultural Department, however, holds that the co-operative system is economically superior to the proprietary. Seeing that by the improvement which it has brought about in technical education, it has in Connecticut led to an increase in the yield of a cow from 277·2 to 425·4 gallons of milk per annum, that proposition seems scarcely to be open to dispute. Technical education in dairy schools is now given in as many as thirty-one States. In Wisconsin, out of 1600 creameries known to exist, 1000 are co-operative; in Minnesota, out of 650, 450; in Iowa, more than one-third of the creamery business is in co-operative hands. In the States generally, out of a dairy trade of £100,000,000, £6,000,000 is co-operative. Co-operative dairying has, in fact, grown so strong that it has already begun to tread upon its own toes, a keen competition having been set up in some parts between dairy and dairy. But there is one co-operative dairy in Vermont which uses the milk of about 3000 cows, and turns out eight or ten tons of butter every day made under one roof.

Our *Colonies* and dependencies have thus far proved themselves very unco-operative; but some are now endeavouring to tread in our footsteps. In *India* there are co-operative branches of the Raiffeisen type already at work in Mysore, and more are to be started in the North-West Provinces. Moreover, a modest beginning has recently been made in the organization of Co-operation of the Rochdale type. The "Indian Pioneers Co., Ltd.," which is a co-operative society, was registered in 1893. It has now 388 members, and Rs. 8724 paid up on 1402 shares. Its annual trade is about Rs. 51,000. In conjunction with three other societies, more recently formed, and numbering among them only 64 members, with 11,309 rupees paid upon share capital, this society has formed "The Co-operative Union of India." It is a very small beginning, but other movements which have grown to be great have had smaller.

In the *West Indies* likewise, Co-operation, which the recent inquiry by Commission shows to be very badly wanted, but also full of promise, is beginning to stir. There are a few stores there. Great

efforts are being made to organize the small cultivators, black and white, in societies like French agricultural syndicates, to buy necessities and cultivate and sell agricultural produce in common, so as to bring back prosperity to the wonderfully fertile islands which sugar has left in the lurch. This is a work which every one with a heart in his body should, and assuredly will, wish to succeed. The negroes are taking to the idea. And since a few weeks *Barbados* has a co-operative bank, to which before long one or two more are to be added.

Co-operation, then, may be said to be making way steadily all the world over. It is spreading in virtue of the best recommendation that could be put forward, that is, its own success. There are still plenty of worlds for it to conquer, and no doubt it will, in due course, subdue them.

HENRY W. WOLFF.

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BANK OF JAPAN.—The condition of business in Japan during the year 1899 was one characterized by remarkable fluctuations. In the early part of the year, Mr. Yamanoto, the governor of the bank, tells us, in his address delivered at the meeting of the stock-holders in February last, the market was characterized by a general tone of depression, business continued to be dull, and, between January and May, money rapidly accumulated in the coffers of the bank. The result was a constant fall in the market rate of interest, which had to be followed by the bank rate. The Japanese have adopted a system of reckoning bank interest at per diem instead of at per annum, as the rest of the world does. No doubt their system is the more scientific of the two, and probably it effects a certain, though surely not a very great, saving in clerical labour. It has the great counterbalancing disadvantage, however, of making a calculation necessary whenever one wishes to compare their rate with the rate ruling elsewhere. We are told that it stood, at the close of 1898, at 2 sen per 100 yen per diem. That would be equivalent to  $7\frac{3}{10}$  per cent. per annum. It was lowered four times between January and May, apparently by one rin ( $\frac{1}{10}$  of a sen) on each occasion. That would have brought it down to about 6 per cent. per annum. It seems curious to hear such a rate spoken of, pretty much as we should speak of 1 per cent. in England, as a rate which marked the extreme of slackness in the demand for money. The normal rate of interest in Japan, however, is, of course, very much higher than it is in Europe, or even in India. As Mr. Lay, the assistant in the British consular service, remarks, in his report for 1899, "the great expenditure on armaments abroad involves necessarily a restriction in the currency at



home," and "as long as it is necessary for the country to live up to or beyond her income the want of cheap capital must continue to be felt."

The latter part of the year, Mr. Yamanoto tells us, was as conspicuous for the activity of trade and the demand for money as the earlier part had been for the opposite state of things. The rise of one rin in the bank rate in November had to be repeated twice before the end of the year. The change was due to the rise in silk and in rice, and to the prosperous trade in some other articles, such as cotton goods and copper. It manifested itself very conspicuously in the increased circulation of commercial paper. The value of bills and cheques cleared at Tokyo and Osaka during the year stood at 1,438,790,000 yen—we get the amount approximately enough in pounds sterling if we divide by ten—an increase of almost 50 per cent. on the previous year. The note issue at the same time went up from £16,500,000 to £25,000,000, and the volume of loans at the bank from £4,600,000 to £12,000,000.

In glancing over such figures it seems hardly possible to believe that we are reading about the affairs of an Oriental nation with whom, only the other day, the credit system was altogether unknown.

Ever since the Chinese War, the balance of trade, which, in former years, had been ordinarily in favour of Japan, has continued to be very markedly against her. Even for 1899 there is still some excess of imports over exports. Still the position is greatly improved. Imports diminished by £5,700,000, owing to an abundant rice crop at home, while imports increased in value by about £4,900,000, mainly owing to the rise in the value of silk in Europe. The total trade of the country, exports and imports together, is between forty-three and forty-four millions sterling. The predictions of the opponents of the gold standard, to the effect that the country would never be able to retain her gold, are not in the way of being realized. The bullion held by the bank was greater by about £1,000,000 at the end of 1899 than it was at the end of 1898, half of the increase being in gold.

WILLIAM WARRAND CARLILE.

## LEGISLATION, PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRIES, AND OFFICIAL RETURNS.

THE most interesting of the rather poor set of blue-books published during the last quarter is the *Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England* (C. 9417, 8vo, 454 pp., 1s. 9½d.). It contains, of course, all the old faults and statistical absurdities. In the opinion of the late Registrar-General the report reached perfection many years ago, and the smallest alteration or addition would spoil it. But even a Registrar-General cannot prevent the simple figures of births, deaths, and marriages from telling their own tale, and a very interesting tale it is in these days when so many apparently intelligent persons are enthusiastic prophets of an indefinite expansion of the Anglo-Saxon race.

The fact appears to be that, whether, as seems most probable, by their own will, or otherwise, the people of England are following the people of France and becoming sterile.

"What!" cries the reader, referring to a newspaper summary of the *Report*; "is it not the case that from April, 1891, to the middle of 1898 the births exceeded the deaths by no less than 2,637,814? Is not that enough?"

Will the reader kindly refer to the Registrar-General's Report for 1888, page v. ? He will then find that the excess of births over deaths from April, 1881, to the middle of 1888 was 2,687,242, or fifty thousand more than in the later period. Yet the population was about three millions less. Not much comfort is therefore to be derived from that figure.

We can, however, get to much closer quarters with the question. We have had in recent years a period of inflation something like that of the early seventies, and the effect on the number of marriages has been the same—it has caused a very large increase. But in the early seventies the large increase of marriages was followed immediately by a proportionate increase of births, while in the later period the births have increased only by a quite trifling amount. Here are the figures—

Year.	Marriages.	Births.	Year.	Marriages.	Births.
1869	176,970	773,381	1893	218,689	914,572
1870	181,655	792,787	1894	226,449	890,289
1871	190,112	797,428	1895	228,204	922,291
1872	201,267	825,907	1896	242,764	915,331
1873	205,615	829,778	1897	249,145	921,693
1874	202,010	854,956	1898	255,379	923,265

The percentage of the increase of marriages is nearly as great from 1893 to 1897 as from 1869 to 1873, 14 per cent. as against 16 per cent., but the increase of births is only 1 per cent. in the later as against 10½ per cent. in the earlier period. It is clear that the number of children per marriage is much less at the end of the second period than it was at the end of the first, and there seems little reason for thinking that the decrease is a mere temporary and casual fluctuation. From the time when natality ceased to be disturbed by the Crimean war down to 1891, the births of each calendar year were never less than 41,000 more than the aggregate number of marriages which had taken place in the four preceding years. In 1882 the excess of the number of births over the number of marriages celebrated in the preceding four years was 127,600. From that point it steadily declined till in 1894 the excess no longer existed; the marriages of the previous four years exceeded the births of that year by 5000. In 1895-7 the excess of births was 23,400, 14,800, and 5600, while in regard to 1898 there was an excess of marriages amounting to 23,300.

But what, it may be asked, about the other portions of the British Empire? In answer to this, it may be observed, in the first place, that the population of Scotland together with the whole white population (including French Canadians and Cape Dutch) of the British Colonies and dependencies is at present scarcely half that of England and Wales. (Ireland we may leave out of account, as it has an actually decreasing population.) Consequently, these parts of the empire would find it difficult to counteract the influence of the predominant partner in this matter even if they were so disposed. And, secondly, it appears, from such statistics as are available, that they are not so disposed. In Scotland we find the same phenomenon as in England, though in rather a milder form; in New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, and New Zealand we find it in a much more extreme form. Here are the ten years' figures for Scotland and for the five Australian colonies just mentioned, with the addition of South Australia, where the decline of natality is not quite so clear as in the others<sup>1</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> The Australian figures are compiled from the present and former numbers of the *Statesman's Year Book*. (It is assumed that 2097 for the Tasmanian marriages



Year.	Scotland.		Six Australasian Colonies.	
	Marriages.	Births.	Marriages.	Births.
1888	25,305	123,269	26,696	121,464
1889	26,344	122,783	26,478	121,587
1890	27,469	121,526	27,244	125,404
1891	27,969	125,986	27,250	126,659
1892	28,670	125,043	25,635	126,160
1893	27,145	127,110	24,350	125,374
1894	27,604	124,367	24,320	121,043
1895	28,422	126,494	25,002	121,228
1896	30,270	129,172	26,913	115,928
1897	31,050	128,877	27,204	115,796
1898	32,096	130,879	27,922	112,845

The diminution of Australasian births in proportion to marriages may perhaps be explained in part by the diminution of immigration. A colony which is receiving many married immigrants will of course show a higher proportion of births to marriages than one without immigration. But even so there seems little reason why Lord Salisbury should not add the Australians to his list of dying nations. The 113,000 births per annum will only maintain, at the outside, a population of between four and five millions, which can scarcely be considered adequate for the territory. In view of such facts, it is curious to find the Bishop of Manchester, who used to know Australia, justifying the conquest of a far more thickly peopled portion of tropical Africa on the ground that we have to feed our population. On this basis the claims of China or India upon Australia would appear to be far greater than those of Great Britain on Nigeria.

The expansionist may perhaps derive some consolation from the fact that the diminution of natality is attacking all the nations of Western Europe. Even Germany appears to be affected about as much as Scotland—

Year.	Marriages and Births in Germany.	
	Marriages.	Births.
1893	401,234	1,865,715
1894	408,066	1,841,205
1895	414,218	1,877,278
1896	432,107	1,914,749
1897	447,770	1,926,690
1898	458,877	1,964,731

in 1898 is a misprint for 1097). The Registrar-General for England, though he gives summary tables relating to Scotland, Ireland, and the continent of Europe, tells us nothing of any British colony.

But the present number of births is still gigantic, probably exceeding that of the births among the whole white population of the British Empire by half a million, so that even if the diminution of natality were equal, the German home population would eventually exceed the British at home and in the colonies by a very considerable amount.

About Russia and other Eastern countries we know even less than we do about the United States and other American countries, so it is too early to write "Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin" on the walls of Western Europe. And of course the sanguine may still regard the whole thing as a temporary fluctuation due to influenza.

The *Tables relating to Emigration from and into the United Kingdom in 1899* (Commons paper, No. 163, fol., 66 pp., 6½d.) shows the net emigration to have amounted to the beggarly figure of 21,925.

The Foreign Office Miscellaneous Series contains several papers of interest. *Shipping and Ship-building on the American Lakes* (F.O. Misc., No. 526, 8vo, 25 pp., 2d.) deals with production on a very large scale; it tells, among other things, of a mighty shovel which holds tens tons of ore, and can take thirty of such shovelfuls out of a ship in an hour. It supersedes men who, by very hard and exhausting work for eleven or twelve hours a day, earned £1 a day. The reports on *German Colonial Estimates for 1900* (F.O. Misc., No. 524, 8vo, 12 pp., 1d.) and *French Colonies* (F.O. Misc., No. 520, 8vo, 92 pp., 5d.) should make the British reader reconsider his views as to the expense of colonies to the various European nations. The German colonial estimates for 1900 are a trifle of £1,324,000, and the French net expenditure for the ten years 1890-99 is little over £30,000,000. We appear to flatter ourselves that our colonies are self-supporting entirely on the strength of the fact that we do not have a special heading in our national accounts for money spent on behalf of the colonies. The French report should be read by those who attach some importance to the claim that Protection secures diversification of industry. The extreme protectionist party in France is distinctly opposed to diversification. The colonies, it holds, should not compete with French productions, but should be confined to those kinds of production which nobody attempts in France. The report on the *Coal Crisis in Russia* (F.O. Misc., No. 8vo, 8 pp., ½d.) should also be interesting to protectionists. Coal has risen in price in Russia as elsewhere. "One or two papers boldly propose the permanent abolition of duties on foreign coal and coke, protesting that by fifteen years of protection the authorities have systematically ignored the interests of consumers, and helped thereby to devastate the forest riches of Russia. The government itself, by the mouth of the President of the Commission now

investigating the whole subject, emphatically declared at the first meeting that the question of the remission of duties could not enter into the programme of discussion at all." So the government prefers to maintain the duties and put the coal merchants under police supervision. There is something rather pleasing in the idea that when Protection is restored in this country, the freetrader may hope to see the dukes and college bursars supervised by Sir Edward Bradford.

The report on the *German Law of 1900 on Sickness and Old Age Insurance* (F.O. Misc., No. 518, 8vo, 70 pp., 3½d.), the title of which suggests that imperfect mastery of the English language which results from the excessive use of German, will be useful to the specialists who have followed German legislation on this subject. Several new classes of workers, such as foremen, teachers, and captains of ships, are now brought into the scheme if their income is less than £100 a year.

EDWIN CANNAN.



## REVIEWS.

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH POOR LAW. Vol. III.,  
1834-1898. By THOMAS MACKAY. [617 pp. 8vo. 21s. King.  
London, 1899.]

It is, I must confess, with a certain amount of disappointment that I have risen from the perusal of this book. It is not what it professes to be, or rather what I had hoped and expected that it would have been—a continuation, on the same plan, of the classical work of Sir George Nicholls. His *History of the English Poor Law* was, if a little dull and annalistic, admirable in arrangement and masterly in exposition. If you wished to discover the social legislation which marked any period or century, you had only to turn to the period in question with the certainty of finding a perfectly clear, exact, and exhaustive account of the laws actually passed at the time, together with some informing and instructing remarks on the general bearing and influence of the legislation in question. In this way the narrative of fact, and the comment upon it, each enforces and throws light upon the other; and the materials are furnished for drawing some important and well-grounded inductions on the general effects likely to be produced, by legislation of a certain stamp, on national well-being. In the present volume, neither is the narrative a continuation, nor is the history continuous, nor do the reflections arise directly out of the narrative and history. Sir George Nicholls brought down his work to the year 1854; the present volume tells again, with fidelity and care, but with some unavoidable repetition, in 329 pages, the story of the passing of the Act of 1834, and of the struggle which, during the next twelve years, was necessary in order to secure for it administrative efficiency. Of the legislation, neither inconsiderable in amount nor unimportant in character, by which the last fifty years of the century have been marked, we have no continuous account at all, nor any reasoned attempt to estimate its success or its failure. Various matters of contemporary controversy—vagrancy, the education of pauper children, the incidence of the rate, its effect on administration, dispauperization—are indeed treated in a second and third part under separate heads, all of them with considerable ability; but

the historical method, which was the great and distinctive feature of Nicholls's work, is in great measure abandoned, nor is it easy to obtain from the present volume a complete synopsis of the changes which, even on these subjects, have been successively introduced.

The motives which have brought about this rather anomalous result are sufficiently explained by Mr. Mackay in his preface. His work had already been taken in hand and begun before it was suggested to him that it should take the form of a continuation of Sir George Nicholls's book. Naturally, he did not care to discard the materials he had already collected; and as it seemed to Mr. Mackay himself "that a somewhat fuller account of the passing and subsequent introduction of the Poor Law Amendment Act might be acceptable," he consulted those interested in the earlier volumes, and, with their consent, has been published the very full and minute account of the antecedents of the Act, the sources from which the ideas embodied in it were derived, its passage through the Houses of Parliament, its gradual introduction into the country at large, and the struggles with which its introduction was connected, which fill the first and rather larger portion of the whole work. As, however, this part of the subject had already been treated in the previous volumes, which were reviewed in the *Economic Review* for April, 1899 (p. 258), I shall confine myself on the present occasion to indicating Mr. Mackay's position on two topics which are at present engaging much attention—viz. the education of pauper children, and what he somewhat quaintly terms the problem of dispauperization.

The education of pauper children has, since the passing of the Act of 1834, gone through several phases. At first comparatively little attention was paid to education at all. While but little was done to educate the children of the poor in any class, it need not surprise us if pauper children fared no better in this respect than did the children of those of the poor who succeeded in keeping themselves above actual pauperism. The schoolmaster was not yet abroad, or, if abroad at all, he existed as yet only on a humble scale, and was to be found in rare places only here and there. To workhouse children he penetrated very little, and as their residence was generally in the house or in its immediate neighbourhood, their chief instructors were unfortunately the paupers, with whom they were only too much brought into contact. The earliest attempt to remedy this state of things consisted in the establishment, in some of the more enlightened unions, of what we should now call technical schools. At Atcham, for instance, in Shropshire, the children were placed under the charge of an agriculturist of good moral character; and "the plan," is said by

Mr. Mackay, "under the watchful supervision of Sir B. Leighton, the chairman of the union, to have answered admirably, and to have formed a model for other unions in Shropshire and elsewhere."

The chief difficulty, as education came gradually to be more attended to, in providing satisfactory instruction for workhouse children lay in the smallness of the numbers and fluctuating character of the children who had to be provided for. To meet this difficulty the Poor Law Board encouraged the formation all over the country of what were called district schools, *i.e.* schools in which the children coming from several neighbouring unions were housed and instructed. These schools did, and in many cases continue to do, admirable work ; but, as so often happens in England, a system, good in itself, was pushed to an extreme, and became thereby discredited. The schools in many districts, particularly in the metropolitan area, were allowed to grow needlessly, and even absurdly, large. Barrack schools, as they have been since called, arose, in which it was difficult for the children to gain or retain any individuality ; where everything had to be reduced to a system, and where appliances and machinery had to be largely employed which it was impossible that the children should ever meet with again when they went out into life ; while, on the other hand, the inmates of such institutions remained, almost inevitably, ignorant of many of the most familiar and necessary employments and arts. In these big schools, again, all the ailments and evils from which pauper-child nature is only too liable to suffer were intensified and multiplied.

A reaction against the whole system followed almost as a matter of course. People complained, and not without reason, that children brought up under such artificial conditions were unfitted, and not fitted, for ordinary life ; and that the circumstances of their surroundings were so different from those of an ordinary home that they lost all sense of what home meant. The reaction came to a head, and found most vigorous expression in a report issued by Mrs. Nassau Senior, in 1870. In this report she drew special attention to the evils which resulted, particularly to girls, from massing children together in great institutions ; and pleaded very earnestly for the adoption of a widely spread system of boarding-out. While we cannot but endorse Mr. Mackay's judgment that the report was to some extent onesided and exaggerated (while the statements of Mrs. Senior's later adherents have been often even more so), and that it failed to take sufficient account of the drawbacks inseparable from any system of dealing with pauper children, it did undoubtedly draw attention to admitted blots in the then prevailing and fashionable system ; and did



good work in leading people to try other experiments, and in checking the further extension of a system which, if pressed, as there was danger of its being, beyond due limits, could scarcely fail to lead to evils and even disasters. Since the appearance of Mrs. Senior's report, a number of new experiments have been tried, many of them with excellent results. In some districts the plan of boarding out, either within or without the limits of the union, has been largely resorted to. Of this plan it is sufficient to say that, while if conducted with very great care and vigilance on the part of the Boarding-out Committee, alike in the choice of homes and in the superintendence of the children who are placed out in them, it may succeed admirably, there is probably no system which, if carried out carelessly or injudiciously, is so dangerous and so likely to lead to serious evil and cruelty. On this ground alone the system can never be regarded as a panacea or one capable of universal adoption. In other districts, notably at Sheffield, the plan has been tried of building a number of separate or cottage homes at some distance from the union, which are put in charge of a "foster-mother," and the conditions of life in them assimilated, as far as may be, to those to be found in the cottages of the labouring classes. The main difficulty of conducting such homes consists in finding suitable foster-parents, and in getting them, in their turn, properly superintended. The children in such homes are sent to public elementary schools in the neighbourhood, where, of course, they mix freely with other non-pauper children.

This last is a feature which they share with homes, many of which have recently been built, in the neighbourhood of the workhouse itself. On the whole, such homes seem less advantageous than those placed at a greater distance from the House, but even in their case the majority of the children turn out not at all badly in after life. Indeed, it is a feature not less surprising than it is satisfactory, of the modern education of pauper children, that no system which has been adopted, if only it has been worked with honesty, care, and energy, has failed to command a fair measure of success. Even the so much decried and abused barrack schools, if only good and reliable officers have been secured, have, when tested by the standard of results, not been found wanting. "Among a workhouse population of over 11,000," says a recent report of the Local Government Board, "there were only 221 who had been brought up in workhouse schools, and of these all but sixty were relieved because they were weak-minded, crippled, or otherwise disabled."

Under the head of Dispauperization, which takes up the third portion of his work, Mr. Mackay discussed the various attempts which

have been made to establish satisfactory relations between private charity and the poor-law—which relations, it was hoped, might have had the effect at once of diminishing the rates, of reducing the number of those dependent on them for relief, and of increasing the efficiency and helpfulness of charity itself. Alas! the record has, it must be confessed, been largely a record of failure. The earliest attempts began with the foundation, in 1860, of the Society for the Relief of Distress, of which Mr. Edward Denison was, perhaps, the leading member. Mr. Denison's experiences among the poor of East London soon convinced him that the existing competition between poor-law relief and private charity, and their anomalous relation to one another, helped to intensify the very evils which both existed to cure. Unfortunately he died before he was able to find or suggest any satisfactory remedy for the state of things which he deplored. Yet his exertions were not without fruit. On the one hand, they led to the subsequent foundation of the London Charity Organization Society, which, in spite of defects alike in machinery and ideals, has undoubtedly done a great deal of good; on the other hand they led to an attempt on the part of the poor-law authorities to think out and secure an adjustment of the sphere of poor-law and charitable agencies. Thoughtful and excellent minutes were issued on the subject, first by Mr. Goschen, then president of the Poor Law Board, and subsequently by Mr. Stansfeld, the first president of the Local Government Board. Mr. Goschen, in his minute, suggested that charitable organizations, whose alms could in no case be claimed as a right, would find their most appropriate sphere in assisting those who have some, but insufficient means, and who, though on the verge of pauperism, are not actual paupers, leaving to the operation of the general law provision for the totally destitute. He further recommended that the charities should ascertain who are being helped by the poor-law, and that they should themselves furnish information to the poor-law authorities and to one another, of what is being done by them. Unfortunately the plan, though excellent in theory, was found too cumbrous to work in practice.

Another plan had, therefore, to be tried. Mr. Stansfeld in his minute proposes that the relief given by the poor-law should be mainly, if not entirely, what Mr. Mackay calls institutional; *i.e.* relief given in the workhouse itself or in other institutions, such as infirmaries, etc., directly under the control of the poor-law authorities; while all the cases which had hitherto received out-relief should be left to the care of private charity. From the adoption of such a course, it was urged, three advantages would follow: (1) the number of paupers would be certainly reduced; (2) the disturbance caused in the rate of

wages by the action of widely extended out-relief would be removed ; while (3) charity would be left with a free and intelligible field in which to conduct its operations. The plan has been worked, and with a good deal of success, in a good many unions, both in London and the country ; and a good many of the advantages claimed by its advocates as likely to ensue have followed from its adoption. On one point, however, this system, in many other respects successful, has been either a failure, or, at any rate, open to question, viz. in the inadequate provision which seems to be made under it for the old age of the workers. On the one hand, it is contended that no sufficient provision can be, or in any case is actually, made for the maintenance of the poor in their old age, either by private charity or by the savings of the work-people themselves (a very large proportion of the poor alike in town or country do, as a matter of fact, become paupers, and receive aid from the rates in old age) ; on the other hand, that the acceptance of such relief interferes far less with wages than does the acceptance of such aid by those who are still able to work. It is from a sense of dissatisfaction with the existing or projected arrangements in this respect that the cry for a scheme of old age pensions has mainly arisen ; and no one can attend a meeting of working men on the question without being convinced that the topic is one which really and deeply stirs them.

To every such demand Mr. Mackay, however, shows himself an implacable opponent. The whole movement is for him nothing more than a reactionary step, a retrogression towards barbarism. Canon Blackley's original scheme for compulsory insurance by all alike had, he holds, the fatal defect that it was not popular, that it was disliked by those whom it was intended to benefit, and that, therefore, it could not by any possibility have been enforced. Mr. Charles Booth's plan of a universal legal pension for all after the age of sixty-five staggers even the most hardy social reformer by the enormous cost it would have involved. Mr. Chamberlain's original plan for assisted pensions was exceedingly cumbrous to work, would have entailed great expenses for management, and more continuous self-sacrifice on the part of the labouring classes than they were prepared to submit to for the object in view. The plan now in favour with the present Government, of returning to a system of somewhat "liberal" out-relief for the aged poor who have been of good character, involves, it must be admitted, what often may degenerate into a system of favouritism, is liable to the great objection of fixing no intelligible principle of selection or definite limits, and imposes upon boards of guardians a duty of inquiring into character and antecedent which they are often very illfitted to perform.



Whether these objections might be partly met by entrusting this part of their duties to a committee chosen specially for the purpose, assisted by local committees for the different parishes, is, perhaps, worth consideration. That any such plan would, however, fail to commend itself to Mr. Mackay is certain; for his objection is one of principle, not of detail. The true solution of all social problems is, he contends, to be found, not in any State interference or effort on the part of the community at large, but in the rigorous enforcement of individual responsibility and individual economic adjustment—complete freedom to take your labour where it is wanted, and to sell it for all it will fetch. That the undiluted, unsoftened application of the principle will lead to all the advantages which Mr. Mackay expects, I doubt; that it would not issue in many cases of individual hardship and suffering, I cannot persuade myself; and yet, in days when it is supposed that any and every evil may be cured by corporate action, and that material goods and material happiness can be secured apart from the character which fits men to enjoy them, and enables them to keep them and use them aright, the protest certainly seems to me well-timed.

W. A. SPOONER.

#### TAXATION OF LAND VALUES AND THE SINGLE TAX.

By WILLIAM SMART, LL.D., Adam Smith Professor of Political Economy in the University of Glasgow. [125 pp. 8vo. Maclehose. Glasgow, 1900.]

In this vigorous and interesting little brochure, the author of *The Distribution of Income* continues to follow up the task of reconciling his fellow-citizens to the economic arrangements (I had almost written privileges) under which they live. The first chapter is devoted to an exposition of the "recognized" theory of taxation. Under the appearance of a series of "glimpses into the obvious," Professor Smart leads up to the position that ability to pay, or equal sacrifice, is the sovereign principle of taxation, but at the same time shows (after Mr. Cannan) how local taxation became attached to rental rather than income as the "test" of ability to pay, while in one great group of rates considerations of "benefit" have a recognized place. In the following chapters Professor Smart proceeds to apply the results of theory to two concrete proposals for legislation, embodied in the resolutions drawn up in 1898, by the London County Council, for presentation to the Royal Commission on Local Taxation, and in the bill introduced last year into the House of Commons at the instance of the Glasgow Corporation. Though various objections are advanced against the proposals of the London County Council, they are regarded as worthy of "respectful

attention," so far as they are "at any rate based on an intelligible and recognized principle"—that of benefit received. The brunt of the professor's criticism is reserved for the Glasgow bill, which, in effect, provides for a new tax, called the Land Value Assessment, to be laid on the "proprietor" (or reputed proprietor) of any land or heritage in any burgh in Scotland: it is a bill, therefore, as Professor Smart observes, which has a much more than local significance. This proposal Professor Smart subjects to severe criticism, and ends by proposing to supply the bill which embodies it with a somewhat sinister preamble, drawn up in "the words of Mr. Henry George;" for it "professes to be a 10 per cent. instalment of the entire confiscation of land rent, on the lines laid down in *Progress and Poverty*;" it is not, therefore, a tax, but a method of fine, and thus "puts itself beyond the pale of serious discussion." As a matter of fact, it is discussed by Professor Smart at considerable length—not as a 10 per cent. instalment of confiscation, but as the provision for a 2s. per £ tax on site values—on the ground that the majority of the corporation which passed the bill did not believe so much that there was anything in the theory of a Single Tax as that there was "something in the agitation for the taxation of land values." This agitation, which Professor Smart reduces to five distinct, "though more or less vague," conditions, is dealt with in a chapter on "Conclusions." The rhetoric of the argument, which has been gradually rising, culminates in a final and rather agitated chapter on "The Single Tax."

It would be neither practicable, nor fair to Professor Smart, to attempt, within the limits of a review, any criticism of an argument which involves such a number of controversial and far-reaching issues. It is sufficient to say that the book is written with all the freshness and clearness that we are accustomed to associate with its author's economic writings. Professor Smart treats his subject with the seriousness it demands—part of it, perhaps (such as the proposals of Mr. Henry George), too seriously; and any one, which should be all, who are interested in the questions raised by "the taxation of land values" will find, in Professor Smart's contribution to the subject, much food for reflection.

SIDNEY BALL.

#### THE ECONOMIC WRITINGS OF SIR WILLIAM PETTY.

Edited by CHARLES HENRY HULL, PH.D., Cornell University.  
[2 vols. 8vo. xci., 700 pp. 25s. University Press. Cambridge, 1899.]

This book fulfils a real want, since no other available collection of

Petty's works exists, though they form such an important stage in economic research. The editor has done his work thoroughly. His introduction includes biographies of both Petty and Graunt, with a summary of their respective positions; while each reprint is prefaced by an explanatory note, and full reference is made to authorities, disputed points, and details of editions—the whole concluding with bibliographies and index. The two volumes are also well prepared in every respect, and contain facsimiles of portions of original manuscripts, fully described in the text.

The editor has indeed been almost over-burdened with information; and, in his efforts after completeness of detail, he sometimes fails to concentrate the scattered facts. This is often the case with careful research; and though, perhaps, partly inevitable, it is apt to conceal the value of sound work.

However, Petty is a sufficiently important figure in economics to make some study of his works a necessity for any thorough knowledge of the subject. The first thing that strikes the reader is the astonishing soundness of many of his economic ideas. Some of these are pointed out by Mr. Hull, but for the most part they must be gleaned by the reader. Such are his method of basing reasoning upon observed facts; his use of statistics rather than theories; his comparative freedom from the errors of the mercantilists; his shrewd exposure of abuses, fiscal and otherwise; his appreciation of the care of health; and noticeably his suggestions for the better organization of labour, given in the *Verbum Sapienti*—an idea further pursued, in suggestions for increasing the productiveness of labour, in the *Political Arithmetic*. Petty is thus largely free from the prevailing errors of his time, and should be known, not only as originator of the study of statistics, but also as starting a truer understanding of the nature of wealth, the use of credit, the waste of economic strife, the rationale of interest, and other points upon which so much obscurity existed.

His limitations must be noticed at the same time, and are only what we should expect to find; for though his tone is fair and critical, he is often led away by his own specious calculations, and is thus "less accurate than precise." He is open-minded on religious and political questions, but his style is diffuse and didactic—he fails to grasp general truths, and loses himself in masses of contemporary fact. In no sense can he be considered an economic theorist; each of his works, as Mr. Hull well points out, was the outcome of some special event or circumstance, for he professes no general grasp of the subject, and no philosophic treatment of it. The value of Petty's researches is perhaps all the greater for this modesty of aim and this



practical purpose. They throw light on the facts, as well as on the thought of the age, and will thus be acceptable to the student in the available form now presented by Mr. Hull.

The titles of Petty's chief works and the leading facts of his life are well known. His works can be summarized as: *Treatise of Taxes*; *Verbum Sapienti*; *Political Anatomy of Ireland*; *Political Arithmetic*, together with numerous smaller essays and pamphlets on kindred subjects. Mr. Hull has also included *Observations on the Bills of Mortality*, a work sometimes attributed to Petty; and has added his reasons for considering it the work of Graunt, whose methods of calculation differ from those of Petty, and are in some respects superior. Petty's style is clear, though the writings themselves are necessarily inclined to be tedious, owing to the multitude of facts and lack of concentration. The man himself is not without interest, though by no means an heroic figure. Like Hobbes, he was peace-loving, and lived apart from all those stirring events which are usually associated with his time, thus bringing to our notice an aspect of life quite different from that ordinarily presented by history. He was occupied by questions of trade and industry, often offering wise suggestions concerning policy both for Ireland and elsewhere, but never rising to great eminence of thought. The editor gives a fair estimate of his position as a thinker, after a somewhat involved history of his life, and a similar account of Graunt. His non-economic writings are also mentioned, and the whole investigation made as complete as possible.

This description will suffice to show that these two volumes are the result of much labour, and form a valuable contribution to the history of political economy, as well as to the study of seventeenth century thought. It is pre-eminently a book for the student—not to be read for its own literary excellence, but as an aid to understanding the subject and the age under review.

M. W. MIDDLETON.

LES SYNDICATS AGRICOLES ET LEUR ŒUVRE. Par  
LE COMTE DE ROCQUIGNY. [412 pp. 12mo. 4 francs. Colin.  
Paris, 1900.]

Circumstances differ so widely in the United Kingdom and in France that he would be a bold man indeed who would advocate resort to a particular measure in one country on the ground that it had succeeded in the other. However, the well-told tale of the rapid development of agricultural syndicates in France which Count Rocquigny here presents to his readers will be found, at any rate, well to repay perusal by

Englishmen interested in agriculture. It is not too much to say that agricultural syndicates—incomplete, lop-sided institutions that, in many respects, they still are—have, within the space of fifteen or sixteen years, completely changed the face of things agricultural in France, and opened very much brighter prospects indeed to the French cultivator for the future. They have done this, not merely by the mechanical employment of common action which we are so familiar with in this country in the shape of “co-operation,” but by a happy, discriminating application of the one common principle to a great variety of local wants and uses, and methodical union of all the different units so created in one well-ordered army. Notwithstanding its truly phenomenal growth, this particular type of French co-operation cannot yet compare in respect of magnitude with its counterpart in Germany. In the matter of co-operative credit, co-operative cattle-raising, and some other services, it finds itself far distanced by its eastern rival. But German agricultural co-operation is broken up into a number of federations, each acting in rivalry with the other. Its French anti-type, so far as it goes, presents one unbroken front, and thereby gains considerable force, which promises to tell in its favour still more as time goes on.

The lessons which we in this country have, more in particular, to learn from the magnificent success here described are mainly these. French agricultural co-operation has succeeded because it was built up from the bottom to the top. The late Lord Winchilsea tried to organize in the opposite direction. And he met with disappointment. In France it is the local syndicates, constituted in complete independence of one another, which give strength to the fabric. Federation is really carried very much further in this type of co-operation than in any other. There are cantonal, departmental, provincial, and regional unions. The “two Burgundies,” having common interests, combine to their distinct union. So do other vine-growing districts, the corn-growing departments of the Centre, etc. And, above all, there is the National Union of Agricultural Syndicates, strongly representative enough of agricultural interests to make its voice heard with good effect in the Legislature. But the strength of the structure lies in its foundation.

The next lesson is this : French agricultural co-operation has succeeded because it is representative of *all* agricultural interests. There is no division between landlords, tenants, and labourers. All join together. There is one syndicate with about six hundred labourers on its roll. It would be more correct, perhaps, to say six hundred small cultivators who are at the same time labourers. This mixture of

various elements entails its own abuses, or, at any rate, sources of possible abuse. In many syndicates there are two classes of members—those who give and those who take. In this country that would probably mean primrosery. In France, at any rate, it perpetuates the ingrained distrust of the small man in his own powers. He looks to others for help, and that leads to wholesale subventions, such as we have recently witnessed on the occasion of the renewal of the charter of the Bank of France, when the burden of finding, by degrees, £3,360,000 in support of co-operative agricultural credit was laid upon that institution, to disguise the fact that it is taken from the taxpayer's pocket. But along with these defects the union of classes distinctly has its advantages.

To look at the list of agricultural syndicates and the catalogue of their most varied services which Count Rocquigny gives in his book, one would not think that a short ten years ago the agriculture of fortune-favoured, fertile, happy France was still backward beyond anything that we can conceive; there was little use made of artificial manures, of feeding stuffs, or of modern implements (all being priced by the trade at prohibitive figures, and often bad and adulterated), and technical education was almost unknown. Now there are about 2500 syndicates, embracing about 800,000 members, and doing a co-operative supply business of about £8,000,000 a year in articles which are guaranteed, and the prices of which have fallen by 20, 30, 40, and even 50 per cent. And, notwithstanding this reduction, dealers are satisfied, because they do a much larger trade. In addition, agricultural syndicates are busy organizing co-operative sales, in some instances with marked success; they organize lectures and classes; they watch legislation; they provide cheap legal advice for their members; they form co-operative dairies; they have replanted the large area of vineyards devastated by the phylloxera and made it bear again; they bring cultivators together for much common work and provide machinery and costly implements for their use. Never has the truth of the old saying been more brilliantly vindicated that "union makes strength." The example set by agricultural co-operators in France should be full of encouragement to farmers elsewhere.

HENRY W. WOLFF.

INNOSTRANNYE KAPITALY. By B. F. BRANDT. [2 vols. 731 pp. 8vo. St. Petersburg, 1899.]

Mr. Brandt's book on *Foreign Investments* is doubly interesting; first, on account of its special reference to economic conditions in Russia, and, secondly, on account of the facts and figures which it contains.



It is true that money, as such, does not change its character with the nationality of the capitalist ; and, so far as the economic laws of exchange and distribution are concerned, it makes no difference to the workman, the contractor, or the consumer whether the capital employed belongs to a Russian or to an Englishman. This is so obvious that in no western country would a question arise as to the peculiar influence of foreign capital upon the development of national industries. But in Russia it is otherwise. There it was quite natural that investments by foreigners should excite a good deal of heated controversy. The rush of foreign capital into Russia during the last ten years came suddenly, like a torrent. Millions of roubles poured into the country from over the western frontier, and spread far away to the east and south of Russia—to the gold-fields of the Ural and Siberia, to the coal- and iron-mines of the Ekaterinoslav province, to the naphtha-wells of the Caucasus, and to the other natural resources of Russia—sweeping away before them the small native capitalist, and appropriating any little industry they met on the way. Belgians, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Germans, and Americans vie with each other in buying up tracts of land supposed to contain rich minerals, in building large foundries and factories, and in acquiring concessions from various provincial towns for providing trams, telephones, electricity and gas.

It is, therefore, not at all surprising if the average Russian, uneducated, steeped in narrow nationalism, and chauvinistic as he is, should look with distrust and misgivings at this invasion of his country by the foreign capitalist. The agitation against foreigners in Russia would certainly be very strong and even violent, if the present Minister of Finance, Mr. Vitte, did not himself take up the cause of the foreign capitalist, and do all in his power to attract to Russia as many foreign investments as possible. Mr. Vitte, it is needless to say, is himself a strong nationalist ; but as a minister of finance he knows very well that millions of money coming from abroad are very useful, especially when the country is so impoverished that the only possibility of keeping the treasury going is by means of loans or high taxes on a prosperous and expanding industry. But as industry on a large scale is only possible by means of foreign capital, it is necessary to encourage the foreign investor. Thus Mr. Brandt's book seems to be written under the direct influence and inspiration of Mr. Vitte's policy.

The first volume deals with the general theory of the subject. Mr. Brandt naïvely remarks that he was astonished not to find in the economic literature of Europe or America any book which specially deals with the theory of foreign investments. It would, however, be

much more astonishing if such a book had been written. There can be no use for a candle in the full daylight. The only question about foreign investments which might be worth considering from a scientific point of view is the law of remuneration for the capitalist—*i.e.* how far differences in the rates of wages, and in the prices of money and commodities, influence the rate of profit. But, to a certain extent, this has already been done by the earlier economists; and though they may have left much to be explained, this is not what Mr. Brandt tries to do. He is chiefly concerned, not with the rate of profit, but, as he puts it, with “the influence of foreign capital on the economic development of the country” where such capital is invested. Thus he tries to explain a point which requires no explanation at all. He precisely describes various industrial enterprises in the English colonies, the South-American Republics, the United States, and in other countries, and comes to the conclusion that it really makes no difference whether the investments belong to foreign or to native capitalists. But why should there be any difference at all? The mere idea that such a difference is possible is hardly worth refutation; and the whole of Mr. Brandt’s first volume is practically useless waste of much labour and research.

Of much greater value is the second volume, in which Mr. Brandt has collected interesting data about some of the largest industrial concerns in Russia owned or established by foreign capitalists. For instance, there is a very full and instructive description of the great iron-foundry established in the south of Russia by an Englishman, Mr. John Hughes, and called after his name, according to the Russian pronunciation, “Uzovka;” and also an account of the French mining company, near Krivoi-Rog, and of other great works in the coal and iron industries. By these descriptions, which are very enthusiastic, Mr. Brandt tries to make the average Russian realize how much his country has benefited by foreign enterprise and capital. “Desert places,” he says, “have been turned into vigorous industrial centres, where one meets, not only material prosperity, but also civilizing forces. A traveller, who goes through our southern *steppes*, may sometimes fancy himself to be in the very centre of Westphalia or Belgium. The huge factories, with their big furnaces and coke-blasts, are seen from afar by the glare of the flames from their chimneys. There, where up till a few years ago stood only some poor huts, the sole trace of civilized man for many miles around, you can now find a long line of large buildings equipped with all the latest improvements. Foundries and mining buildings, blast-furnaces, workshops, warehouses, stables, houses for the workmen, a hospital, a school, a hotel, shops, store-houses

—a regular village, with its market-place, railway, and so on. The whole place is lighted by electricity, and connected with the neighbouring factories and mines by a system of telephones.”

At the same time, Mr. Brandt tries to pacify the nationalists by assuring them that the foreign capitalist who enters Russia is bound in the long run, simply by the natural evolution of things, to become a Russian; and that, being a strong political body, Russia easily assimilates the foreigner and appropriates his capital. Whether the latter assertion is true or not, is hardly a matter for economic discussion, and therefore it may be left to the independent judgment of the reader.

S. RAPOPORT.

RESEARCHES IN THE HISTORY OF ECONOMICS. By E. NYS. Translated by N. L. and A. R. DRYHURST. [343 pp. Crown 8vo. Black. London, 1899.]

Students of political science and economy expect profit and entertainment from any work by the talented author of *Etudes de Droit International et de Droit Publique*. Nor will they be disappointed in this volume. The author has left the realms of politics and of international law to illuminate mediæval economic history and theory by his power of keen insight and broad generalization. The result is an interesting and, in spite of necessary compression, most instructive group of essays. The only regret that the reader may entertain, after he has finished, is that the chapters tend to be too encyclopædic in character, that they enumerate so many authors and give so many dates which are not in reality essential to the subject nor enlightening to the student. It were better to leave many of these names to those exhaustive monographs to which Professor Nys makes careful reference. The result of this over-elaboration is frequently to burden and weary the reader's brain, with no corresponding advantage.

The volume begins with a most just appreciation of the work done by non-Hellenic and non-Italian peoples towards the civilization of Western Europe. We are reminded of our debt to Phœnicians, to Jews, and particularly to Arabs, and are pointed back even to Hindustan. This reminder to the over-zealous classical student is driven emphatically home by a lucid sketch of Norman Sicily—its government and its economic characteristics. Then follow chapters dealing with various sides of mediæval economics. The town life, the industry and commerce, the essays in banking and finance, the rôle of Jew and Lombard pass in succession before us. Finally, we are presented with a somewhat unsatisfactory chapter on the beginnings of the



modern age. Too loaded to convey a clear impression, it is too short to do justice to its subject. Still, the book as a whole achieves its object: it stimulates inquiry, suggests lines of research, and supplements European history by a sketch of one side of it which we cannot afford to neglect. If there is a fault, it is that Professor Nys is sometimes too much under the influence of a particular authority. This is perhaps inevitable in a book which is, as it were, a book upon books. To give but one example, certain doubtful generalizations upon English trade are accepted without criticism from Dr. Cunningham (pp. 80-81). Just where that writer has been led to antedate a historical process and to substitute an attractive simplicity of development for that complexity which defies classification, Professor Nys has followed him with almost greater simplicity. The result is not only to miss the exact truth, but to leave on the reader's mind a vague sense of distrust and insecurity.

A word in conclusion as to the translators' work. It is but fair to Professor Nys to say that he is not the original of the many solecisms which disfigure the pages. The English paragraphs are uncouth, obscure, and sometimes inaccurate. In fact, I was at first under the impression that the author, abandoning his usual tongue, had for some reason composed his treatise in German. I did not suppose that fair and lucid language of France could become so ponderous and dark even when turned into literal English. We have a right to complain of this carelessness, this ignorance, or ignoring of the idioms of both tongues. It would be easy to quote examples whose point is lost by such inaccuracy; but what are we to say of the following: "Thus it was tried to justify theoretically the various profits which exchange produced" (p. 212); "This fact had resulted in Oriental civilization having penetrated the city of the Doges" (p. 61); "The Dutch towns succeeded to Antwerp in respect to international trade"? I would that it were possible to say, in the language of the translators: "Not that there are not occasionally slips of English, but, generally, these are exceptional" (p. 127).

SPENSER FARQUHARSON.

KRIEG UND ARBEIT. Von MICHAEL ANITCHKOW. [604 pp. 8vo. M. 10. Puttkamer und Mühlbrecht. Berlin, 1900.]

The purport of this voluminous treatise would have been somewhat more clearly indicated had the title been "Free Boundaries as an Alternative to War," rather than "War and Labour." The interests of labour are only considered so far as they appear to the author to be affected by the scheme he propounds.

M. Anitchkow, who, though he writes in German, and goes to press in Berlin, is a subject of the Czar, is convinced that the only effectual prophylactic against war lies in annulling all customs tariffs, whether retaliatory, protective, or purely fiscal, and in abandoning all checks imposed on immigration. He sets before himself three tasks: first, to show that other suggested causes tending to the decline of warfare are likely to prove ineffectual; next, to show that his own plan will secure the desired result; and, lastly, to overcome some foreseen objections to the practicability of that scheme. He passes in review the changing conditions of warfare in classic times, in the Middle Ages, the three last centuries, and at the present moment.

Formerly, war carried with it the slavery or oppression, and sometimes the extermination, of the non-combatant population, in addition to the losses and suffering on the field of battle itself. Yet these atrocities never deterred men from the hostilities which were chronic throughout the Middle Ages. Why, then, he asks, expect the greatly mitigated horrors of modern warfare to be self-curative? Here he overlooks the vast diversity in the occupations and interests which have sprung up since the days when ecclesiastical edifices were the sole form of fixed capital not of a military nature, and ploughing and praying the only conspicuous callings besides fighting. Nor, he thinks, is the present an auspicious moment for setting up an international arbitration board. As well introduce trial by jury among the Bedouins as attempt to substitute the appeal to reason for the appeal to force with international antagonism at its present height.

The causes of this ill-feeling he finds, first, in the jealousy against foreign immigrants, especially against immigrant cheap labour. France and the United States are instanced, and M. Anitchkow might have added the recent treatment of Austrian Czech workmen by the Prussian authorities. The second provocative is the war of tariffs, such as is now going on between Germany and Russia. The former, in order to protect her agriculture, taxes raw material and grain imported from Russia at 100 per cent. The latter, in order to foster her infant industries, imposes prohibitive duties on imported manufactures. Both measures strike at the well-being of the masses in the two countries, depriving the Muscovite moujik and the German factory hand of a market for the produce of their toil, and thus make bad blood between the two populations. Moreover, heavy duties encourage a contraband trade by enhancing the profits to be derived from it. The frontier gendarmerie, which in France alone has been computed at twenty thousand men, has to be reinforced, and its frequent conflicts with the smugglers may at any moment kindle into flame the smouldering

embers of a mutual resentment. The pages in which the author depicts the hardships undergone by the force—which would, he remarks, on the outbreak of hostilities form the advance guard for attack or defence—cast a light on the relations of Continental countries to each other somewhat novel to most English people. Illicit traffic is especially brisk along the Franco-Belgian frontier, and Verly's *Douaniers et Contrebandiers* is quoted to show that a lamentable state of general lawlessness and crime is the consequence, even around the big border manufacturing towns.

The comparative peacefulness of England during the last half-century provides our author with his chief object-lesson in the pacific influence of free trade. He does not explain why the United States should have been even less aggressive under a *régime* of rampant Protectionism. He considers that the abandonment of the Wage Fund theory by recent economists deprives the prejudice, entertained more or less by the working classes of all the wealthier countries, against the uncontrolled settlement in their midst of foreign labourers of all excuse. Why, he asks, should the native workman resent the immigration which only lowers his wages, when machinery is daily being introduced which deprives him of wages altogether by throwing him out of work? The assertion (at p. 544) that "all causes which conduce to a rise in the rent of land raise also the cost of transport and inter-communication (*verkehrsrente*). All causes which conduce to a fall in the rent of land have the contrary effect on cost of transport; that is, they raise it," is somewhat startling, in view of the general lowering of fares and freight charges. But M. Anitchkow argues from it that the State should make itself the ultimate owner of railways and waterways, and of all other means of communication. The State is also to aid those native industries which, if left to themselves, would languish under the stress of foreign competition evoked by free boundaries. The introduction of the latter system would be gradual. The first step would be to reduce prohibitive tariffs. No new ones would be levied, no old ones raised. Even the Eastern question would vanish if once free boundaries were established. The possession of Constantinople, from being a vital question for Russia, would fade into a platonic tradition, and any Christian occupant would then be preferable, in Russian eyes, to the Turk. Conversely, the other European Powers would no longer dread the Russification of that city.

The epoch-making events of the twelve years following 1859 are summed up somewhat strikingly in chapter vi. of part i. Europe before and Europe after that brief interval are, says M. Anitchkow, two different continents. "In these memorable years political and social



changes took place which ushered in a new era in the history of mankind. Taken altogether, they have a vaster significance than the stages which sever the Middle Ages from antiquity, and the former from modern times."

The volume gives evidence of considerable research over a wide area. But the data are not skilfully marshalled, and the line of argument, where traceable, is not clearly worked out, and is inconclusive, even upon the author's own premises.

C. H. D'E. LEPPINGTON.

DICTIONARY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY. Edited by R. H. INGLIS PALGRAVE, F.R.S. Vol. iii., N-Z. [762 pp. 8vo. 21s. net. Macmillan. London, 1899.]

In a review of the second volume of this work I have clearly indicated what I considered to be the main defects in the construction and execution of the *Dictionary of Political Economy*. In noticing the third volume, the first duty of a reviewer is to congratulate the editor upon the completion of his labours. The dictionary may not be all that a dictionary of political economy ought to have been, but it represents a mass of miscellaneous information (often of a very high order) about political economy, and what may be regarded as more or less germane topics, for which all sorts and conditions of students cannot be sufficiently grateful. Under the letter "P" alone there may be found satisfaction, not only for the student of political economy, but also for the student of subjects suggested by "Paragnum," "Parceneos," and "Pre-Roman Industry in Britain," to say nothing of "Pessimism" and "Pleasure and Pain." It is obvious that in a dictionary conceived upon such an encyclopædic plan there must be a good deal of repetition and cross-division; under "Political Economy" we have by no means the first or the second discussion of its "method," but, as the final treatment of the subject is in the practised hands of Professor Sidgwick, a critic is less disposed to cavil.

It is not equally clear why we should have an article upon "Social Science" followed by another article, from a different pen and a different point of view, upon Social Science (sociology), supported by a further notice under the head of "Moral and Political Sciences." The article upon "Socialism" is, as might have been expected, peculiarly inadequate; it is followed by a cross-reference to Christian Socialism, and separate articles (from different sources) upon State Socialism and Socialists of the Chair. The articles dealing with "Pensions and the Poor Law" are useful, but contain too much expression of "opinion" for a dictionary, while the historical review of

pension schemes in England and pension systems in other countries might have been more complete. There is no mention of Mr. Fowle's proposal, and no allusion is made to the distinctive character of the German system—the way, that is, in which it combines contributions from the State, the employer, and the workman; but here again we are referred for “particulars” to “Insurance, State (Germany).” As instances of the kind of information which the curious may find in the dictionary, reference may be made to the articles on “Polegraphy” and “Transportation” (*sc.* of convicts)—the latter subject is certainly new in economic literature; but, on the whole, the dictionary does not venture into unexplored regions of economic theory.

On the other hand, the article on the Russian School of Political Economy, from the pen of Professor Miklakewsky, will be found by most readers peculiarly informing. The biographical articles are a great feature of this as the other volumes. To Adam Smith is given the honour of a very full analysis of the *Wealth of Nations*, as well as a most exhaustive account of “Adam Smith Literature.” The article on Ricardo's work is less objective, rather more attention being paid to “its frequent defects” than to “its splendid merits.” The *epigoni* of English political economy also receive their due; and there are interesting articles upon Plato, as well as upon other direct or indirect “precursors” of political economy, though it is difficult to see what a biography of Xenophon has to do with the subject.

Among the most important subjects treated are “Prices” and “Taxation;” but the only history of trade unions that is given refers to the United States, and the subject of women's wages is hardly treated at all. There is not so much as an allusion to the existence of women's unions, or to the work of the Labour Association (in connexion with profit-sharing), or to the interesting experiments in labour legislation that are being tried in New Zealand, or to the recent developments of English industry in the direction of combination. Of municipal collectivism little or no account is taken in the dictionary, if we may except some incidental (and highly *a priori*) deliverances on the subject; therefore, a student who might have occasion to look up “Tramways” would find no indication of their existence, though he would find nearly a column on “Transhumance.” These omissions are symptomatic, and may be partly explained by the “earnest hope” of the Editor that “this work may promote and facilitate the study of sound economic doctrine.” On the other hand, we are told (under “Orthodox Economists”) that “orthodox is a term suggestive of controversy, and of the existence of an ascertained norm—a frame of mind uncongenial with that calm spirit in which economic questions

should be approached." The spirit of the dictionary is "calm" enough, but it certainly also suggests "the existence of an ascertained norm." Many readers might have preferred a little more actuality, and a little less "doctrine."

The third volume contains an index, which seems to be a faithful (as it must have been a most laborious) reflection of the complicated contents to which it refers.

SIDNEY BALL.

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### SHORT NOTICES.

WHAT IS SECONDARY EDUCATION? Essays on the Problems of Organization. Edited by R. P. SCOTT, M.A., LL.D. [364 pp. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. Rivingtons. London, 1899.]

These are essays by writers of practical experience, published under a Committee appointed by the Incorporated Association of Headmasters. They are largely popular, and not technical in character, intended to educate the man in the street and the often equally ignorant man in the House of Commons on the necessary points of organization. There are as many as thirty-one essays, most of them by different authors. They vary, as one would expect, very greatly in power and point, and there is a good deal of repetition. Occasionally there is a mistake in arrangement, *e.g.* "What is Secondary Education?" the question asked by the book itself, is not definitely dealt with till essay 17. The essays that are to be chiefly commended are those by Dr. Scott, the general editor, Mr. Withers, Dr. Gow, and Mr. Bryce. The article that falls short of comprehending the democratic criticisms on most of our higher education is the one that professes to set forth the interests of working men in its reform. It is a mistake to suppose that the democratic movement will be satisfied with any scheme that merely proposes to promote a few picked boys into the ranks of employers. The writer of the article does not seem to have got beyond this idea. The claims made by Mr. Bevan on behalf of private enterprise in secondary education are exaggerated. By all means recognize good private schools, but do not puff the principle. The blessings of "individual supervision and home-training" have been somewhat overdone. On the whole, however, the book is a very useful one. Its general lines are sound. The ignorance of the ordinary parent and of the ordinary legislator is profound, and educational reformers cannot do better than present copies to their member and their friends.



## LES LOIS D'ASSURANCE OUVRIÈRE À L'ÉTRANGER.

II. Assurance contre les Accidents. Troisième Partie (Annexes).

Par Maurice Bellom. [398 pp. 8vo. 8 francs. Rousseau. Paris, 1900.]

M. Bellom, who has done excellent work as a guide through the perplexing maze of labour legislation, finds the materials growing under his hands as legislation of the kind with which he is dealing assumes larger and larger proportions. The present volume is intended as a supplement, probably only the first, to the two previous tomes in which he treats, in full detail and with remarkable accuracy, of the most recent legislation on workmen's insurance adopted in various countries. In a publication which is intended, as it deserves, to become the standing book of reference on this particular matter, it is well that the information given should be complete. Hence the present synopsis of the older laws, of approved model rules for the various bodies formed to give practical effect to the several statutes, and of supplementary enactments lately passed in the shape of amending laws to complete the larger measures already reviewed, is sure to be welcomed by students. The very comprehensive Swiss measure, having been, after all, submitted in the eleventh hour to the mass of the population by way of *referendum*, is not yet dealt with, but remains reserved for a fresh supplement. But in all other respects the book seems brought up to date. It will be found valuable for reference by those interested in this particular legislation.

THE STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK. Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the World for the Year 1900. Edited by J. SCOTT KELTIE, LL.D., and I. P. A. RENWICK, M.A., LL.B. [1280 pp. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d. Macmillan. London, 1900.]

The thirty-seventh annual appearance of the *Statesman's Year-Book* is marked by the fact that "the last shred of Independent Central Africa has disappeared in virtue of the latest Anglo-French arrangement." Other significant maps explain the reorganization of British Nigeria and the French West African territories, the political partition of Oceania, and the final Venezuela-Guiana boundary award. It is needless to say that the industry and skill of the editor and his colleagues are equal to the magnitude of the statistical task which has been placed in their charge.

## HOW FAR IS PAUPERISM A NECESSARY ELEMENT IN A CIVILIZED COMMUNITY?

SOME apology is required for propounding a question of this academic nature. It is one to which no conclusive answer can be given in our time. If, however, it is good for theorists to find themselves confronted with facts, it is good also for practical men occasionally to raise their eyes from the absorbing requirements of daily routine, and to look at the subject on which they are engaged as one that has had a history, and one that must have a future. This assumption must be my excuse for thinking that it may be worth the while even of those who are actively engaged in the administration of the Poor Law to consider the question—Does the historian show us that the disease of pauperism is less virulent than it has been? Can the political philosopher give us grounds for hoping that its strength is likely to expend itself in the not remote future?

Pauperism is not, of course, synonymous with poverty. Pauperism is poverty which by custom, common law, or express statute derives a maintenance from enforced contributions levied on other members of the community. I say, "by custom or common law," because it is very important to connect our poor-law system, which was systematized by the statute of Elizabeth, with the state of things which existed previously to that enactment. The statute of 1601 was not the beginning of the Poor Law. If we would understand this question at all, we must realize that previous to the Elizabethan Act, there had been a system of regulation far more stringent and far more searching than anything contained in the famous 43 Eliz., cap. 2. We have to realize that the labourer was not even then fully emancipated from a condition of feudal or manorial servitude. The Poor Law of Elizabeth is fundamentally based on the idea of a

territorial settlement—an institution already in existence—which had been also the integral principle of the feudal organization. Our Poor Law is a modification, a revival in a new form, of the most important principle of the then expiring feudal order.

This is not a mere antiquarian and legal quibble; it enables us to identify pauperism as a part, a modernized part, perhaps, of that condition of *status* which, according to Sir Henry Maine's famous generalization, is, in civilized communities, giving place to a condition of *contract*. This identification carries us forward a great way. It suggests to us that this struggle between pauperism and independence is part of a well-defined principle of social evolution, which he has epigrammatically summed up as the movement (characteristic of all progressive societies) from a condition of status to one of contract. This line of thought has one great advantage. It brings us into the beaten track of speculation marked out for us by one of the most luminous political thinkers of modern times.

If this view is correct (and the identification, I submit, may be objected to as a truism, but on no other ground), there are, then, two things which we have to consider. First, what is the retaining, obstructive power of the old principle of status as manifested in our pauper system. Secondly, what is the absorbent and attractive power of the free industrial life of honourable interdependence based on what Maine calls contract, which is obviously the antithesis of the condition of pauper status. If we can understand the action and inter-action of these two principles, we shall be in a fair way to answer the question now propounded.

The historical aspect of the question has been touched on by Sir R. Giffen in an interesting address delivered to the South Eastern Poor Law Conference in December of 1899.

"To begin with," he says, "I wish to emphasize the favourable position of the present generation as regards the problem of poverty. Poverty and Pauperism are not the same things. A community may be poor, the whole mass, or nearly the whole mass, being at the same dead level of poverty; but from the very nature of the case there is no pauperism, or little pauperism, just because there are no funds from



which to support the very poorest, who have to struggle on as best they may. Still a condition of great poverty for the masses of the community implies a lower state than one in which the poor have become a minority, and the question of legal relief for a portion of the minority arises."

Obviously a community which is able to think about the public maintenance of the destitute, is one in which a considerable part has already emerged from a condition of the direst poverty. The position of comparative comfort attained by the Elizabethan age had been reached contemporaneously with a relaxation of the antiquated routine of feudal industry. Statecraft was confronted with the minor evils resulting from the emancipation of the serf, and from the decay of the old adscription of the peasant to the soil. It determined to legislate so as to secure a bare maintenance for the poor. That is the first step. It is a later age which is able to set up the independence of the poor as an ideal. It happened, however unfortunately, that the new legislation adopted as its framework the principle of parochial or manorial settlement, and thereby perpetuated, by a most insidious device, that immobility and helplessness of character which is characteristic of a servile population.

The unfortunate result of carrying on into a new industrial era the old restriction of a complete adscription to the soil—in other words, of pauper endowment based on parochial settlement—did not make itself fully apparent till after the lapse of many years. The inquiry of 1834 showed that this endowment of pauperism had become something worse than the older forms of servitude which it had displaced. Slavery and imprisonment imply a certain amount of coercion, which may leave the will and fortitude of the slave or the prisoner unbroken; but the evil of pauper endowment—the benefit of the Act of Elizabeth, as it was grimly called—was that the slavery and confinement of the pauper had become his voluntary act. With a guarantee of maintenance and of employment near his own door, the pauper took up a resolute, even a defiant position of immobility, which set at naught the quickening influence of an expanding industrialism which was being developed in parallel

lines. The evil influence was transformed from being a mere territorial imprisonment, and assumed the proportion of a most widespread and deadly *vis inertiae*, enveloping the whole mental faculties of the poorer population.

The course of the economic progress of the nation was checked by this broadening out of the backwaters of pauperism. The crisis was so grave that leaders of public opinion took the matter into serious consideration. "Is this depth of pauperism necessary?" they asked. The country seemed rich and prosperous, but pauperism was gaining on the solvent portion of the community, and, unless it was checked, the country could not stand against this incursion of barbarism. The practical answer given to the question was the drastic Amendment Act of 1834. The Act may be correctly described as abolishing the legal endowment of the ablebodied pauper during the period of his own ablebodied life. This action has been justified by the result. Clearly the independent industrial organization has been able to absorb the great mass of ablebodied labour which, previous to the reform, was sunk in the miserable immobility of pauperism. No testimony as to the improvement that has been effected can be more striking than the change of public opinion with regard to the danger of over-population as pointed out by Malthus. Before 1834, his speculations exercised a terrifying influence. By the Act of 1834 the ablebodied labourer was thrust out of his poor-law allowances and thrown roughly on his own resources. The free market has proved to be a mint (if the simile may be allowed) for his labour; and, as Sir R. Giffen has shown, the increase of wealth in an industrial community keeps far ahead of the increase of population, in complete contrast to the arguments of Malthus which, previous to the reform of the Poor Law by the emancipating legislation of 1834, were to a large extent justified.

It is difficult to say which is cause, and which is effect. Were the ablebodied paupers of the old Poor Law absorbed in the economic order, because of the wealth that had grown and increased in the land? Or was it the forcible detachment of the pauper from his old maintenance on the rates that placed

treasure, the labour of an ablebodied population, on the market, and so, aided by a skilful organization of credit, occasioned the great increase of wealth characteristic of the last seventy years of the nineteenth century? It is like asking which half of a pair of scissors it is that cuts. The practical conclusion is in either case the same. It is in the nature of things, that free ablebodied labour placed on a free market is as bullion, to which the free market is of necessity a mint, passing it into circulation with more certainty than any other device has hitherto attained.

Let me again quote Sir R. Giffen :—

“It is the advance, then, of this country and of the civilized countries of Europe from a condition in which the great majority were poor which gives cause for congratulation, and that advance is much more recent than we are sometimes apt to think. The theme of the famous book of Malthus, written at the end of last or beginning of the present century, was the check to increase of population beyond the means of subsistence which had been given by natural causes—famine, pestilence, and war. A distinct connection was traced between the high prices of cereals following on bad harvests and the general rate of mortality. Great scarcities, if not famines, were frequent down to the time he wrote; and even as to famines, we are separated by just over half a century from the great Irish famine, which was only the culmination of a period of semi-starvation for the masses which had lasted for many years. From such extreme poverty affecting large masses of the majority of the people, the civilized communities of Western Europe and the United States would now seem to have emerged for good. Their resources are indefinitely greater than they were, and when a few suffer from starvation, or die from starvation perhaps, we know it is from no failure of resources among the communities concerned, but it is from special and personal causes existing in human nature itself, and not easily to be removed.

“And this increase of resources is encouraging certainly when the problem of pauperism, the support of the poor by the State, is faced. When the bulk of the most advanced portions of the race were battling with dire poverty themselves, or were in a state of transition to their present security, it was impossible to look at the problem of pauperism philosophically. The question was really that of a struggle for existence, and there was a kind of fierceness in the ideas and methods for dealing with the very poorest which it is difficult for us to realize. Now it is possible for us to look at the question more calmly. Just



because the community as a whole seems so far removed from the possibility of being overwhelmed by extreme poverty, because our resources are so great, we are getting familiarized with the hope that pauperism may slowly and surely be eliminated, that the minority of the very poor among us may be disciplined and educated out of dependence upon the State and out of the poverty from which they still suffer."

He goes on to point out that great populations, in Russia and India, for instance, live on the brink of famine, and directs attention to what is certainly one of the most noteworthy economic phenomena of the day, viz.—

"great masses of semi-civilized peoples under the protection of powerful Governments, without adequate means of living, and with no sure methods in prospect by which their food can be increased."

Now, it is precisely this state of dependence, which seems inevitable for an Oriental population living under the rule of a European power, that we wish to avoid for the poorer classes in this country. We wish, in fact, to make the individual a competent economic unit. We wish, as far as possible, to emancipate the population that is still proletariat, to enable each to share in the plenty that undoubtedly exists in the modern economic society, and we are becoming familiarized with the hope that this can be done by a perfectly natural development of human nature, and done to a much larger extent than has as yet been found possible, in this country at all events.

I wish, then, to represent that progress has never for long been arrested; that the Elizabethan Act was the result of the growing wealth and comfort of the country, which gave men leisure to look round and consider the sufferings of a newly emancipated body of serfs. The remedy (unfortunately, but perhaps inevitably) was to throw the poor back on the system of parochial settlement and parochial relief. Two centuries later, this principle had created an intolerable burden, and a very rude and drastic reformation was deemed necessary. For the sake of future generations, the country was called on to make certain sacrifices—the ablebodied poor were imperatively required to face their own responsibilities (while they were

ablebodied), and the rich to forego some portion of the luxury of ministering to a large dependent population. The outcry raised against the new Poor Law, by a certain section of the poor and by a certain class of benevolent persons, is well known. These objections are quite intelligible, and they are entitled to our sympathy; but they took, we all now agree, too short-sighted a view. They were wrong in regarding too exclusively the passing generation. The first sensation of the emancipated or dispauperized is one of discomfort and of terror. On such occasions, benevolence is apt to lose its head, and to take a view of the subject too exclusively "practical," neglecting to learn of the past or to think for the future. They were wrong, also, in not perceiving that the Poor Law as then administered had a strong absorbent power, that it retained a large population within its influence which otherwise would have been attracted into the industrial independent life which was developing itself in parallel line. And thirdly, they were wrong in not realizing the vast absorbent power of a free industrial community.

These three sources of error are still operating very strongly among us. Our hope of seeing the progress which has undoubtedly taken place continued and extended depends mainly on our success in combating these errors. Before considering them, however, we may briefly note the extent of the improvement which avoidance of these errors has already secured to us. Broadly speaking, the ablebodied man has been entirely dispauperized.<sup>1</sup> The percentage of general pauperism on population has been, since 1849, reduced from 6·2 to 2·3. The financial burden at the beginning of the century was about 2½ per cent. on the estimated income of the people. It is now less than 1 per cent. If we go back thirty years, it is true, there has been an increase of expenditure (mainly due to more costly and efficient methods) of about 50 per cent., but during the same period the assessments to the income-tax have increased from 360 to 650 millions, or far more than 50 per cent. The very

<sup>1</sup> It would be more correct to say that he has been dispauperized during the period when he is actually working for wages—a large proportion of the responsibilities of the ablebodied is still discharged by the Poor Law.

ease with which, financially, we bear the burden of pauperism is one of the principal causes of a very reprehensible indifference to the arduous but well-understood methods of emancipation. Relatively, the improvement is undeniable, but a population of nearly eight hundred thousand paupers is still a blot.

Now to take the three errors above named. The hard case of the able-bodied did not deter us from reform in 1834. Why should it deter us now in restricting still further the endowments of pauperism? All pauperism is caused by the failure or neglect of the able-bodied. The destitution of children, widows, sickness, or old age, means failure or neglect, voluntary or involuntary, by the able-bodied man. These things are his minor responsibilities. In 1834 this failure or neglect, in so far as it applied to the able-bodied period of life, his major responsibility, was, we may say, entirely removed by taking away a part of the poor-law support which hitherto had been allowed to the able-bodied man; the pauperism of the able-bodied continued, it is to be noted, up to the hour of the Act of 1834. The argument from analogy seems irresistible. The minor responsibilities of the able-bodied will continue to be left to the poor-rate, just as long as the poor-rate is willing to undertake them on favourable terms, and not an hour longer. Experience, as we all know, shows that the administrative methods followed under all the disadvantages of isolated effort at Bradfield and Whitechapel would reduce our pauperism probably to about one-fourth of its present extent; and if we had pauperism reduced in, say, twenty years' time, to something like 0·5 per cent. of the population, we should have brought a complete abolition of pauperism within practicable range, and gone far to disprove the mischievous assumption that manual labour and the hand-to-mouth life are inseparably connected.

There is a passage in one of Darwin's books where he tells of a common, one bit of which was covered by trees. He was puzzled to know why the seed thrown by these trees did not grow up on a soil which was obviously suitable for them. He at last discovered that the young seedlings did exist below the heather, but that they were cropped down by the sheep



and cattle, and that, if a piece of ground was fenced off, the trees grew up as might have been expected. The incident seems to have a certain analogy with our present subject. We are looking for, and deploring the want of, certain qualities in the poorer section of society: briefly summarized we may describe them as an ability to rise above the hand-to-mouth life which in remoter ages was common to all. We should expect that, but for some artificial interference, qualities capable of dealing successfully with the situation would be brought out—educated, in the literal sense of the term. The explanation, I submit, is that the destructive influence of the Poor Law, as usually administered, has ever been present to “browse down” the nascent instincts of thrift, independence, and energy, just at the moment when the life of these saving qualities is most precarious. We are not asking for such reforms as would jeopardize the life or the adequate relief of any single poor person, but we do ask for such a cautious administration of relief that the advantages derived from thrift and independence should not be altogether overshadowed and surpassed by the lavish promiscuity of the Poor Law. We want, to adopt the language of the illustration from natural history, to fence off and protect the nascent instincts of self-preservation from the depredations of the Poor Law. There is an evil tradition which regards the poor-rate as the inevitable support of the poor man in every crisis of life. This tradition has to be broken, and the breaking of a tradition must involve some suffering to the passing generation—very much less, however, all experience shows, than is generally imagined. We must, however, if we are patriotic citizens, have a regard to the future. So much for our first error—too great timidity in view of the possibility of hard cases.

Next, as to the absorbent power of the Poor Law. This truth has been so fully and so frequently discussed and demonstrated, that I do not propose to dwell on it long. It is sufficient to remind the reader that, for over a quarter of a century, in some of the worst and poorest districts of London, a careful and restrictive administration has reduced pauperism to the average

of about 2 and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.—that is, under the general average of the whole country,—while in favourable circumstances the same principle of administration has reduced pauperism to about  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. This fact (I will presume that the reader has a knowledge of the facts) justifies me in saying that the Poor Law has an absorbent influence; and that if, like a sponge, it is subjected to pressure, a large number of those dependent on it can be detached, and so far rendered independent.

This brings us to the third error, namely, the neglect of the truth that a free industrial society has a power of almost infinite expansion, and that automatically it will so distribute the able-bodied population that it can adequately and easily discharge its normal responsibilities, both those which we describe as major and those which we describe as minor.

An adequate survey of the expansive qualities of our industrial system would require many volumes; but it is an aspect of the question which is apt to be overlooked in our poor-law discussions. Members of the Charity Organization Society are aware that the Society has arrived at this aspect of the question by a road of its own. There is, not only among theorists, but also among those who have no theories, a feeling of dissatisfaction at the barren results of even a well-administered system of relief. If the public relief of a district can be so organized that the encouragement to unthrift, held out by the usual administration of the law can be to some extent mitigated, this result is probably the utmost that we hope. Occasionally it is possible, by discovering friends, relations, old employers for persons in distress, to restore the natural ties of benevolence and private charity; but, of course, private charity does not, in most cases, require an intermediary, and its operation is outside the scope of public criticism. Accordingly we find that there is a great disposition on the part of persons connected with the Society (which, whatever its demerits, is certainly very pertinacious in its study of the problem) to attach more and more importance to the provident institutions of the poor. Even if one can do little or nothing to forward them, the mere spectacle of the rapidly increasing ability of the working classes, we need

not call them the poor, to accumulate and manage property, is most encouraging—far more encouraging than anything that is to be found in the improved and more costly infirmaries, schools, workhouses, and other appliances for securing proper and adequate relief.

It is a profound remark of Mr. Herbert Spencer, that by the power of the State we can only build in one direction by unbuilding in another direction. We set a high value, perhaps no higher than is right and proper, on the preservation and comfort of human life, and on the mitigation of suffering; but there can be no doubt whatever that by our policy in this respect, as applied to our Poor Law, we have had a price to pay, have done a certain bit of unbuilding. It is therefore reassuring to find that, notwithstanding this disintegrating influence, the solvency and independence of the poor is increasing. The fact warrants us in hoping for a very rapid advance in response to every enlightened restriction of our Poor Law. This expectation experience has justified in every instance where the attempt has been made.

The problem ought, therefore, in a sense to be growing easier. It has been remarked that, however bad an administration of poor-law relief you set up for the inhabitants of Belgrave Square, you could not induce many persons in that august abode to become paupers. One hopes that, in a less degree, our poorer population is also rising above the condition where the expectation of poor-law maintenance is an active poison; but, unfortunately, only a beginning has been made. And through all the improvement which can be noted on every side, it is to be remembered that, though the hand-to-mouth life of our present day proletariat population (for such undoubtedly exists) may be better furnished than the life of the same class at earlier periods, the same deeply rooted objection to undergo the effort and initial friction required to rise to a higher economic platform is deeply entrenched and artificially fostered by false sentiment, and is as difficult to eradicate as ever it was. India lives at the level of a rice diet. A section, we hope a decreasing section, of the poorer English population regard themselves as



purely a wage-earning class, and the idea that in an industrial community there are risks and periods of life when wage-earning is at an end or no longer available has never been allowed to teach the obvious lesson that wage-earning must be supplemented by some form of insurance. For this defect of character the administrators of our Poor Law have a serious responsibility.

This fact, the deeply ingrained indolence (not idleness or unwillingness to work—it is rather indifference to the arts of thriving) which prevents these classes from submitting themselves to an improved discipline of life, is the principal justification for poor-law reformers to redouble their insistence on the need of restricted methods of relief. By removing the spur of economic necessity we have (to mix our metaphors and to adopt Mr. Spencer's language) done a notable piece of unbuilding, and it is questionable if that which we have got in exchange is of equivalent worth.

On mere grounds of poor-law policy it is desirable to restrict the inducements to remain in pauper servitude, but, further, it is also serviceable for guardians and others to take notice of the opportunities which are being seized by the working class for the expansion of their prosperity. These opportunities should be advertised and made attractive, their merits should be pointed out and their defects criticized. The extent of them, their rapid growth, the many suggestions that are made for their adaptation to new conditions and for new departures, form the most hopeful aspect of our social life.

It may be worth while to direct attention to one or two evidences of the expansive character of the economic organism which give us reason to hope (1) that the market is able to absorb and to distribute to its own advantage the normal increase of population; (2) that in the distribution of income which it involves the working class is drawing an increased share, both in a higher rate of wages and in interest from a larger amount of investment.

To take the first point—the labour-absorbing properties of industrial freedom. Some indication of what is going on can be

found by consulting the official calculations and comments which accompany the census, and are contained in the General Report. This gives, with perhaps a general rather than precise accuracy, the numbers of persons employed in different trades. A comparison of these numbers from decade to decade is very interesting and most suggestive. There is, for example (it is not, perhaps, altogether a good thing), a set of the population away from agricultural pursuits to railway, factory, and town employments; there is a dwindling in the number of needlewomen, and a growth in the number of machinists. In the period covered by the introduction of machinery in the boot trade there was a temporary decrease in the numbers engaged in the trade, while the hand-workers were being eliminated. This was followed by an increase, due, no doubt, to an increased demand, which was the result of cheaper methods of production and the greater purchasing power of the community. Again, there has been a decrease, gradual but apparently sure, in the hand nail-making industry. This trade, it may be remarked, has been termed a parasitic trade—a trade which, owing to the unfavourable conditions of employment, ought to be suppressed by law. It is satisfactory to find that the trade, without the intervention of law, is apparently doomed to extinction before the competition of machinery.

The governing motive in all these fluctuations is the desire and the ability of wage-earners to move from the badly paid to the better paid industries. These fluctuations would be more extensive, the attraction to the best-paid industries more irresistible, and the mobility of labour more sensitive, if we could disabuse public opinion of its jealous distrust of industrial freedom. The increase of wages earned, by reason of this better adjustment of labour, in itself provides the fund for purchasing the larger output. The prices of commodities in the market are subject to a law of gravitation, almost without exception they tend to fall; but labour has a power of mobility of its own and follows a different law, distributing itself under conditions of wages and employment which constantly tend to improve. No believer in the beneficent operation of free exchange as a

distributor of labour need be much disturbed by the Malthusian terror which weighed so heavily on an earlier generation.

As to the second point—the increased wages and investments of the working class. I have indicated the nature of the organization through which the price of labour, or wages, has invariably risen, while the prices of commodities have generally tended to fall; the recorded facts seem to warrant us in believing that this organization is actually at work. The latest work on wages statistics is by Mr. Bowley, *Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century*. He reckons that in 1780–90 wages were 40 per cent. of their present rate; in 1810–40, 65 or 70 per cent.; in 1860–70, 75 per cent.; in 1870–80, 95 per cent.; in 1880–90 (a slight drop of 5 per cent.), 90 per cent.; and at the present time, the highest point which wages have ever reached, 100 per cent. To this rise of money wages, we have to add the fall in the price of most of the necessaries of life; and it is generally computed that from 20 to 40 per cent. had been added to the purchasing power of wages during the last quarter of a century.

With regard to investments, a calculation made in 1891, based on official returns of the savings of the working class, as represented in savings banks, building societies, friendly societies, co-operative societies, etc., showed that the total amount was something over 220 millions; fifteen years earlier the amount was only 111 millions, so that it had as nearly as possible doubled. Mr. Brabrook, in his excellent little book, *Provident Societies and Industrial Welfare*,<sup>1</sup> published in 1898, speaks of 300 millions accumulated in various working-class provident associations (the earlier list included some items that he had excluded). Beyond this, of course, the working class have many possessions; Mr. Brabrook's comparison is merely based on the returns of certain institutions which are regarded as more or less exclusively working-class associations.

Some of this investment may not be fully secured and without doubt the interest of those chiefly concerned will benefit by public discussion and criticism. The departmental Committee

<sup>1</sup> Page 212.



on the Aged Deserving Poor, on which Mr. Brabrook served—a guarantee that adequate evidence about working-class thrift was presented—came to the conclusion that, in some way or other (sufficient, at all events, to satisfy the test of thrift proposed by the terms of the reference), the great bulk of the working class were in touch at some period of their lives with some provident institution. There is, of course, great room for improvement, notably with regard to insurance, some of which is organized on the costly system of a weekly collection; but the important fact is the evident familiarity of the idea of insurance to the whole of the working class. The principle is there latent, ready to be adapted to new wants. In fact, the provident institutions form a vast net-work of propagandism, and when we consider the comparatively recent date of serious insurance effort among this class, we are entitled to hope that enlightened efforts towards an improved system have every prospect of being crowned with success.

The record of savings banks is also encouraging. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is satisfactory to read, has been reduced to despair by the growth of savings-bank deposits, and is tardily proposing a reduction of interest. No one who apprehends the part played by capital in the industrial mechanism can be quite satisfied with the sterile absorption of money in our savings-bank system. The question cannot be pursued here, it is sufficient merely to mention the great attractiveness that would be given to working-class savings if they could be used in the service of those who save them. This, of course, is the object aimed at by what are known as People's Banks and Co-operative Credit Banks. A small but hopeful beginning has been made in Ireland.

Some (and I am not ashamed to be included in the number) may be of opinion that the jealousy between capital and labour which results in the restriction of enterprise ought to be dissipated by the demonstration that a completely free market carries labour inevitably to the point where it is employed most profitably to itself. We know, however, that the demonstration has failed to convince the labourer, who continues to rely on the

coercive methods of trade unionism. The reconciliation of the parties, *i.e.* the labourer and the capitalist, is so important an object that it is advisable to reach it by any legitimate means, and it would undoubtedly be forwarded by a more productive use of the labourer's savings. We see, or think we see, a good many signs of a recognition of the pacific value of such expedients as profit-sharing, co-operation, and similar devices, and we ought to forward them as far as we can.

Practically the proletariat population has to learn (and no method of teaching ought to be despised) that the modern civilized man is a capital-owning animal. The working class in this country, the Poor Law notwithstanding, is, rather against its will and with a good deal of friction, becoming aware of this truth. It sees that it cannot destroy capital; that, if it could, it would do itself no service; and it is, one hopes, coming to the conclusion that the best thing it can do is to acquire some capital for itself.

The future relation of the working-class to the Poor Law is a subject too ambitious for adequate treatment in a limited space; but the situation is, on the whole, not discouraging to those engaged in the task of poor-law reform. They are fighting the battle of political enlightenment against an enemy which may be identified with slavery, feudalism, and the parochial imprisonment of the old Poor Law; experiments in the use of restriction for the purpose of further dispauperization have, without exception, produced satisfactory results; and reformers have on their side a powerfully absorbent organization of independent industry, of which we can say (1) that it is ready to take up those who are detached from the Poor Law; (2) that hitherto it has enabled the able-bodied man to discharge his responsibilities when the Poor Law has declined to discharge them any longer; (3) that it has been progressively expansive; (4) that the more we study it the more equitable do its inevitable and automatic processes appear; and (5) that it contains, sometimes only in an incipient and imperfect form, elements of growth which, under the fostering and corrective care of public recognition and public criticism, will prove able to supply the

remedies for much that we see of evil in our present organization.

We need not pretend that this is the best of all possible worlds; but it is a world which is, in many respects, better than it has been, and one in which still further improvement is to be hoped for in response to intelligent and well-directed efforts.

T. MACKAY.



## ELEMENTS OF THE HOUSING PROBLEM.

SIXTY years ago men did not talk about a housing problem. But they were beginning to think a great deal about the problem of sanitary (or, as they more correctly spelt it, sanatory) reform—a question which began to assume large proportions when cholera first made its appearance in Europe, and of which the unwholesome and overcrowded condition of working-class dwellings was only one aspect. Sanitary reform has made enormous progress since then. Streets are paved and houses are drained. There are armies of health officers and sanitary inspectors; innumerable persons are employed upon the cleansing and lighting of streets, the removal of house refuse, the management of sewage farms and dust destructors, and the countless sanitary functions now performed by local authorities. But overcrowding and the housing problem remain with us. Municipalities and the London County Council, the Peabody and Guinness Trusts, and the numerous artisans' or labourers' dwellings companies have been building; Miss Octavia Hill and her workers have been training slum-dwellers, buying and improving slum property. Yet we read almost daily of some terrible case of overcrowding or flagrant breach of sanitary regulations, and we know that in the East End of London, and to a lesser degree in most of our great cities, the demand for houseroom far exceeds the supply. The disclosures made by recent inquiries into the housing problem may be put side by side with the statement of commissioners or writers on sanitary reform in the middle of the century, and there is very little to choose between them. The anonymous writer of *A Brief Enquiry into the Condition of Dwellings of the Industrious Classes*, in 1851, describes the landlords of slum property as "speculators in misery," and states that while for respectable

house property a return of from 6 to 8 per cent. on the capital was expected, the houses occupied by the working classes in Somers Town, Pentonville, Mile End, or Bethnal Green were required to pay, and actually did pay, a return of from 15 to 30 per cent. The other day a small property owner in Bethnal Green was contemplating the sale of some of his cottages. In order to increase the capital value he put up all the rents two shillings a week, and duly accomplished his sale. The purchaser was not to be outdone, and promptly put his rents up another two shillings to recoup himself. There is little doubt that transactions of this kind are by no means uncommon, and that "speculators in misery" is only too appropriate a title for a large proportion of the owners of working-class dwellings in London.

Dr. Aldis, the physician to the London Dispensary, stated, in his evidence before the Health of Towns Commission in 1843, that throughout his district it was common for families to occupy each one room, measuring  $10 \times 8 \times 8$  feet, or  $10 \times 8 \times 6$  feet, for which they paid one or two shillings weekly. It has been estimated, by Mr. George Haw, that in London to-day nearly four hundred thousand persons live in one-roomed homes. In some of these tenements as many as twelve persons live and sleep. They may all be members of one family, but not infrequently one or two are lodgers, whose payments are a help towards the rent, for rents in London have risen since the days of *A Brief Enquiry*. Sometimes a room is let to one person, or set of persons, for the day, to another for the night. Countrymen continue to pour into the towns;<sup>1</sup> railways, and in London the London School Board, have cleared away whole districts of small houses, and, it is to be feared, have but too often evaded the obligation, which theoretically rests upon

<sup>1</sup> Adequate statistics as to immigration apparently do not exist. The relation of immigration to the increase of population in London is only of service if the whole area affected by London is considered. The figures for Greater London, in the decennium, 1881-1900, are :—

Increase of population	..	..	..	866,671
Excess of births over deaths	..	..	..	705,946
Difference due to immigration	..	..	..	160,725

them, of rehousing the displaced population. In the central parts of cities warehouses and other business premises are perpetually competing with the dwellings of the workers, and as the economic strength of those who wish for these business premises is considerably greater than the economic strength of those who wish for small houses, the small houses go. Local authorities have made extensive clearances, improvement schemes have followed close upon one another's heels. The result of it all is, that demand has far outpaced supply, despite the efforts of the great building companies, and, where they have made them, of the local authorities. Houses have increased fast, it is true, but population has increased much faster. Recent disclosures have shown quite clearly, not only that there is overcrowding, but that in London, at all events, it is practically impossible to find adequate house-room. In 1865 the population of a circle drawn at a radius of fifteen miles from Charing Cross was 3,463,771. The area of registration London, estimated to the middle of 1898, was 77,389 acres, and its population 4,504,766. Speculation in low-class property has become more and more profitable; there is now a distinct class of small property-owners, the "house-jobbers" or "house-knackers." These men, it is found, are difficult to get at; they use various devices to conceal their identity, and for very excellent reasons remain carefully in the background. Sanitary regulations are admirable, but it is only too evident that they are not properly carried out. It is, indeed, scarcely possible to enforce very strictly those which deal with overcrowding, for in many districts housing accommodation is actually unobtainable, and there have been several instances of respectable men, in full work, whose wives and children have been obliged to take refuge in the workhouse, because there was literally no other roof under which they could be sheltered. The attempts to meet this evident need are made extremely difficult by the high price of building-land in towns; by the practice of landowners, who refuse to sell in order that, by withholding supply, price may rise—"letting the land ripen" is the accepted phrase; by the great increase in the cost of building, caused mainly by a



rise in the price of materials and in wages, while the hours of labour in the building trade have been shortened, partly also by the stringency of the Building Acts and of the sanitary regulations. Yet no one who cares about the improvement of social conditions can wish to lower the wages of builders, or to lessen the wholesome severity of the Acts, though the increased cost of land and of building is becoming every day a more and more serious obstacle to the solution of the housing problem. The calculations of even a few years ago are quite out of date now.

We have, then, before us a very real problem. It is, perhaps, worth while to spend a short time in examining the forces which are exerting themselves on the side of its solution. In the first place, there has been a very considerable amount of sanitary legislation, the value of which it would be difficult to overrate. Enormous powers are possessed by local authorities under the Public Health Acts, and probably what is most needed now is not more legislation, but more public spirit, which will induce able and honest men to serve upon local bodies;<sup>1</sup> in many places more sanitary inspectors, some of whom should be women;<sup>2</sup> and a really thorough administration of the existing laws. If, for example, all "houses let in lodgings"—that is, occupied by members of more than one family—were registered and properly inspected, as the Public Health Act provides, conditions such as those observed by Dr. Hamer, in his surveys of some of the London districts, could scarcely continue to exist.

There can be no doubt that very real and very important improvements have been brought about by the existing sanitary legislation. An obvious example is the diminution in the number of cellar dwellings. And though the ignorance and carelessness of certain classes of the poor make sanitation

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the remarkable disclosures made in the *Morning Advertiser* of February 5, 1898, which are reprinted on p. 46 of the 1898 *Report of the Mansion House Council on the Dwellings of the Poor*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the *Report of the London County Council Medical Officer on Sanitary Inspectors* (No. 209), or his *Report on the Sanitary Condition of St. Pancras* (No. 397).

extremely difficult, yet every house is now drained, and appalling revelations, such as appeared in the reports and pamphlets of the forties, are no longer possible. Probably one of the chief causes of sanitary difficulties at present is the conversion of dwelling-houses, built for one family, into tenement houses, with a family in each room. This process of conversion appears to be going on with great rapidity, especially in London, and is much to be deplored. The water famines, which have caused so much distress in the East End, are also a serious impediment to sanitary conditions.

Closely connected with the Sanitary Acts are the various Housing Acts, consolidated now in the Act of 1890. Under the Act local authorities are empowered to clear unhealthy sites; to improve, close, or demolish unhealthy dwelling-houses; to remove "obstructive buildings;" and finally to erect and manage working-class dwellings. A great deal of extremely useful work has been carried out by local authorities under the powers conferred by the Act and its predecessors. In London the dwellings maintained by the London County Council provide for over ten thousand persons, while accommodation for many more is in process of construction. Recently, too, the Shoreditch Vestry has set a good example by the erection of workmen's dwellings on a cleared site, which will, when complete, house 472 persons. The housing policy of the Council is, however, open to criticism in some respects. Its buildings are, no doubt, most excellent, but are they not almost too excellent for the real needs of those who occupy them? It is said that they are calculated to stand the wear and tear of at least two centuries, and the cost of their erection is proportionately high. Would it not be wise to try some experiments on rather different lines, and build dwellings of a more modest description? When it is remembered that out of the rents charged a sinking fund for the value of the land and buildings has to be accumulated, and that the loan has to be repaid within sixty years, it is obvious that those rents must be high. Of course there is the possibility of placing part of the burden on the rates, but this short-sighted policy is desired, it is to be hoped, by few. Surely there is something to be said for

less elaborate dwellings, the rents of which will be within the reach of the respectable labourer or artisan. For it is just possible, after all, that even London County Council dwellings will be rather out of date before those centuries have elapsed.

In the provinces a large number of local authorities have availed themselves of the Housing Acts—many dwellings have been erected, and many more are being built or planned. Moreover, several towns have Acts of their own, under which they work rather than under the general Act. Liverpool and Huddersfield may be mentioned as two of the most striking examples, for both of them have carried out extremely important housing operations. Huddersfield was the first corporation in the United Kingdom which provided a municipal lodging-house, while Liverpool has acted as a pioneer in more ways than one.

Improvement schemes, all over the country, have cleared away insanitary courts and alleys, have widened and ventilated streets, have brought light and air into many of the worst districts. Unfortunately, in London, clearances in one direction have too often seemed to mean increased overcrowding in another. It is said that after the clearances which were made for the creation of New Oxford Street, the houses in Church Lane, a notorious slum in the neighbourhood, averaged forty persons each, while before the demolition the average number had been twenty-four. New slums are constantly growing up, and probably Notting Dale is now one of the worst in London. Its existence is said to be largely due to the improvements in Lisson Grove and the neighbourhood. The same thing has happened in connection with the Boundary Street clearance in Bethnal Green. Probably one of the best steps which can be taken by the housing reformer is a constant insistence on the need for rehousing, especially perhaps in the case of great railway clearances. Railway companies have had a bad reputation in the past for evading their obligations, and care should be taken that this does not continue into the future. Rehousing is a real difficulty, no doubt, as has been very clearly seen in the recent negotiations for the great Strand improvement. These operations will clear away a very large number of small houses and streets of workmen's dwellings,



and it has been found practically impossible to rehouse upon the spot, on account partly of the enormous value of the land. The whole history of this particular improvement scheme throws a great deal of light upon some of the essential elements of the housing problem. Most useful work has been done under the different Acts relating to open spaces by the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association, and by the London County Council. The need of "lungs" in great cities is beginning to be fully realized, both in London and in the provinces, and the Report of the Parks and Open Spaces Committee of the London County Council for last year is very satisfactory reading. The number of open spaces under the control of the committee, during the period between the council's accession to power in 1889 and last March, has increased from forty to eighty-nine, numbers which represent an increase in space of 1595 acres. Last year the increase was about 66 acres, the most important acquisition being the 36 acres of the Golder's Hill Estate at Hampstead. Open spaces are perhaps not exactly a part of the housing question, but the two movements are very closely connected.

Clearances and improvements unhouse, local authorities try to rehouse. In London and in many other towns their efforts are most powerfully aided by the different agencies which are employed in improving or constructing dwellings for the working classes. The best known of the London agencies is probably the Peabody Fund. The Report of the trustees for 1898 (that for 1899 has not yet appeared) shows that they had, by the end of that year, provided 5121 separate dwellings, containing 11,367 rooms, besides bath-rooms, laundries, and lavatories, with a mean population of 19,562 persons. The average weekly earnings of the head of each family in residence was £1 3s. 1d.; the average weekly rent of each dwelling 4s. 9½d., and of each room 2s. 2d. The birth rate was higher and the death rate lower than the average rates for the whole of London; and the infant mortality rate, which is justly regarded as one of the most significant, was 52·8 below that of all London—though even then it was not less than 114·4 in 1000 births. Among the Peabody tenants were 721 labourers, 387 charwomen, 510

porters, and 278 needlewomen. The Artisans', Labourers', and General Dwellings Company have built between 5000 and 6000 houses, as well as blocks containing over 6000 tenements. The average weekly rental of a room is from 2s. 6*d.* to 3s. 6*d.* The East End Dwellings Company has about 1300 tenants, and its rents are from 1s. 6*d.* for a single room upwards. The Guinness Trust has built in London dwellings for 7327 persons. The average earnings for each family are said to be 19s. 9½*d.*; the average rent of a room 2s. 1½*d.* It has also several blocks in Dublin. The buildings of the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company house about 27,500 persons, at an average weekly rent of 2s. 2½*d.* per room. The first of all the Workmen's Dwellings companies, the Metropolitan Association for improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes, which was started in 1841, and erected its first block in St. Pancras Road, has buildings which accommodate 6369 individuals. Besides these there are many other companies and a large number of private individuals engaged in the construction of working-class dwellings all over London.

Private enterprise is also extremely active in most of the great cities of the provinces. In some places, notably Leeds, a great deal has been done by building societies; and co-operators all over the country are turning their attention to the question of housing. Most of these dwellings companies, and probably most of the speculative builders, as well as many philanthropic landowners or business men, provide for artisans and superior labourers—roughly speaking, those who earn £1 a week and upwards. In London at present it appears that even men who are willing and able to pay 7s. 6*d.* or more for their dwellings are unable to find adequate house-room. But, broadly speaking, their needs are far less difficult to supply than are those of the very poor. Just now demand has so far outpaced supply, that many families who might naturally expect to occupy three or four rooms are compelled to crowd into one or two. But no companies, and probably no respectable builders, will undertake to provide for the very poor, whose habits are destructive, and who cannot afford to pay more than a very small sum a week—

probably three shillings at most—in rent. Such, for instance, are casual labourers, some costermongers, poor widows, and single women. The latter often occupy one small room at the top of a tenement house, or, if they can afford it, in one of the “models.” In London the poor casual labourer and his family is probably the most difficult of all the many difficulties in the problem. Not only he, but very likely also his wife and some of his children, are working at casual employments. They are obliged to be ready for work very early in the morning, and very late at night, consequently no facilities of transport, as workmen’s trains or cheap trams, can help them. Moreover, their habits are only too often such as to make them impossible tenants for very many landlords.

It is among members of this class that Miss Octavia Hill’s invaluable work has done most. It is unnecessary here to describe her methods, which are fortunately well known, but it seems certain that she has proved how individual power and watchfulness, strict economy, common sense, and careful organization and administration can go far to solve the problem of decent house accommodation for the very poor. Probably most is to be hoped from the repair and reconstruction of existing small houses in dealing with this class. Its members are not educated up to good buildings, nor is it possible to associate them with more respectable tenants. It has been thought that some good work might be done by local authorities in this way. It would be inexpensive and not difficult, in many cases, to convert tenement-houses into decent dwellings. A caretaker would probably be required for every few houses, and a small number of simple regulations would have to be enforced. This is done as a matter of course in ordinary block dwellings. Such an experiment would be worth trying if a local authority could be found which was courageous enough to turn its attention to economy rather than elaboration in working-class dwellings. A similar scheme was for some time under consideration by the Liverpool Town Council, and a number of very careful and suggestive plans were prepared, which might well be useful to others. The idea was abandoned, but an interesting attempt



to provide for the needs of the very poor has recently been made. The Corporation has built cottage-flats which let at 2s. 6d. and 2s. 9d. a week (for two rooms and a scullery). These are said to have proved a complete success. The Rowton Houses and other good lodging-houses, like those at Glasgow, Huddersfield, and Southampton, are doing much to supply the needs of the single man, and, in some cases, woman. Finally, most excellent work is being carried on by the Mansion House Council on the Dwellings of the Poor. This Council, which was appointed in December, 1883, aims at enforcing the existing laws, especially those on sanitation, which deal with working-class dwellings. Much of its work is carried out by local sanitary aid committees<sup>1</sup> of voluntary workers. In addition to these it employs a number of trained inspectors, and arranges for lectures on matters relating to public health. Its inspectors report sanitary defects to local authorities, and these defects are watched by the Council until they are remedied. In 1898, 8316 cases were dealt with by the central office, and during its sixteen years of existence the Council has been instrumental in the carrying out of much admirable work. Under its auspices an excellent little manual of the law relating to the housing and sanitary condition of Londoners has been published, which should be extremely useful to those who are working for the improvement of these conditions. Committees modelled upon the Mansion House Council are at work in several of the great provincial cities.

The housing question is generally associated with the conditions of great towns. Unfortunately there is also a very real housing problem in the country, and it is painfully evident that the limited accommodation of rural cottages often leads to overcrowding of a very distressing kind. Pure air and country conditions tend to mitigate the evils of overcrowding, but it is no doubt a problem which will have to be faced sooner or later. Its conditions are, however, so different from those of great towns that it is impracticable to discuss them together, or to

<sup>1</sup> For the work of a sanitary aid committee, cf. *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1884, and the Reports of the Mansion House Council.

apply the arguments of one case to the other. They are, however, so far connected that a marked improvement in rural conditions might tend to diminish the exodus from country to town.

Overcrowding and bad housing, like most social problems, cannot be separated from a large number of other difficulties with which they are more or less involved. The numerous problems involved in what is popularly known as the land question, no less than those connected with rating, are closely related to the housing difficulty. Looked at from the broadest point of view, it is only one small aspect of the great problem of poverty, and cannot ultimately be taken apart from all matters relating to the conditions of labour. In London and in all large towns it seems likely that most is to be hoped from decentralization and an extension of transport facilities. Factories are even now in process of removal from the centre to the outskirts, and small factories are springing up all over the country. Much importance is attached by some thinkers to the extension of electrical power. If all those who could afford to live at some distance from their work were able to avail themselves of cheap trains or tramways, a highly important step would have been taken, and the possibilities of proper accommodation for those who must live near their work would be much increased. An enormous amount has been done in the improvement of transport of late, and it is probably one of the most satisfactory sides of the problem at which to work. Everywhere municipalities are taking up the question of tramways, and private enterprise will have to keep up to the mark if it is to survive. The London County Council has made valuable and interesting investigations into traffic facilities, which placed it in a position to give extremely important expert evidence in the recent inquiries. It has taken up a very strong line in the matter of cheap trains, has published admirable reports,<sup>1</sup> and has brought much influence, direct and indirect, to bear upon the railway companies, urging them to provide more workmen's trains, and to make them more generally

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nos. 365 and 366.

accessible. The tendency to shorten the working day is important in this connection, for the old services of workmen's trains no longer supply the needs of men and women whose work begins at 8 or 9 instead of 6.30 or 7.30. In some towns local conditions make it absolutely impossible to obtain adequate house-room in the city itself, and the only available expedient is a full and efficient service of trains or trams. This is the case, for instance, at Plymouth, where the housing problem is acute, and the possibilities of extension limited. The imperative necessity for better distribution lies at the root of the housing question.<sup>1</sup>

Housing reform came prominently to the front in 1851, in 1875, and in 1884. Lately men's thoughts have once more been turned towards it, and every kind of measure has been urged. It would be well to ascertain carefully, not only what are the real causes of these distressing conditions, but also what are the existing powers, what has been and will be the effect of enforcing them carefully and conscientiously, and how much work still remains to be done by all who wish for reform without necessarily obtaining extensive new powers. No doubt there are faults in the Acts, some of which will become more evident with time, while others are clear enough to-day. But a great deal of most valuable work is being done on all sides, and it is worth while to consider how far existing remedies have had a fair trial before proceeding to demand entirely new ones, to make the very best of what we have, though we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that more may be necessary.

LETTICE FISHER.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *London County Council Report*, No. 397, Mrs. Bosanquet's important article in the *Economic Journal*, March, 1900, and the *Municipal Journal*, Feb. 2, 1900.



## FAMINES IN INDIA.

IN complying with a request of the editors for an article on Indian Famines, I will confine myself to a statement of facts observed and opinions formed by me while working as an Indian civilian from 1870 to 1895 in North India. What I write is not necessarily applicable to other parts of India, where the conditions of cultivation, the tenures, and the revenue systems are different. I have left untouched the very important subject of famine relief, because I was never employed on that work.

The primary cause of famine in India is the general or local failure of that great advance northwards in May of rain-bearing winds, which is known as the south-west monsoon. Sometimes, from unknown causes operating far to the south in the Indian Ocean, the monsoon is generally weak, and the total Indian rainfall is deficient; more frequently local barometrical conditions affect the distribution of the monsoon rains, and one part of the country suffers from drought, while in other parts the rainfall is unusually heavy.

Experience has shown in what tracts famines, from time to time, recur, and I will first of all point out the characteristic feature of these tracts. Then I will discuss the feasibility of warding off famine by irrigation, and describe the conditions which result in a year of agricultural prosperity, and the effect of the failure of those conditions. I will point out the great fluctuations of income to which the Indian peasant is necessarily subject, and argue in favour of great liberality in the matter of suspensions and remissions of land revenue in disastrous seasons. In conclusion, I will discuss briefly the desirability of forming reserve stores of grain, the effect on the food reserves of railways

and of the foreign export trade, and the employment of charitable funds in providing cattle and seed for ruined cultivators.

In some parts of the country the natural conditions are so permanently favourable that famine is unknown. Thus, all along the Himalayan range there is a broad belt of plain, blessed with an abundant and constant rainfall, highly cultivated, and densely populated. Here complete failures of the crops do not occur, though, no doubt, just as in England, there are years of better and worse harvests. The cultivators of this belt are really worst off in the years of widespread abundance; for, owing to the fertility of the land and the pressure of the population, their rents are high, and in these years of widely extended favourable rains the superiority of their lands over much lower-rented tracts disappears; their crops are as heavy as usual, but the prices which those crops command in the market are low. Their best years are those in which prices are high, owing to drought and famine elsewhere, even though in such years their own harvests are below normal.

There are other tracts in which famine is unknown, not because the rainfall is uniformly good, but because it is uniformly bad, so that cultivation is primarily dependent, not upon the local rainfall, but upon the flood waters of rivers swollen by the melting of snows on far-distant mountain ranges. Such tracts, no doubt, are to some extent affected by the fluctuations of local rainfall; for in good years the grazing is better in the high lands which lie beyond the cultivated river valleys, crops can be grown in hollows where rain-water collects, and where there is irrigation from wells sunk down to the water-bearing strata, fed by percolation from the rivers, timely rains increase the area for which each well can provide the necessary water as it diminishes the amount of artificial irrigation required. In such tracts the cultivator generally has abundance of land. Land, indeed, is sometimes so plentiful, and the water which makes it valuable so scarce, that the extent of a man's property is described, not by land areas, but by measures of water rights,—such as shares in wells or irrigation cuts.

Again, there are other tracts where the rainfall is so uncertain,

that drought and crop failure belong to the normal course of events; and the people have learned of necessity to adapt themselves to the conditions under which they live. They are accustomed in the lean years to take off carts and cattle to distant places, and work there as carriers, or to go to find work and food in the villages to which their wives belong, for marriages are usually between persons of different villages. Only the older men and the women and children stay at home in the semi-deserted villages. In good years, on the other hand, every one returns home to work on the land, which, in such years, is especially productive on account of the enforced fallows. The habit of storing grain is strange in such parts, and the population remains relatively scanty as compared with that of the tracts next described.

There remain the tracts which constitute the special famine zone. The special characteristic of these is that in all ordinary years the rainfall is sufficient for the production of good crops on wide areas without the assistance of artificial irrigation. The population increases in correspondence with the normal food supply. The village economy is based in every way on the assumption that seed-time and harvest will not fail; but every now and then the rains fail utterly, and the country is a desert. By way of illustration I state a century's facts for a particular district near Delhi, which came under British rule in 1803. Possibly some of the earlier years of scarcity, not amounting to famine, may have been forgotten. The figures are always for two years, as the natural agricultural year in this part begins in July, with the advent of the monsoon—

A.D.

- 1783-4. Severe famine.
- 1803-4. Scarcity.
- 1812-3. Scarcity.
- 1817-8. Scarcity.
- 1824-5. Scarcity.
- 1833-4. Severe famine.
- 1837-8. Severe famine.
- 1843-4. Scarcity.
- 1850-1. Scarcity.
- 1860-1. Famine.
- 1868-9. Scarcity.
- 1877-8. Severe famine.



Here twelve times in a century the crops failed; and in five times out of the twelve the failure was so bad as to amount to famine. A scarcity is merely a time of temporary distress; a severe famine may be an overwhelming calamity. After the terrible year 1783-4 many estates long lay uncultivated and uninhabited; one great tract of country in the South Punjab remained almost desert for nearly fifty years. But though scarcity and famine from time to time recur, the normal year is a year of plenty. The system of cultivation is that which is suited to the normal year; and the expectation of a famine year is too uncertain for the people to frame their lives in any way with reference to the possibility of its occurrence. It is principally in tracts of this kind that the war against famine has to be waged by the British Government.

Where it is possible to introduce irrigation from sources of supply which are not affected by local failure of rainfall, that war is completely successful. Thus, from the mighty Himalayan ranges great rivers flow down into the plains on their journey to the distant Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea. In the summer these rivers are in flood, swollen by the melting snows and the rainfall on the mountains. Where the rivers issue from the hills on to the plains their waters are intercepted by great dams, which feed irrigation canals, by means of which far distant tracts can be rendered immune from famine. And lower down there are other systems of smaller canals, which are filled with water as the rivers rise in the early summer, and which convey the flood waters to lands beyond the naturally inundated area. Much has been done to utilize these rivers for irrigation; something still remains to be done; but the new canals to be made hereafter will serve rather to open up new tracts for cultivation and population than to protect against drought lands already cultivated. And when everything that can be done to utilize the waters flowing down from the distant mountains has been done, there will still remain great stretches of country which, for various reasons, cannot possibly be protected in this way against the effects of drought.

Another kind of irrigation work is that which dams up the

waters of smaller rivers, or intercepts at favourable places the flood-waters of the surface of the country, and utilizes in the dry season the water thus stored. But this kind of irrigation work, though very useful in years of slight drought and moderate scarcity, is no protection against real famine; for the cause which produces the famine also dries up the sources of the irrigation. Such sources are like the deceitful brooks to which Job compared his brethren.

A much more trustworthy protection against the effects of drought exists in the form of irrigation from wells. And it is precisely in the tracts of moderate rainfall that well-irrigation is most largely practised. Where the rainfall is very regular and abundant, the advantage, if any, to be gained by the use of wells is not sufficient to counterbalance the extra expense. And again, where the rainfall is very scanty, there, too, well-irrigation is unprofitable, because most of the produce raised is used up in keeping the well going. The well-cattle are hard-worked, and must get plenty of food; and if the rainfall is poor, most of their food must be raised on the lands watered from the well. Also, the area which can be irrigated by a well is small in proportion to the frequency with which each particular field requires water. The result is that in a very dry climate, with a very scanty rainfall, the area which can be successfully cropped from a well is too small, and the proportion of that area which must be devoted to the raising of fodder for the well-cattle is too large, for well-irrigation to be commercially successful. But, as I have already pointed out, these tracts of very abundant and of very scanty rainfall are not in the famine zone; the intermediate region is that in which famines mainly occur, and in which also the use of well-water as an auxiliary to the rainfall is most profitable and general, but it is not, and cannot be, universal.

A well is only a means of bringing up to the surface an already existing subterranean water-supply; and in the famine zone there are many high-lying tracts distant from rivers where this subterranean supply is at great depth, and quickly exhausted. Very deep wells are rarely used for irrigation, the cost of raising

the water being too great; and where the strata from which the well is refilled are wet rather than water-bearing, the well, if worked, is soon temporarily exhausted. Where these conditions exist, the danger of famine cannot be prevented by sinking wells; but where water-bearing strata exist at no great depth below the surface, the multiplication of wells is an important measure of protection against famine, even though use may not be made of all these wells in ordinary years. The extent to which the cultivators make use of well-irrigation as part of the normal farming routine depends upon conditions which vary in different localities. Wells are expensive, and their cost, of course, increases with the depth to water; the well-gear costs something, and the oxen used in working the well must be strong animals, and must receive extra food; well-irrigation also involves for the cultivators a great deal of additional work of a laborious character. And so, while in some districts as many wells as possible are sunk, and all that exist are regularly worked, in other parts only the wells near the villages, where the lands are heavily manured, are used in good seasons. The cultivators do not always trouble to work the outlying wells to raise crops similar in character, though somewhat superior in outturn, to those grown without artificial irrigation. Where this is the case the people are not so keen to increase the number of their wells; and the protection against drought is less complete.

In Northern India the agricultural year commences with the rainy season. The season of dry heat, which begins about the middle of April, answers in the farming economy of India to the winter season in England. The intense heat of the sun and the hot dry winds pulverize and disintegrate the soil, and prepare it for the future crop, just as in England the frost acts on a winter fallow. Then in an entirely prosperous year the course of events will be somewhat as follows:—

About the end of June there should be a week's heavy, nearly continuous rain, thoroughly saturating the parched soil; after that a break in the rain is needed, so that the autumn crops of millets and pulses may be sown. Then all through July and



August and in the beginning of September days of heavy rain should alternate with breaks, lasting not more than two or three days, of brilliant sunshine. The Indian cultivator, like the English farmer, wants the sun in one hand and a watering-pot in the other; and if sunshine and rain come just as they are wanted, his millets grow with marvellous luxuriance. About the middle of September sun to ripen the crops is more necessary than rain; and October sees most of the autumn crop harvested. November is the great month of the sowings for the spring harvest of wheat, barley, and chick pea. The rainy season ends early in October, but a good downpour just before the end of the rains is a capital thing for these spring sowings; it makes it quite certain that the seed sown in the rain-lands will not fail to germinate for want of moisture; and on the well-lands less water is required for each plot, and greater breadths can be sown. After this no rain is expected until about Christmas, and the well-cattle are kept steadily at work. January should be a month of occasional rain; and if these winter rains are good, the risk of the crops on the unirrigated lands drying up for lack of moisture will be obviated, and the well-cattle can be given a little rest. After that the harvest is practically secure; a little rain will do good, and the wells are worked, but practically a good seed-time and a good winter rainfall in January secure a good harvest of wheat, barley, and pulse in April. I have only mentioned the staple food crops of Upper India, and it would take me too long, and would be unnecessary for my purpose, to discuss the cultivation of rice, sugar-cane, and cotton.

For a fairly long series of years the rain and the sunshine may come just as they are wanted, and then may occur a more or less disastrous year. It may be that all has gone well up to the end of July, and a large and flourishing autumn crop has grown up; but there follows a rainless August, hot, dry winds set in, and the crops wither: not much millet and pulse will be reaped that year, but there will be fodder for the cattle. After some weeks of drought the rains may set in again, and the spring harvest may be good. Such a year, though not

prosperous, will hardly be calamitous, except in districts where, owing to the sandy character of the soil and the normal scantiness of the winter rains, spring crops are confined to a small irrigated area.

A more serious state of affairs occurs in a year when the monsoon fails, and July passes by without rain; the autumn harvest cannot be sown, and so there is a fodder, as well as a grain failure. But later rains may still be in time to cause grass to grow for the cattle, and the spring harvest may be good; and as wheat and barley are more valuable crops than the millets, though the loss of the millet-stalks for fodder is serious, still, if the cattle can be kept alive, the spring harvest may save the situation.

In another year all may go well in the autumn, and a large area may be sown with spring crops; but if the winter rains fail, the harvest on the unirrigated lands will, at the best, be poor, and on the wells man and beast must labour without intermission. In such a year there is the further danger that hot, dry winds may set in unusually early, before the ears are filled with grain; if this happens, the grain-heaps on the threshing-floors will be small, and not much either of straw or of grain will be won by the cultivator from his unirrigated lands.

In every country lean years recur from time to time, and one lean year coming after a few fat years is no greater evil than the Indian cultivator can endure without any great difficulty. If a good year follows all may yet be well. But at the end of a lean year there will not be much reserve left in the way of stacks of fodder; food stores may also be low, but food can in case of need be more readily brought from a distance than can fodder. And then it may be that, after a lean year, the dry, hot season is prolonged; the rains are due, but do not fall; perhaps some rain falls, but not enough. As the season advances the cultivator sows his millet and pulse; again there is dry weather, and the seed sown is lost; perhaps he sows his lands twice, but the seed only sprouts to perish. And now the cattle begin to die; the old dry cows and the worn-out oxen, which it would be sacrilege to kill, and which have therefore

been left to pick up a scanty living with the village herds, are the first to die. If the loss of cattle goes no further the cultivators' resources are not diminished, though it is sad that animals should thus perish from hunger. Every effort is made to save the younger cows and the working oxen, and where wells exist some quick-growing fodder crop is raised for the purpose. July, August, and September pass away practically rainless, and then perhaps there is a downpour just sufficient to tempt the cultivator to risk the seed necessary for the sowing of the rain-lands with barley and chick-pea; but these crops are poor from the beginning, and wither off the face of the ground when the winter rains fail and the dry winds commence before their season. Every available well is used to its full capacity, but the continuous labour strains the strength of the cattle; and as there is no grazing available for them outside the well area, they consume a good deal of the wheat which is grown by the aid of the well-water. Still, where there are wells there will be, at any rate, some food grown for man and beast. But in some tracts the whole cultivation is practically dependent on the rainfall; and when a lean year is succeeded by a year in which neither fodder nor food-grains are produced, either in autumn or in spring, all the factors of severe famine are present.

The terms on which land is generally held vary greatly in different parts of India. Much of the famine zone in Northern India is essentially a country of small cultivating proprietors, living partly on their proprietary profits, but mainly on the wages of their labour, procured in kind from their own fields. A man who owns land and lets it gets, of course, the rent and nothing more. If the farmer is not the owner, but a tenant, and works his land by hired labour, he retains merely the balance after paying his labourers and his landlord; but small holders of land and their families do most, if not all, of the farm work. The Government claims a share of the rent which would be paid by a tenant to the landlord. The sum so claimed is determined periodically, revision taking place, as a general rule, after thirty years; and for more than half a century the rule for assessment has been that—



“the Government demand for land revenue shall not exceed the estimated value of half the net produce of an estate, or, in other words, one-half of the share of the produce of an estate ordinarily receivable by the landlord in money or kind.”

Formerly the prescribed rule was to take two-thirds of the landlord's share; and yet earlier the proportion taken was still higher. Indian rulers, in fact, have, so far back as history goes, been by anticipation disciples of Henry George. I am not writing an article on the Indian land revenue system, and so will merely add that the half rent-rule is prescribed as a maximum not to be exceeded, and that generally the Government gets as revenue less than half the landlord's rent. But as there are also extra cesses levied for village officials and local purposes, the revenue plus cesses may be fairly taken as equal to half the rent. Where rents are taken in kind, the landlord's share is very commonly one-third of the grain-heap.

A comparison may help to explain the situation. Let us suppose that a somewhat similar system has been introduced into England; that the land is owned by small farmers, each man having about as much land as he can work without the aid of hired labourers; and that, in consequence of a modified application of Henry George's principles, there is levied in rates and taxes an annual sum equal to half the rent, which a tenant would pay a landlord for the land. Let us next suppose the average gross produce of such a holding to be worth £120, the renting value to be £40, rates and taxes to amount to £20, and that other necessary cash outgoings also amount to £20. In an average year the small owner has £80 to live on, and £60 of this sum represents his labour bill, paid by himself to himself and such members of his family as help him. The other £20 he retains because he is owner of the land: if he were tenant, his income would be only £60. Such a man's prosperity in any given year depends far more upon the character of the harvest than upon the Government demand, even though this is intended to absorb half the rent. He would get off lightly if he only paid £15 to the State; he would be harshly treated if he had to pay £25, and yet the variations in his income in a normal year

would only be from £85 under a light assessment to £80, the fair amount, or £75 if he were unduly burdened. On the other hand, the holding which would yield in an average year £120 worth of produce might easily produce £160 in a good, or only £80 in a lean year, without any very exceptional fluctuations of produce. Thus the small owner's living income would rise in the one case from £80 to £120, and in the other case would sink to £40; and in the latter year he would only get £20 for his year's labour, the other £20 representing rent. Then after the poor year may come a year of drought, such as I have described above, in which he may get neither rent, farming profit, nor wages of labour, and yet he will owe the Government £20 for rates and taxes. It is just as if an English workman were to receive an average wage of 30s. a week, but in some years would get £3 a week, in others only 15s., and occasionally, from January to December, nothing whatever. The thrift and foresight required to meet such fluctuations without external help are greater than can be reasonably expected from most men, more especially as it often happens that fat years follow one another, until men feel that they really are well enough off to indulge in a little extravagance. Then come one after another the lean years, eating up any provision that has been made for the future, and perhaps culminating in famine.

The man who equalizes for the cultivator the results of good and bad years is the village money-lender. Naturally he charges for the service, and Indian rates of interest are high; but his advances save the situation in lean years, and though in the good seasons his claims for money lent and interest are high, and market prices in such years are often low, still it is better to pay when the heaps on the threshing floor are large than to forego a meal a day when they are scanty. There are exceptional individuals, there are even exceptional agricultural races, who have learned to manage their affairs without the money-lender's help, but generally speaking he is an indispensable factor in the rural economy. I do not think that the difficulty of his position in a famine year is always sufficiently recognized. He lives by helping people who may be expected eventually to

pay, and it is to his profit to aid his farmer clients, if they are reasonably solvent. But his own means and credit are limited. He looks to the harvest to refill his empty money-bags; and if it fails entirely it may become impossible for him to help, even where it would be his clear interest to do so. One of the effects of a bad drought is to produce a local scarcity of loanable capital; and this is intensified when the Government insists upon payment of its land revenue by every one who can possibly pay. It is the money-lender who, as a rule, finds the required cash. Some of his clients, perhaps, are fortunate in the possession of irrigated lands which have yielded a harvest, and there is no great hardship on them in the Government's insisting on payment. But a general suspension, in whole or part, of the Government demand in an afflicted tract eases the temporary tightness of loanable capital, and the Government claims, of which the demand has only been suspended or postponed, can be enforced later in all cases where the suspension has been rather a matter of policy than of necessity.

The economic future of a famine-stricken district depends essentially upon the way in which the cultivating classes weather the storm; the production in future years will depend on the survival of them and of their working cattle. It is also very important that they should be able to take up their work anew in the better seasons, not hopelessly crippled by debt, nor deprived of their proprietary rights in the land. For, to put it on the lowest ground, these men are politically the most important class in India, and it is not advisable that their only hope should lie in a change of rulers and an agrarian revolution. But the pinch of actual hunger does not attack them first. The first to suffer are the classes which, from choice or from misfortune, live on alms in ordinary years—the beggars by profession, the infirm, the crippled, the orphaned, and the aged members of the landless labouring class. There is no system of poor-law relief in India; and when famine comes the alms on which they ordinarily live cease perforce. The next in order to suffer are the various classes of hired labourers, who are able and ready to work; but on the dry lands there is no work for



them to do, and there is no produce from which their wages can be drawn. The questions connected with the task of keeping these and other classes alive belong to the subject of famine relief, which, as already mentioned, I do not propose to discuss. I will merely state that I think that the cultivating classes are generally ready to do their utmost to find work and subsistence for the labourers whom they have been accustomed to employ. In many cases useful work could be found for them, such as digging wells, deepening village tanks, and the like; and such works are likely to be better chosen and supervised if done by the people at their own expense, for their own benefit, than if undertaken by the Government. The money-lender, too, would often be willing to advance the necessary funds if the temporary tightness of loanable capital were eased by suspensions of the Government demand for revenue, even where payment could be quite justly enforced. A famine year is such a terrible calamity that collections of revenue in the area affected should, I think, be generally suspended, and in all estates which have really suffered should be wholly or in the main written off as remitted.

This procedure does not necessarily mean that in the long run the Government will be any loser. I am no advocate of the State's sacrificing its claim to a share of the net rent. I believe in Henry George's theory; and the main difficulties in its application do not arise in a country like India, where there is an old-established claim on the part of the State to share in the net rent. Further, a relaxation of this claim involves the maintenance or increase of less defensible taxation. And I hold that it is better to be fairly rigorous in assessment, and to be generous in years of calamity, than to assess lowly and always insist on payment. The Finance Department does not like this irregularity of receipts; it is afraid to build up balances in good years, and always wants a steady, trustworthy income. But if the sources from which that income is drawn are in their nature fluctuating, there must be somewhere or other a reservoir filled in good times in order that it may be used in bad years. The Indian Exchequer draws its income from an area so vast that local fluctuations are often averaged in the general result; and in

any case a fluctuating income is only a source of worry and trouble to the rulers, while the effort to secure it may mean ruin to the cultivator and to his ally, the village money-lender.

As to the actual provision of food in a tract which has failed in a particular year to produce sufficient for the necessary consumption of its inhabitants, this must be effected either from the stored superfluity of previous years, or by bringing in supplies from the outside. The latter plan was, generally speaking, impossible in the pre-railway times. Droughts often affect large areas, and though India is so vast that while one part suffers another prospers, and it is said that India as a whole has in no year failed to produce enough food for its inhabitants, still, the distances between the hungry people and the luxuriant harvests were generally too great for the conveyance of food by any of the older methods of carriage. Of late years railways have been built through tracts subject to famines for the express purpose of food-supply in bad years, and there is now very much less storage of food than there once was. By many this is regretted. Plans for the storage of Government reserves of grain have enlisted many advocates; and sometimes the railways are attacked as causing famines, by facilitating the export of the surplus harvests of good years. Some grain, of course, is always stored; it is part of the ordinary business routine to keep sufficient grain in store to meet the local demand until the new supplies are due, and where good harvests are only expected every third or fourth year, grain is commonly stored on a much larger scale than where, in all ordinary years, a fair harvest is reaped. But it is difficult to keep grain for a long time without great risk of deterioration; and it is an uneconomical plan to be putting good grain into store every year, and to be taking out for consumption and sale that which has deteriorated. And now that it is possible to bring by rail the food needed in the comparatively rare years of scarcity, it does not seem probable that grain-storage on a large scale as a safeguard against occasional famine will be practised either by the people or by the State. Before the introduction of railways, the poor, who are not themselves cultivators, were, no doubt,

much better off in years of local plenty than they are now; prices were very low in the years of abundant harvest, and very high when the crop was scanty. Now the poor see the full harvest reaped, but the grain goes away, their bread is not particularly cheap, and they feel wronged. But so far as the grain goes to other parts of India, it serves to mitigate scarcity there; and so far as it is exported from India to foreign countries, this export trade builds up in India a new reserve against famine, in the form of an increased production of grain in ordinary years. Concurrently with the development of the foreign export of wheat there has been in the Punjab a great increase of cultivation of wheat, especially in the tracts to which water has been brought by new irrigation canals. Possibly much of this increase of cultivation would have taken place without the stimulus of an external demand; but it is difficult to be certain as to the effect of hypothetical circumstances, and without the foreign market prices must certainly have been lower, and there would have been less inducement to the cultivators to exert their full energies.

There is force, too, in another objection. As prices range higher in Europe than in India, and as also contracts relating to the purchase of produce in India and its sale in Europe are often made long before the character of the harvest can be known, even in seasons when the Indian supply of food is short, exports of wheat and rice may continue. Still, allowing for all these important considerations, it seems clear that a country which is accustomed in ordinary years to grow food for export as well as for the consumption of its own inhabitants is in possession of a reserve producing-power which it can in case of need utilize. A rise in price beyond a certain point would make sale in the Indian market more profitable than export; and in a very grave crisis the Government might even temporarily prohibit the export of food, and so secure the utilization in the country itself of its reserve producing-power. But the effects of such a prohibition on commercial confidences would be so serious that no such measure is likely to be taken except under the stress of extreme necessity.



At one time, in years of famine, the Government used to ask the aid of private charity for the famine-stricken, without making any distinction between the object of the expenditure from the State treasuries and that of private contributions. It now admits that the expenditure needed to save life must be met by the State, but it suggests that the re-equipment of impoverished cultivators with the cattle and seed necessary for the renewed tillage of their lands is a proper object for private charity. No doubt this is a charitable work, but if no private contributions were forthcoming, the Government would, as a mere matter of business, be bound to meet this outlay; for if the land is not cultivated there will be no possibility of collecting the land revenue. To expend private charity on objects for which the State would provide from the public treasury in case private funds were not available is in effect to ease the taxpayer at the expense, not so much of the donors, as of those who would have been the recipients of the diverted charitable funds. An appeal to private benevolence to assist the Indian Exchequer would produce little; an appeal on behalf of the famine-stricken people may, to some extent, increase the total sum given in charity, but in the main it will merely cause a new distribution of that sum. Every care should therefore be taken that the funds contributed in answer to such an appeal are really expended on the relief of misery, which would otherwise remain unrelieved, and are not used on objects for which, in the absence of this charitable aid, the Indian Government would be bound to provide, either to secure its own future revenue, or to avoid the danger of social unrest and disturbance. If the Indian Government cannot provide the funds needed for the discharge of its proper functions without external aid, it must certainly avoid for the future the expensive luxury of a forward frontier policy. The opponents of that policy have always contended that, even if it were otherwise politic, its adoption would unduly drain the Indian treasury. If their counsels had prevailed, the State could have re-equipped its tenants without the aid of a private subscription.

F. C. CHANNING.

## ECONOMIC THEORY AMONG THE GREEKS AND ROMANS.

IT is a question perhaps not entirely devoid of interest, although not easy to answer with any degree of accuracy, to what extent our modern science of economics is indebted for its origin to the speculations of men who lived before the days of modern or even mediæval civilization. On first thoughts one is inclined to believe that the whole subject sprang into existence, almost as completely fashioned as Athene did from the head of Zeus, when Adam Smith first gave to the world his *Wealth of Nations*; or that his work was only preceded by the few writings of the French economists of his own day, and certain more or less technical treatises on banking and kindred subjects which had appeared a few generations earlier.

But, without any wish to question the importance of the new start given to economic investigation by Smith's epoch-making work, it may be worth while to consider whether there were not antecedent *conditions* without which his book would not have made so great an impression upon the world as it actually did, even if it be admitted that we are right in regarding the economic crisis of his day as the *cause* to which the science more immediately owes its origin. Now, strictly speaking, as J. S. Mill points out, the distinction between Condition and Cause is unscientific; and perhaps the extracts from the ancient writers given below may suggest, without aspiring to prove, that the fragments of economic theory which we find scattered up and down in the writings of the great thinkers of Greek, and to a less extent of Roman, antiquity, have in some degree served as a foundation for the superstructure of to-day. Adam Smith, a keen student of classical and philosophical literature, must have been familiar with the enunciations of certain important

principles of economics in Plato and others, either as presented in such a form as to make a nucleus round which he developed his theories, or perhaps as arousing the spirit of contradiction within him by the narrow view of life of which many of them are an indication.

But whether positively or negatively, it is hoped that this paper will go some little way towards rendering it at least probable that the contributions to economic science of the ancient writers, diffuse and unsystematized as they are, and often based on principles which to us appear radically unsound, did do something to clear the way for the modern science, and that the interval between it and ancient speculation on the subject is only greater in degree, and not in kind, than that between other modern and ancient branches of thought.

We may begin by seeking for the reasons why the study of economics was carried to a less degree of completeness among the Greeks than, *e.g.*, ethics or logic, both of which were more or less systematized by Aristotle. Neither Greeks nor Romans ever reached the stage of separating off political economy as a subject for special treatment. Aristotle, it is true, composed a treatise on economics, of which (bk. II. i.) he distinguishes four kinds. But of these he regards "political" economy as the simplest, and his treatment of the subject consists in giving some forty historical examples of money-making devices, without making any comment or committing himself to any theory on the subject.

No doubt the chief reasons for the comparative absence of economic theory in classical literature, and for the want of systematic treatment of what does exist, were two: (1) the slight development of industry and commerce among Greeks and Romans, and the consequent absence of such complicated problems as thence arise; and (2) the attitude of the educated classes towards industrial pursuits. These two causes, however, are not entirely separate, but tend to react upon each other, as will be seen if we examine the circumstances to which they themselves were due. Thus, the comparatively slight development of commerce and industry was owing to (a) the lack of



originality in the direction of invention and discovery, so as to utilize the forces of nature; (b) the limited knowledge of geography, suggesting but a narrow market for produce; (c) the military basis of the ancient state, resulting in slavery (of prisoners of war), insecurity of property, and a consequent disinclination to invest capital in industrial enterprises; and (d) excessive State interference. The attitude of the educated classes towards industry was due to an ancient and deep-seated prejudice against manual labour—generally, however, with the exception of agriculture. This tended towards the encouragement of the slave system, and the discouragement of inventiveness. So that, in a sense, the second cause is behind the first one; whilst, on the other hand, the very fact that industries did not develop rapidly, tended to prevent the prejudice against them from breaking down, as is more or less the case in our own day.

What follows, then, is meant to illustrate what has been said on both sides. Our way of looking at these things, and consequently our social conditions, are very different from theirs. And yet the Greeks and Romans paid this subject enough attention to engage the interest of any student of its modern development, whether their treatment claims him as an admirer and developer of what truths the ancients grasped in germ and were the first to formulate, or causes him to substitute for theirs the knowledge that has come to him as an inheritance through generations of moral and political freedom, the foundations of which they, after all, did so much to establish.<sup>1</sup>

1. The institution of slavery was regarded even by Plato and Aristotle as part of the natural order of things, and as such admitting of hardly any question. Aristotle does, indeed, ask “whether it is right and just for any one to be a slave or no, or whether all slavery is contrary to nature.”<sup>2</sup> But he speedily arrives at the conclusion that “some men are free by nature and others are slaves, and that in the case of the latter the lot of slavery is both advantageous and just.”

<sup>1</sup> The following translations are taken from Bohn's series or from Jowett's edition of Plato.

<sup>2</sup> *Pol.*, I. v.

"For where ruler and subject have nothing in common, there cannot be any friendship, any more than there can be any justice. But here the relation is like that of a workman to his tools, or of the soul to the body, or of master to slave. The tools, and the body, and the slave are all benefited by those who use them; but our relations with inanimate objects do not admit of friendship or justice; nor our relations with a horse or ox; nor our relations with a slave, as such. For there is nothing in common between master and slave. The slave is a living tool; the tool is a lifeless slave. As a slave, then, his master's relations with him do not admit of friendship or justice, but as a man they may: for there seems to be room for some sort of justice in the relations of any man to anybody that can participate in law and contract,—and if so, then for some kind of friendship, so far, that is to say, as the slave deserves the name man."<sup>1</sup>

And so on, in numerous other passages, the outcome of which is to show that in their slaves the ancients possessed a set of tools by means of which industries were carried on at no expense beyond the food and clothing necessary to keep the worker in sufficient health.

"Certain it is that the principle of exclusive slave labour, which Aristotle has adopted, has robbed his economic theory of precisely that which must be taken to be the soul of the modern science—the conception of economic labour. . . . The free community of antiquity was in reality nothing but an association of capitalists who lived on the interest of capital they had invested in slaves."<sup>2</sup>

The same or similar conditions prevailed amongst the Romans, although there is less explicit allusion to the subject on theoretical lines. The elder Cato, however, speaks of slaves as mere instruments for obtaining wealth, and recommends that they should be disposed of when aged or infirm.

2. The great contempt in which manual industries were held by both Greeks and Romans was at once to some extent cause and effect of the slave system. As Mommsen shows, however, this was less the case in the early days of Rome; and both nations made an exception in the case of the art of agriculture, which subject is one of those earliest treated of in Roman

<sup>1</sup> *Eth. Nic.*, VIII. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Susemihl and Hicks, *Introduction to Aristotle's Politics*.

literature. Plato's thoroughly aristocratic division of the citizens of his ideal republic places craftsmen and traders in the lowest rank; and he gives us no information as to how their education is to be provided for, if indeed they are to be allowed any such privilege at all. More explicit still are the utterances of Xenophon and Aristotle on the subject. For instance, the latter declares that—

“in the best governed states, where the citizens are really men of intrinsic and not relative goodness, none of them should be permitted to exercise any low mechanical employment or traffic, as being ignoble and destructive to virtue: neither should they who are destined for office be husbandmen; for leisure is necessary in order to improve in virtue, and to perform the duty which they owe to the state.”<sup>1</sup> (N.B. the different reasons assigned for rejecting mechanical and agricultural industries.) Or again: “All those arts which tend to deform the body are called mean, and all those employments which are exercised for gain; for they take off from the leisure of the mind, and render it sordid.”<sup>2</sup>

Similar sentiments are found in Cicero, as in the following passage:—

“We are likewise to account as ungentle and mean the gains of all hired workmen, whose source of profit is not their art but their labour; for their very wages are the consideration of their servitude. We are likewise to despise all who retail from merchants goods for prompt sale; for they never can succeed unless they lie most abominably. Now, nothing is more disgraceful than insincerity. All mechanical labourers are by their profession mean. For a workshop can contain nothing befitting a gentleman. . . . As to merchandizing, if on a small scale it is mean; but if it is extensive and rich, bringing numerous commodities from all parts of the world, and giving bread to numbers without fraud, it is not so despicable. . . . Of all gainful professions, nothing is better, more pleasing, nothing better becomes a well-bred man than agriculture.”<sup>3</sup>

Notice the sweeping condemnation with which all smaller industries are characterized as mean, and as necessarily involving fraud. Our authors do not care to acknowledge, even though they may be conscious of, the debt owed by society to the smaller industries, which serve or have served as its

<sup>1</sup> *Pol.*, vii. ix.

<sup>2</sup> *Pol.*, viii. ii.

<sup>3</sup> *Off.*, i. 42.



foundation. Nor would the traditional attitude of the moral philosopher towards commercial enterprise tend in any way to reform the evils of which he complains, but rather to increase and foster their presence.

3. Strange suggestions, too, on the subject of legislation in matters of trade are found in Plato. After magnanimously conceding that—

“retail trade in a city is not by nature intended to do harm, but quite the contrary,” he goes on to stipulate, however, that, since “all that relates to retail trade and merchandize, and the keeping of taverns, is denounced and numbered among dishonourable things, . . . he who engages in retail trade must be either a metic or a stranger.” And again: “When a man undertakes a work, the law gives him the same advice which was given to the seller, that he should not attempt to raise the price, but simply ask the value.”<sup>1</sup>

The rate of profits is to be fixed by law:—

“And therefore in respect of the multifarious occupations of retail trade, the guardians of the law should meet and take counsel with those who have experience of the several kinds of retail trade, . . . and when they meet they shall consider what amount of receipts, after deducting expenses, will produce a moderate gain to the retail trades, and they shall fix in writing and strictly maintain what they find to be the right percentage of profit. . . . And so it will benefit every one, and do the least possible injury to those who practise it.”<sup>2</sup>

Plato hardly seems more anxious than Aristotle to express his obligations to the traders, and prefers to emphasize the fact that their occupation is one which, in spite of its unworthiness, is undertaken in their own interests, and should therefore not be exempt from legislative restrictions. But we must bear in mind, with regard to the proposed fixed rate of profit, that the ideal State of the *Laws* is limited by the author to 5040 citizens; and that, as far as mere practicability goes, the suggestion is not as absurd as would at first appear.

Cicero has much the same, and almost equally vague, ideas about what is “fair” in commercial transactions:—

“All deceit should be excluded from contracts. The seller should not bring a person to bid over the value, nor the buyer one to bid

<sup>1</sup> *Legg.*, xi. §§ 918, 919, 921.

<sup>2</sup> *Legg.*, xi. 920.

under him. Each of the two, if he should come to name a price, should not name a price more than once.”<sup>1</sup>

In the *Republic*, however, Plato is disinclined to legislate about commercial details, even such as would seem to require regulation in the most enlightened of modern states.

“‘Well, and about the business of the agora, . . . about insult and injury, or the commencement of actions, and the appointment of juries, what would you say? There may also arise questions about any impositions and exactions of market and harbour dues which may be required, and in general about the regulations of markets, police, harbours, and the like. But, oh heavens! shall we condescend to legislate on any of these particulars?’ ‘I think,’ he said, ‘that there is no need to impose laws about them on good men; what regulations are necessary they will find out soon enough for themselves.’”<sup>2</sup>

4. Foreign trade seems to have been regarded with a certain amount of suspicion on the part of the philosophers, but was finally admitted more or less under protest. Thus, according to Plato—

“‘there is the situation of the city—to find a place where nothing need be imported is well-nigh impossible.’ ‘Impossible.’ ‘Then there must be another class of citizens who will bring the required supply from another city. . . . Then we shall want merchants.’ ‘We shall.’”<sup>3</sup>

While Aristotle remarks that—

“with respect to placing a city in communication with the sea, there are some who have many doubts whether it is serviceable or hurtful to well-regulated states; for they say, that it becomes the resort of persons brought up under a different system of government, and so is far from serviceable to the state, with regard to the preservation of law and the increase of population; for a multitude of merchants must necessarily arise from trading backwards and forwards upon the seas, which will hinder the city from being well governed. But if this inconvenience does not arise, it is evident that it is better both for safety, and also for the acquisition of the necessities of life, that both the city and the country should be near the sea. . . . It is also necessary . . . to import from abroad what does not grow in their own country, and to export the superfluous productions; for a city ought to traffic to supply its own wants, and not the wants of others.” (Here the subject of alien immigration is introduced.) “As for that multitude

<sup>1</sup> *Off.*, iii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Rep.*, iv. § 425.

<sup>3</sup> *Rep.*, ii. 370, 371.

of people which arises around a maritime power, they are by no means necessary to a state, nor ought they to make a part of the citizens.”<sup>1</sup>

In the *Laws*, Plato partially enunciates the principle of free trade—probably, as Jowett says, without being aware of the importance of what he suggests—while he goes on to lay down restrictions as to what may and what may not be imported.

“And let no person in the state pay any duty on exports and imports. But with respect to frankincense, and other foreign aromatics, for the gods, and purple, and other dyed colours, which this country does not produce, or with respect to any other art, requiring foreign articles to be imported, let no one introduce any of these without some necessity; nor, on the other hand, export anything which it is necessary to remain in the country.”<sup>2</sup>

And in some still stronger passages from the *Laws*, Plato shows how little the idea of “wealth of nations” had presented itself to his mind.

“‘And are there harbours on the seaboard [*i.e.* of the imaginary city]?’ ‘Excellent harbours; there could not be better.’ ‘Alas! what a prospect! And is the surrounding country productive, or in need of importations?’ ‘Hardly in need of anything.’ ‘And has the place a fair proportion of hill, and plain, and wood?’ ‘Like the rest of Crete in that.’ ‘You mean that there is more rock than plain?’ ‘Exactly.’ ‘Then there is some hope that your citizens may be virtuous; had you been on the sea and well provided with harbours, and an importing rather than a producing country, some mighty saviour would have been needed, and lawgivers more than mortal, if you were ever to have a chance of preserving your state from degeneracy and discordance of manners. . . . There is a consolation in the country producing all things at home, and yet, owing to the ruggedness of the soil, not providing anything in great abundance. Had there been abundance there might have been a great export trade, and a great return of gold and silver, which, as we may safely affirm, has the most fatal results on a state whose aim is the attainment of just and noble sentiments.’”<sup>3</sup>

“In a state which is desirous of being saved from the greatest of all plagues—not faction, but rather distraction—there should exist among the citizens neither extreme poverty nor excess of wealth; for both are productive of both these evils. Now the legislator should determine what is to be the limit of poverty or wealth.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Pol.*, vii. vi.

<sup>2</sup> *Legg.*, viii. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Legg.*, iv. init.

<sup>4</sup> *Legg.*, v. 744.



"I would not have any one fond of heaping up riches for the sake of his children, in order that he may leave them as rich as possible. For the possession of great wealth is of no use, either to them or to the state."<sup>1</sup>

5. This leads to the consideration of their views on money. Both in the more ideal *Republic*, and the more practical *Laws*, Plato preserves a hostile attitude towards the institution of coinage, on moral grounds. In the former work, however, he prohibits the class of guardians alone from making use of it:—

"Gold and silver we will tell them that they have from God; the diviner metal is within them, and they have therefore no need of the dross which is current among men, and ought not to pollute the divine by any such earthly admixture. . . . And they alone of all the citizens may not touch or handle silver or gold, or be under the same roof with them, or wear them, or drink from them."<sup>2</sup>

Whereas in the *Laws* he seems to go still further:—

"In addition to this a law follows, that no private person be permitted to possess any gold or silver; but that there be a coin for the sake of daily exchange, which it is almost necessary for handicrafts to change, and for all, who have a need of such things, to pay the wages due to hired persons, be they slaves or domestic servants. On which account we say that they must possess coin, which is of value among themselves, but of no worth amongst the rest of mankind."<sup>3</sup>

Compare *Rep.* II. 371: "Clearly they will buy and sell. . . . Then they will need a market-place, and a money-token for purposes of exchange."

These two passages make it clear that Plato had grasped the idea that one of the chief functions of money was a means of exchange. But, no doubt largely owing to the isolation and independence which he longed to see in his ideal State as far as its relations with other communities were concerned, he did not ask himself whether the symbolic currency must not rest upon some form of coinage possessing an intrinsic worth of its own.

Aristotle goes further in his inquiries as to the nature of money; but he, too, stops short at the question of international values:—

"Proportionate interchange is brought about by 'cross conjunction.'

<sup>1</sup> *Legg.*, v. 744.

<sup>2</sup> *Rep.*, iii. fin.

<sup>3</sup> *Legg.*, v. 741

For instance, let A. stand for a builder, B. for a shoemaker, C. for a house, D. for shoes. The builder must then take some of the shoemaker's work, and give him some of his own work in exchange. Now, the desired result will be brought about if requital take place after proportionate equality has first been established ; . . . for there is no reason why the work of the one should not be worth more than the work of the other. Their work, then, must be brought to an equality. . . . All things or services, then, which are to be exchanged, must be in some way reducible to a common measure. For this purpose money was invented, and serves as a medium of exchange ; for by it we can measure everything, and so can measure the superiority and inferiority of different kinds of work. Money has been introduced by convention as a kind of substitute for need or demand ; and this is why we call it νόμισμα, because its name is derived, not from nature, but from law (νόμος), and can be altered or abolished at will. . . . But even if we want nothing at the moment, money is a sort of guarantee that we shall be able to make an exchange at any future time when we happen to be in need ; for the man who brings money must always be able to take goods in exchange. Money is, indeed, subject to the same conditions as other things : its value is not always the same ; but still it tends to be more constant than the value of anything else."<sup>1</sup>

This is given by Aristotle as part of his discussion as to the nature of justice. In his *Politics* we get an account of the origin of money, treated from a more purely economic point of view, and as contrasted with the system of barter :—

"Barter in general had its original beginning in nature, from the fact that some men had a surplus, and others less than was necessary for them. . . . And this custom of barter is still preserved amongst many barbarous nations, who exchange one necessary for another, but do nothing more ; for example, giving and receiving wine for corn, and the like in other such things. . . . From this barter, however, arose the use of money, as might be expected ; for as the needful means for importing what was wanted, or for exporting a surplus, was often at a great distance, the use of money was of necessity devised. For it is not everything which is naturally useful, that is easy of carriage ; and for this reason men invented among themselves, by way of exchange, something which they should mutually give and take, and which, being really valuable in itself, might easily be passed from hand to hand for the purposes of daily life, as iron and silver, or anything else of the same nature. This at first had a fixed standard simply according to

<sup>1</sup> *Eth. Nic.*, iv. iv.

its weight or size ; but in process of time they put upon it a certain stamp, to save the trouble of weighing, and this stamp was affixed as a sign of its express value. . . . The art of money-getting . . . is the means of procuring abundance of wealth and possessions. For men oftentimes suppose wealth to consist in the quantity of money which any one possesses, as this is that medium with which trading and trafficking are concerned : others again regard it as a mere trifle, as having no value by nature, but merely by arbitrary compact ; so that if those who use it should alter their sentiments, it would be worthless, and unserviceable for any necessary purpose. Thus oftentimes the man who abounds in money will want the necessary food ; and it is absurd to say that wealth is a thing of such a kind that a man with plenty of it around him may perish with hunger, like Midas in the fable, who, from his insatiable wish, found everything set before him turned into gold. For which reason people look about for something else by way of riches and property, and rightly too ; for the mere getting of money differs from natural wealth, and the latter is the object of true economy.”<sup>1</sup>

The distinction between money and wealth is also noticed by Xenophon, who seems moreover to have been aware of the importance of a coinage possessing intrinsic value, for purposes of foreign commerce. Thus he speaks of the advantages possessed by Athens over other states, inasmuch as—

“merchants in most other cities must barter one commodity for another ; for the inhabitants use money that will not pass beyond the limits of the country ; but at Athens, while there is abundance of goods, such as people require, for exportation, still, if merchants do not wish to barter, they may carry off an excellent freight by taking away our silver. For wherever they dispose of it, they will always gain more than its original value.”<sup>2</sup>

This seems a somewhat better view than the “mercantile theory” of not so many generations back. Whereas both Pliny and Tacitus, some centuries later, bewail the growing extravagance of their countrymen, which causes so much money to be exported to India, China, and Arabia : “Tanti nobis deliciæ et feminae constant !”<sup>3</sup>

Xenophon’s great admiration for the silver produced from his

<sup>1</sup> *Pol.*, I. ix.

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. Ath.*, iii. § 2.

<sup>3</sup> See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xii. 18 ; Tacitus, *Ann.*, iii. 53.



native land seems, however, to have led him to exaggerate its good qualities, especially that of stability in value:—

“All persons that have farms would be able to say how many yokes of oxen, and how many workmen, would be sufficient for their land; and if they send into their fields more than are necessary, they consider it a loss; but in the mining operations for silver, they say that all are constantly in want of workmen. For the consequence is not the same in this case as it is when there are numbers of workers in brass, and when, as articles made of brass then necessarily become cheap, the workmen are ruined. Nor is it the same as when there are excessive numbers of blacksmiths; or as when there is abundance of wine, etc. . . . But in regard to the silver-mines, the more silver ore is found, and the more silver extracted, the greater is the number that devote themselves to mining. Of furniture, when people have got enough of it for their houses, they do not much care for more; but nobody has ever had so much silver as not to desire an increase of it; and if people have a superabundance, they hoard it, and are not less delighted with doing so than with putting it to use. When communities, too, are in the most flourishing condition, people have very great use for money; for the men are ready to be at expense for beautiful arms, or fine horses, or magnificent houses or furniture; and the women are eager for expensive dresses and golden ornaments. When communities, on the other hand, are in distress, whether from scarcity of corn or from the effects of war, they are still more in want of money, as the land lies uncultivated, both for purchasing provisions and for paying auxiliary troops. If any one should say that gold is not less useful for such purposes than silver, I do not dispute the truth of the assertion; but I am aware at the same time that gold, if it shows itself in great quantities, becomes less valuable, and renders silver of a higher price. These remarks I have made with a view that we should send with confidence as many workmen as possible into the silver mines, and should with confidence continue our operations in them, fully trusting that the silver ore is not going to fail, and that silver will never lose its value.”<sup>1</sup>

In one or two interesting passages in his speeches, we find Demosthenes calling attention to the connection between credit and wealth. He asserts that, “there being two kinds of wealth, money and universal credit, the greater is credit, which is ours.”<sup>2</sup> And again: “If you are ignorant of the fact that credit

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Ath.*, iv. 5-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Adv. Lept.*, 464 ½.

is the greatest capital of any towards the acquisition of wealth, you would be ignorant of the whole matter.”<sup>1</sup> The Dialogue known as *Eryxias*,<sup>2</sup> probably falsely attributed to Plato, also contains the distinction between money and wealth:—

“‘Indeed, Socrates, I have no notion about wealth beyond that which men commonly have. I suppose that wealth is a quantity of money.’ . . . ‘Then now we have to consider, What is money? . . . For instance, the Carthaginians use money of this sort. Something which is about the size of a stater is tied up in a small piece of leather: what it is, no one knows but the makers. A seal is next set upon the leather, which then passes into circulation, and he who has the largest number of such pieces is esteemed the richest and best off. And yet if any one among us had a collection of such coins, he would be no wealthier than if he had so many pebbles from the mountain. At Lacedæmon, again, they use iron by weight which has been rendered useless: and he who has the greatest mass of such iron is thought to be the richest, although elsewhere it is of no value. In Ethiopia engraved stones are employed, of which a Lacedæmonian could make no use. . . . And clearly those things cannot be all regarded as ‘possessions; for in some cases the possessors would appear none the richer thereby: but, as I was saying, some one of them is thought in one place to be money, and the possessors of it are the wealthy, whereas in some other place it is not money, and the ownership of it does not confer wealth; just as the standard of morals varies, and what is honourable to some men is dishonourable to others. And if we wish to inquire why a house is valuable to us, but not to the Scythians, or why the Carthaginians value leather which is worthless to us, or the Lacedæmonians find wealth in iron and we do not, can we not get an answer in some such way as this: Would an Athenian, who had a thousand talents’ weight of the stones which lie about in the Agora, and which we do not employ for any purpose, be thought to be any the richer?’ ‘He certainly would not appear to be so.’ ‘But if he possessed a thousand talents’ weight of some precious stone, we should say that he was very rich.’ ‘Of course.’ ‘The reason is that the one is useless and the other useful?’ ‘Yes.’ . . . ‘What is [useful to us, then, is wealth, and what is useless to us is not wealth.’”

(From here the discussion turns upon the point that, although all wealth is useful, yet all that is useful is perhaps not wealth.)

6. On the question of interest on money-loans, both Greeks

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Pro Phormione*, 958 ls.

<sup>2</sup> § 399.

and Romans were further behind modern theory than they were with regard to the subject of money generally. Thus Plato declares—

“No one shall deposit money with another whom he does not trust as a friend, nor shall he lend money upon interest; and the borrower shall be under no obligation to repay either capital or interest.”<sup>1</sup>

“And let him who, having already received the work in exchange, does not pay the price in the time agreed, pay double the price; and if a year has elapsed, although interest is not to be taken on loans, yet for every drachma which he owes to the contractor, let him pay a monthly interest of an obol” (*i.e.* over 16 per cent. per month!).<sup>2</sup>

In fact they seem to have had no notion of a mean between exorbitantly high rates of interest and no money-lending at all. The question as to how industrial enterprises were to be carried on, much less started, without any system of credit, hardly seems to have arisen:—

“Let there be a general rule that every one shall enter into voluntary contracts at his own risk, and there will be the less of this scandalous money-making.”<sup>3</sup>

Similarly Aristotle, who, however, has recourse to a somewhat ingenious method of proof, based upon the teaching of nature:—

“Usury is most reasonably detested, as the increase of our fortune arises from the money itself, and not by employing it to the purpose for which it was intended. For it was devised for the sake of exchange, but usury multiplies it. And hence usury has received the name of *τόκος*, or ‘produce;’ for whatever is produced is itself like its parents; and usury is merely money born of money: so that of all means of money-making this is the most contrary to nature.”<sup>4</sup>

(Cf. *Merchant of Venice*, I. iii.: “For when did friendship take a breed of barren metal of his friend?”)

And Plato has the same idea:—

“The men of business, stooping as they walk, and pretending not even to see those whom they have already ruined, insert their sting—that is, their money—into some one else who is not on his guard against them, and recover the parent sum many times over multiplied into a family of children; and so they make drone and pauper to abound in the state.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Legg.*, v. 742.

<sup>2</sup> *Legg.*, xi. 921.

<sup>3</sup> *Rep.*, viii. 556.

<sup>4</sup> *Pol.*, I. x.

<sup>5</sup> *Rep.*, viii. 555.



Demosthenes, however, seems to have been near arriving at the truth with regard to the importance of money-lending:—

“For the trading community thrive not so much by the borrowers as by the lenders of money, and neither ship nor shipowner nor passenger can put out to sea without the assistance of the lenders. The laws have many excellent regulations for their protection. It is your duty to come forward in aid of the laws, and give no encouragement to roguish people, so that you may derive the utmost advantage from your trade-market.”<sup>1</sup>

(See also his remarks, quoted above, on the subject of credit.)

The Roman attitude towards the question is exemplified by Cato's remark as quoted by Cicero. When the question was asked, “What do you think of lending at usury?” Cato answered, “What do you think of killing a man?”<sup>2</sup> And yet, as we have seen, Cato was neither humane nor shrewd enough to understand that slave labour represented the interest of capital thus invested, and that the whole system which he was content to acquiesce in was responsible for “killing” many “men” by lingering or cruel deaths. However, the numerous attempts made at different times to check or prohibit the taking of interest met, as might be expected, with but little success. As early as the code of the Twelve Tables we find penalties decreed against the usurer, even with more severity than against a thief; and subsequently the maximum rate was lowered by law, and the whole practice ultimately forbidden—with about as much effect as an attempt to carry water in a sieve.

7. As to the division of wealth, Plato advocates a communistic life in the *Republic*, explicitly, however, for the ruling class only. In the *Laws* he admits that his ideal is hardly realizable.

“In the first place, none of them should have any property of his own beyond what is absolutely necessary; neither should they have a private house or store closed against any one who has a mind to enter; . . . they should agree to receive from the citizens a fixed rate of pay, enough to meet the expenses of the year and no more; and they will go to mess and live together like soldiers in a camp. . . . But should they ever acquire homes or lands or moneys of their own,

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Phorm.*, fin.

<sup>2</sup> *Off.*, ii. 25.

they will become housekeepers and husbandmen instead of guardians, enemies and tyrants instead of allies of the other citizens.”<sup>1</sup>

“It would be well that every man should come to the colony having all things equal ; but seeing that this is not possible, and one man will have greater possessions than another, . . . qualifications of property must be unequal.”<sup>2</sup>

Aristotle criticizes Plato’s communism much in the spirit of our own day.

“Whatever is common to many is taken least care of ; for all men regard most what is their own, and care less for common property, or only just as much as concerns them. For, besides other considerations, every one is more negligent of what another has to see to ; as in a family, one is often worse served by many servants than by a few.”<sup>3</sup>

Again—

“Upon the whole, it is difficult to live together as a community, and thus to have all things that man can possess in common, and especially this is the case with respect to such property [*i.e.* produce of labour]. This is evident from the partnerships of those who go out to settle a colony ; for nearly all of them have disputes with each other upon the most common matters, and come to blows upon trifles. . . . Besides, it is very pleasant to oblige and assist our friends, and companions, and strangers, which cannot be unless property be private ; but this cannot result where they make the state too entirely one.”<sup>4</sup>

Both Greeks and Romans seem to have suffered from unwise methods of distributing public funds, the evil effects of which were noticed by more than one writer :—

“I should further like to know whether the Athenians are supposed to have been made better by Pericles, or, on the contrary, to have been corrupted by him ; for I hear that he was the first who gave the people pay, and made them idle and cowardly, and encouraged them in the love of talk and money.”<sup>5</sup>

The economic and moral results of such pauperization were as little capable of being avoided in their day as in ours. And, therefore, we have Juvenal’s bitter satire on the Roman *Panem et circenses*, which had become already a hopelessly permanent institution, in spite of the warning words of Cicero, highly suggestive of “charity organization :”—

<sup>1</sup> *Rep.*, iii. 416.

<sup>2</sup> *Legg.*, v. 744.

<sup>3</sup> *Pol.*, ii. iii.

<sup>4</sup> *Pol.*, ii. v.

<sup>5</sup> Plato, *Gorgias*, 515.

“For, in the first place, we are to take care lest our kindness should hurt both those whom it is meant to assist, and others. In the next place, it ought not to exceed our abilities ; and it ought to be rendered to each in proportion to his worth. This is the fundamental standard of justice to which all things should be referred. And they who do kindnesses which prove of disservice to the person they pretend to oblige, should not be esteemed beneficent nor generous, but injurious and sycophants. And they who injure one party in order to be liberal to another are guilty of the same dishonesty as if they should appropriate to themselves what belongs to another. . . . A kindness is done to those who need it by giving either our labour or our money. The latter is easier, especially to a wealthy person ; but the former is the more noble and splendid, and more worthy of a brave and illustrious man ; for although there exists in both a liberal inclination to oblige, yet the one is a draft on our purse, the other on our virtue ; and bounty which is given out of our income exhausts the very source of the munificence. Thus benignity is done away by benignity, and the greater number you have exercised it upon, so much the less able are you to exercise it on many. But they who will be beneficent and liberal of their labour, that is of their virtue and industry, in the first place will have, by how much the greater number of persons they shall have served, so much the more co-adjutors in their beneficence. And in the next place, by the habit of beneficence they will be the better prepared, and, as it were, better exercised, to deserve well of any.”<sup>1</sup>

8. The question as to the numbers of the claimants in the distribution of wealth to some extent attracted the attention of Plato and Aristotle, although they noticed it chiefly in connection with the ideal state in which property was to be either divided equally or otherwise limited by the government. The difficulty was partly met by the practice of exposing deformed or weakly children ; but Aristotle seems to intimate that this was not to be had recourse to as a means of restricting population in the case of healthy children.<sup>2</sup> According to Plato, the citizens—

“will take care that their families do not exceed their means, having an eye to poverty or war.”<sup>3</sup> “And in order that the distribution [*i.e.*

<sup>1</sup> *Off.*, ii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> See *Politics*, vii. xvi. (where, however, the sense is not particularly clear).

<sup>3</sup> *Rep.*, ii. 372.



of land and houses] may always remain, they ought to consider further that the present number of families should always be retained, and neither increased nor diminished.”<sup>1</sup>

And Aristotle urges the same need:—

“It is also absurd to render property equal, and not to provide for the number of the citizens, but to leave the increase of population uncertain, . . . because this seems now to take place in other states.”<sup>2</sup>

And in chapter vii. he goes still further: “But one thing ought not to escape the notice of legislators who would establish this principle [*i.e.* amount of income allowable], though now they are apt to overlook it; that while they regulate the quantity of property belonging to each individual, they ought also to regulate the number of his children.”

9. Perhaps the best known of all the passages in Plato where he discusses subjects of an economic nature is his enunciation, in the *Republic*, of the principle of division of labour. Not that his treatment is on strictly economic lines, however; he does not, for instance, consider its effects on prices, and in fact he makes this the foundation of his future definition of justice in its least technical and most purely ethical form. As an important doctrine in economics, Plato does not seem to recognize its importance any more than he did in the case of free trade.

“‘We may suppose that one man is a husbandman, another a builder, some one else a weaver. . . . The barest notion of a state must include four or five men.’ ‘Clearly.’ ‘And how will they proceed? Will each bring the result of his labours into a common stock—the individual husbandman, for instance, producing for four, and labouring four times as long and as much as he need in the provision of food with which he supplies others as well as himself; or will he have nothing to do with others, and not be at the trouble of producing for them, but provide for himself alone a fourth part of the food in a fourth of the time, and in the remaining three-fourths of his time be employed in making a house, or coat, or a pair of shoes, having no partnership with others, but supplying himself all his own wants?’ ‘Adeimantus thought that he should aim at producing food only, and not at producing everything.’ ‘Probably,’ I replied, ‘that would be the better way; and when I hear you say this, I am myself reminded that

<sup>1</sup> *Legg.*, v. 741.

<sup>2</sup> *Pol.*, ii. vi.

we are not all alike ; there are diversities of natures among us which are adapted to different occupations.' 'Very true.' 'And will you have a work better done when the workman has many occupations, or when he has only one?' 'When he has only one.' 'Further, there can be no doubt that a work is spoilt when not done at the right time?' 'No doubt.' 'And if so, we must infer that all things are produced more plentifully and easily, and of a better quality, when one man does one thing which is natural to him, and does it at the right time, and leaves other things.' 'Undoubtedly.'"<sup>1</sup>

10. The importance of monopoly was to some extent recognized by Aristotle ; although he did not go on, as he might have done, to point out that it differs from many other sources of gain by benefiting one party only in the transaction, and that at the expense of the other side.

"Every person should collect together whatsoever chances to be spoken at random, by means of which many who aimed at making a fortune have attained success. For all these are useful to those who set great store on money-getting ; as was the money-getting contrivance of Thales the Milesian, which men attributed to him on account of his wisdom, though it is one of general application. For when they reviled him for his poverty, as if the study of philosophy was useless, it is said that, while it was yet winter, he perceived by his skill in astrology, that there would be great plenty of olives that year, and that having got a supply of money, he bought on a small security all the oil-presses that were in Miletus and Chios, which he hired at a small price, as there was no one to bid against him. When the season came for making oil, many persons wanted them, and so all at once he let them upon what terms he pleased ; and raising a large sum of money by that means, he convinced them that it was easy for philosophers to be rich if they chose it. . . . It indeed is, as we have said, generally lucrative for a person to contrive to make a monopoly of anything ; for which reason some cities also adopt this method when they want money, for they make a monopoly of their commodities." <sup>2</sup>

11. And he is equally aware of the distinction between value in use and value in exchange :—

"The uses of every possession are two, both indeed essential, but

<sup>1</sup> *Rep.*, ii. 369. Cf. also §§ 374 ; iii. 394 ; iv. 433, 443. It is probable that the idea of Adam Smith's much wider treatment of the principle was first presented to his mind in this passage.

<sup>2</sup> *Pol.*, i. xi.

not in the same manner ; for the one is strictly proper to the thing, the other not ; as a shoe, for instance, may be either worn or exchanged for something else ; for both these are uses of the shoe ; for he who exchanges a shoe with some man who wants one, for money, or provisions, uses the shoe as a shoe, but not according to its proper use ; for shoes are not made to be exchanged. The same holds true of all other possessions ; for barter in general had its original beginning in nature, from the fact that some men had a surplus, and others less than was necessary.”<sup>1</sup>

(From this he goes on to show how the use of *money* came to supersede the custom of barter. See above.)

12. A somewhat striking instance of the notion that machinery injures industry—an idea unfortunately by no means confined to the time of the Romans—occurs in Suetonius’ *Life of Vespasian* (xviii.), where we are told that the emperor—

“encouraged inventions and industries to the best of his power, and engaged in his service poets and artisans alike who were distinguished in their professions. . . . And when an ingenious mechanic offered to move some heavy columns into the Capitol at a very small cost, Vespasian rewarded the man handsomely for his invention, but refused to make use of it, saying, in excuse, that ‘he must let him do his best for his flock’” (“sineret se plebeculam pascere”).

Perhaps enough illustrations have been given of the views held by the Greeks, at least. With regard to the later development by the Romans of theories of an economic nature, the writings of the Jurists would probably supply abundant information, if in a somewhat technical form. And the interested student of classical literature will no doubt be able to complete the above collection of extracts from his own reading.

E. SIMEY.

<sup>1</sup> *Pol.*, I. ix.



## GAMBLING AND AIDS TO GAMBLING.

THE rapid spread of gambling is one of the most serious evils of the present time. It calls for immediate and practical consideration. It touches all classes; but we wish here very briefly to speak of it as it affects the young men and boys of the working classes in our large cities. It is to be noticed, in the first place, that gambling—by which we understand playing for money, and hazarding money on competitions and betting—is held by many working people (as, indeed, by many persons of other classes) to be entirely legitimate if a man risks no more than he can afford to lose. It is an amusement—the argument is so framed,—a diversion, for which a man is willing to pay so much. Whether he wins or loses, he gets his money's worth; and who is to prevent him from doing as he wills with his own? This argument is not merely tacit; it is often put into words expressly.

The keen competition for employment, the influence of strikes and lock-outs, the high pressure under which life is passed, the hurry and bustle of our modern civilization—all foster an appetite for excitement, and gambling satisfies this hunger. Quiet pleasures become rare and unnatural to those whose work is a continual turmoil; indoor family recreation seems dull, and in truth is often impossible for the working classes; the mind is jaded, and, instead of rest, asks for fresh stimulants. And so games are made into professions, and eager crowds attend the result of a match, or wait for the issue of a competition, not so much for the interest of the game or for the love of what might properly be called "sport," but because something, more or less, has been staked upon the event. Gambling of this sort is the occupation of leisure hours, but it differs so little in quality from the main occupation of life, that no one can wonder that for

many it becomes a serious business. Life seems to be a game of chance, and so games are regarded as the chance of livelihood. The effort is to buy cheap and to sell dear, and if you can get something for nothing you have done well. Work ceases to be representative of value. Ask large employers of labour, who take the trouble to inquire as to the habits of their servants, and they will tell you that they observe in the working men and boys of our day an increasing indifference to promotion, a distressing and ominous lack of application to duty, a desire frequently to change their work, a readiness to throw up their employment upon the slightest pretext, without the prospect of being able speedily to secure a fresh engagement.

What is the cause of all this? The cause is, of course, complex. But one element in it is easily discerned. The working lad is very quick to discover that, by putting sixpence on a horse or a football match, he may possibly win, without any labour, a sum equal to, or, it may be, far greater, than the weekly wage which his ordinary occupation brings him. He thinks his ten or twelve shillings a week too hardly earned at his workshop; and, indeed, ten or twelve shillings seem to be a very small sum when compared with the large takings of his gambling friends. He soon becomes careless in his work, and throws it up recklessly, if his foreman has occasion to find fault with him, or if he suffers any other slight provocation.

But if this appetite for gambling is a product and a symptom of the present state of society, it is also actively encouraged, especially among young men and boys of the working classes. It is to these aids to gambling that we are anxious to call attention. Encouragement and opportunity are given to young gamblers, notably (1) by the sale of "toy cards," and (2) by the "coupon" system practised in many newspapers.

(1) A word or two must be said on each of these subjects. It is well known that on ordinary playing-cards a high duty is charged, but it is possible to buy what are called toy cards in complete packs, but of about a quarter of the usual size, for a penny, and even a halfpenny. These are sold at wholesale toy-shops by the gross, and retail at many small tobacconists and

paper shops. The toy cards are much more convenient for young gamblers than cards of the normal size. Apart from their cheapness, they have the advantage of being easily concealed, except indeed from watchful eyes. If you know where to look and what to expect, you will see errand boys, tail boys on the carts, messengers, and older youths playing daily, sometimes in the chief streets, and often in the courts and side streets of the town.

That shop-keepers should be permitted to sell these cards is a monstrous anomaly.

(2) The coupon system is an iniquity as palpable, and equally anomalous. To make a book publicly is illegal; but newspapers which issue coupons are doing nothing else: and in England, at any rate, no effective protest has yet been raised against the practice. A little explanation may be needed. It is the custom of many newspapers to print a list, let us say, of the horses which are to run in a race, or of the football teams which are to play in a competition. A reader of the paper can cut out the coupon, and write down on a space left for the purpose the name of the horse or the team which he expects to win, or even the number of goals by which the winning team is to defeat its next rival. A keen "sportsman" will fill up several or all the spaces in the coupon, or even buy three, or four, or more papers, so as to have the more spaces in which to write his guesses, and so increase his chance of a prize. A charge of a halfpenny or a penny, as the case may be, is made for each guess, and the fees are sent in stamps to the offices of the papers. If this is not bookmaking, we should like to ask what is. It is said, indeed, to differ from the "word-competitions," against which a legal verdict was found some time since, inasmuch as the word-competitions depended purely on chance, and this requires some skill, or, at least, knowledge of the horses or of the players.

But let us see what this practice means. It means that hundreds of thousands of men and women, and even young children, regularly buy these papers, and hazard something on the result of the competition. Of course, the unsuccessful competitors are far more numerous than the successful; but



disappointment only puts an edge upon their eagerness. To the winners success is often demoralizing. It is not uncommon for a prize of several hundred pounds to be offered. The winner of a prize of £200 is very apt to be overcome by his good luck, and looks for the quickest way of spending the money which has fallen into his hands. He will not be seen for a considerable period at his workshop; not because the money remains long in his hands, but that, by the time it is spent, he is sodden with drink, and has only wits enough left to look out for another investment which he trusts may turn out equally well. There are large numbers of people who lapse from the respectable, steady working classes into mere casuals and loungers because they have yielded to the temptation of this form of gambling, either because in an evil day they themselves were all too lucky, or because they envy the fortune of their neighbours, and hope, in spite of failure, that the success which they see falling to others may also come to them.

The newspapers in which this vicious practice is carried on not only encourage gambling in the competitions which they advertise, but teach boys and young men to make books of their own. Among young men of the working classes this is notoriously common; but it may not be so well known, though it is not less true, that very large numbers of lads, not more than twelve years of age, know how to make a book, and practice habitually as bookmakers among their friends. For example, let us say London is playing Manchester at football. A boy will make a shilling book on the game, which means that twelve or thirteen other boys may choose a "score" and back it for a penny—one will select Manchester to win by 1 to 0, another 2 to 1, and so on. When thirteen scores, as they are called, have been chosen the "book" is full; it is possible, of course, and frequently happens, that none may back the winning score, in that case the bookmaker makes a profit of the total amount hazarded. It may be that the whole list is filled up, and some one turns out to be the winner. A shilling is paid to him, and the bookmaker keeps the remaining penny for his pains. Nothing, of course, could be simpler. Unhappily

the practice of making these football books is becoming more and more common; and we think it may fairly be said that the newspapers in which this traffic is carried on openly, and continuously, are doing a very grave injury to the moral health of the whole community.

It is interesting and satisfactory to note that in Scotland the matter has been brought recently before the notice of a Court. The proprietors of *Scottish Sport* were brought before a Court of Justice to meet a charge of illegality brought against them in respect of a "Football Skill Competition." In order that we may avoid the risk of misrepresenting the matter, we shall quote at length the account of the proceedings and the result, given in the number of the *Scottish Sport*, issued on Monday, March 19, 1900. We believe that the passage, which is very frankly written, will be perused with interest by the readers of the *Economic Review*, who will, unless we are much deceived, be able heartily to endorse the judgment given by the Court. The passage runs as follows:—

"It will be fresh in the minds of our readers that a few months ago the proprietors of *Scottish Sport* were haled before the Court of Justice to answer a charge of illegality, brought against our 'Football Skill Competition,' and how we defended that averment before Sheriff Boyd, with the result that his Lordship declined to convict us on the indictment. An appeal was lodged against the decision of the Sheriff, and now the Lords of Session have given their judgment. The case came up for hearing on Thursday, and lasted until Friday, counsel for the appellant and respondents being heard at considerable length. Mr. W. Campbell, Q.C., in the absence of Mr. Alex. Ure, Q.C., M.P., who defended the action in the Lower Court, argued for *Sport*, that to sustain the appeal would produce direct conflict of law between the judgment of the Supreme Courts of Scotland and England. The Solicitor-General argued that the case came under the Betting Act as extended to Scotland."

"The Lord President, in giving the judgment of the Court, said that the facts seemed in plain language to be, that the proprietors of the newspaper offered it for sale at one penny, and that, for the chance of winning in the competition, they would in certain events pay the purchaser certain money, or, if he wished to increase his chances, he might pay the proprietors a certain number of additional pennies,

when the purchaser would have additional chances of getting money. Whether he got or did not get that money depended upon the purchaser being successful in the nomination of the winning teams at the play on the day following. That was the nature of the facts, and the first question that occurred to him was whether, such being the case, section 1 of the Act of 1853 applied or not. A great deal has been said about betting and what was a bet. It appeared to him that they were not called upon to say whether that was a bet or not. There were certain peculiarities in it which made it somewhat different from what was an ordinary bet, and the word they had to construe in the statute was not a bet or betting; but they had certain language after that and as alternative to the mention of betting, namely, 'or for the purpose of any money or valuable thing being received by or on behalf of said owner or occupier or person as aforesaid, as or for consideration of any assurance, undertaking, promise, or agreement, expressed or implied, to pay or give thereafter any money or valuable thing in any event or contingency of or relating to any horse race or other race, fight, game, sport, or exercise, or, as and for the consideration of securing to pay or giving by some other person of any money or other valuable thing on such an event and contingency as aforesaid.' Now, did the case fall under that or not? The house or office was a newspaper office. He did not care whether it was primarily a newspaper office or not; but it was a newspaper office. That depended upon the question whether the principal business was the conduct of a journal or the conduct of what was euphemistically described as a competition. Both were done in the place, and there was money received by the respondents, because they got the pennies. They got these for the consideration of a promise or agreement that the purchasers would get a share of the £50 in the case of a certain event or contingency relating *inter alia* to a sport or exercise."

"Football was the sport, the winning was the contingency, and it therefore seemed to him that, from beginning to end of the part of the statute that he had read, the acts done fell directly under the language which was there described; so that, if they simply took the facts from the Sheriff's finding that the things which were described in the section were done, it would seem to him at all events, whether they called it betting or not, *primâ facie*, the conditions of section 1 were satisfied. Now it was proper to look to the ground upon which the Sheriff-substitute thought that the case was not under the statute. He said that to some extent the result of the competition depended upon chance. He did not say that the element of chance or contingency was eliminated altogether. He did not suggest that, but he



said that there was some chance in it. But then he seemed to think that because knowledge and skill entered into the matter, it ceased to be a contingency within the meaning of the section. His Lordship was afraid, if that was so, then that would apply equally to betting. Now, it seemed to him that everything he said in regard to football would be equally applicable to a horse race, where what was called 'form' also came in. The race was just in the same way as football matches—subject to certain contingencies."

"Nobody could say it was a certainty, the result being quite outside the best calculation. So it appeared to him that nothing the Sheriff-substitute said, in giving the Court the reason for the judgment he had pronounced, was really a reason sustaining the result. It was just a contingency in a sport, and that was one of the very things the Legislature had in view. It was a kind of contingency that was incidental to sport or to a game, and, therefore, he really could not see the reasons that the Sheriff-substitute gave for holding that this was not in the words of the Act. There was no contract between any of the purchasers, but there was a contract between the newspaper proprietor and each of them, and the money that came to be divided was that of the newspaper proprietor. Suppose there had been only one coupon sent in and one penny stamp, and that one had been successful and gained a certain amount of money; that would have been just a dealing between these two parties—by which the one put the money, his penny, upon the successful selection, and the other, the newspaper proprietor, had put his money, which was a larger sum, against the successful selection."

"Whether that was directly paid or not, it seemed to him to be very much the same thing; and it seemed to him to be putting money upon a contingency in respect of a sport or game that had to come off. He was wholly unable to see how the facts there stated did not fall within the section, and therefore it appeared to him that they had no alternative upon the facts except to make a finding to that effect. Lord Adam said he was of the same opinion, and Lord Maclaren remarked that they were only asked to determine the question of law submitted for the opinion of the Court, without reference to any ulterior consequence towards the respondents; and he could hardly doubt, if he might say so, that the Solicitor-General had exercised a wide discretion in not asking for an operative decree, because the conclusions of the complaint were directed against Hay Nisbet & Co., Limited, who, he observed, were in default of payment of the penalty to be committed to a common jail. He was afraid that, without an amendment of the Companies Act, it would be extremely difficult to carry such a sentence

into execution. His Lordship held that the counsel for the respondents had given away his case by admitting the relevancy of the complaint. The appeal was therefore sustained, and ten guineas for expenses allowed to the appellant."

It is high time for the subject to be taken up by those who will know how to handle it in England. It will have been observed that one of the points raised by the counsel for *Scottish Sport* was that, if the appeal was sustained against the proprietors, a conflict would appear between the law of England and the law of Scotland. We cannot believe that there can be any diversity of judgment in this matter in the minds of men who will look resolutely at the problem, and remember the manifold evils which spring from the practice which is thus taught and encouraged and spread; and surely there should be no difference in law upon it.

The two aids to gambling of which we have spoken do not, of course, stand alone. Many small barbers and keepers of little public-houses "patronize the turf," and there are men who regularly stand in various streets of great towns to meet their clients, and bet with an almost absolute impunity.

Occasionally police raids are made on some of the larger betting clubs, but the workshop bookmaker and the small sportsman of the street ply their business fearlessly. The facilities offered to the gambler for indulging his taste are indeed countless; but that is not the point on which we ask leave to insist. We are anxious rather to call attention to the existence of the two great anomalies of which we have chiefly spoken, and we venture to entertain the hope that the magnitude of the evil which we have described may arrest the attention of those who may be able to devise and adopt some fit scheme of action for meeting and resisting it.

C. E. B. RUSSELL.

E. T. CAMPAGNAC.

P.S.—It is satisfactory to observe that both in London and in Manchester legal action is being taken against certain papers which issue coupons.

## PRACTICABLE TEMPERANCE REFORMS.

IN 1855 a London brewer wrote as follows:—

“Startling as it may appear, it is the truth that the destruction of human life, and the waste of national wealth, that must arise from this tremendous war, are outrun every year by the devastation caused by national drunkenness.”

Forty-five years later the consumption of alcohol per head is greater than when these words were written, and the more moderate section of a Licensing Commission (including several members of “the trade”) declares—

“It is undeniable that a gigantic evil remains to be remedied, and hardly any sacrifice would be too great which would result in a marked diminution of this national degradation.”

Mr. Sherwell, in *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform*, dispassionately demonstrates that the average expenditure on alcohol of a working-class family is over 6s. per week, or at least one-fifth of its income, and shows the disastrous effect of this upon the standard of living, industrial efficiency, and success in international competition, as well as upon the revenue. He also quotes from a pamphlet, issued by members of “the trade” itself, which puts “intemperate drinking” at the value of £23,000,000 out of the national expenditure of £160,000,000; while Sir Robert Giffen has put down £25,000,000 to intemperance, and a similar sum to the cost of crime and pauperism caused thereby. The registrar-general reports that deaths directly caused by drink exceed two thousand per annum, and have increased, in twenty years, 43 per cent. among men, and 104 per cent. among women.

The remedies for the disease in question may be of two kinds, restrictive or constructive; and each of these kinds of remedies may be applied in two ways, by private action or by legislation,



Happily, for a long period, and with increasing force, private effort has been at work. In the field of restriction, it has produced a great army of total abstainers from alcohol, and, what is much more, it has helped to bring most classes of society to sober, though not teetotal, habits. Private constructive effort for sobriety may be held to include, not only the temperance hotel and the model public-house, avowedly aimed at temperance, but also the whole vast field of social improvement. Reforms in housing, in recreation, and in industrial conditions—every library, club, and “people’s palace”—all make for temperance.

A visitor from Mars, knowing the conditions, would have expected to find us at the same time moving by legislation. We may not be sober by act of Parliament, but we should be very drunken without the Licensing Acts that we have already; and it is admitted by the bulk of Englishmen that we want further regulation as to the conduct of public-houses; the issue and withdrawal of licenses; the method of their control by authority; and also as to the treatment of drunkards. Again, though perhaps few of us would abolish public-houses, yet most people think we have too many, and legislation alone can reduce them. And, further, there must be legislation before constructive efforts can be made. Mere restriction leaves the public-house very much as it is. Drunkenness may be checked, but no drastic reforms can be attempted. Once the houses are in public hands conditions can be imposed on the lessees, or the houses could even be managed by public bodies on new lines. In short, experiments of many kinds, aimed at decreasing wasteful consumption and substituting recreation of a less ignoble type, would certainly be worth trying.

But, in spite of these obvious possibilities, the native of Mars would observe that for generations we have done nothing, and still we stand idle. Why is this? He need not be blamed for wondering, for we can hardly tell ourselves. Is it due to the peculiar difficulty of the circumstances? Not at all. The cause lies rather in the onesidedness of English character. Some of us, when we realize “the drink curse,” jump to the conclusion

that not only is the excess of drinking bad, but that alcohol itself is poison, and the sale of it should be regarded as an immoral act. Cool judgment becomes impossible, and a narrow view results, perfectly sincere and altruistic, but still distorted. If this is to be condemned, still more is the indifference of those who, not seeing the right road clearly, make no effort to discover it at all.

In Scandinavia the anxiety for some check on this evil is so far from being limited to the teetotalers that the general body of public opinion has been utilized to enforce certain practicable remedies, which "the temperance party" thinks inadequate, but accepts as an instalment. In England we seem incapable of combining zeal with moderation. In all our causes we are apt to lose our heads; but the drink question, above all others, seems to destroy dispassionate judgment, and those whose devotion to social reform in other respects would naturally lead them to deal with our greatest social sore have been conspicuously absent from the field of battle. Consequently there is insufficient force to bring about legislation.

The hypothesis that alcohol is itself an evil leads to two political ideas: (1) that the prohibition of drink-selling is desirable; and (2) that the financial injury caused by deprivation would be justly inflicted on the drink-sellers. What has followed from these ideas? Bill after bill has been brought in to further them. Bill after bill has made shipwreck on the inevitable rocks of wider English ideas, whether of liberty or of property. Meanwhile the interests involved become larger and still larger, opposition becomes organized, difficulties of every kind increase.

Moreover, these two ideas can be shown to be directly responsible for the failure of Mr. Bruce's Bill for resuming control over the licenses, of Mr. Ritchie's and Mr. Goschen's Bill for extinguishing needless drink-shops (both of these through teetotal opposition), and also of Sir William Harcourt's Bills of 1893 and 1895, through the teetotal principles which dictated them and made them impossible. Then it appeared that the harmony necessary for action was further off than ever.

Nothing could be done. Indeed we might have compared the drink problem with the "Eastern question," and have aptly applied the French diplomat's remark, "Il n'y a pas une question de Macedoine; il y a seulement une Macedoine de questions."

But now the clouds are rolling by. The first obstructive idea—that "prohibition" is a desirable end—has been widely undermined. Thanks to Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell, whose bias cannot be suspected, the temperance party has, to a great extent, postponed the desire to impose a system which experience has so thoroughly shown to be unsuccessful, unless for exceptional districts. It is no small sacrifice to give up the only proposal which promises anything like a total removal of the evils arising from alcohol; but hard facts must be faced, and the fact of failure cannot be blinked. And, further, we have learnt the impossibility of passing measures which go beyond the wishes of "the people." No party is likely to forget the lesson taught by the greatest Liberal defeat of the century in 1895. The Licensing Commission, too, has improved the situation. The teetotal representatives have done much to hasten reform by advising their followers to advocate reduction of houses, instead of insisting on local prohibition; and other temperance leaders, like Canon Hicks, are urging that temperance agitation should be merged in the general policy of social reform.

It would, perhaps, be unfair to include trade opposition among the chief obstacles which have prevented progress, because the trade did not oppose Mr. Goschen's proposal (which was supported by the Church of England Temperance Society), and because the Local Veto Bill was undeniably killed by the working classes. "The trade" was equally opposed to it in 1892, when the working men, knowing little or nothing of the proposal, sent the Liberals to power in spite of the trade. And again, it keenly opposed the "progressives" who swept the municipal board in 1898. But, in any case, among the hopeful signs of the times, it is certainly fair to note that the trade leaders have abandoned a negative attitude, and have actually been persuaded to concur, though protesting, in a scheme not only for reducing the houses, but for compensating the victims out of a tax on the survivors,



many of whom would gain nothing, while paying away large sums. This offers an opportunity which may not last for long. In matters of regulation also, the trade offers acquiescence, so much so that it is even in accord on most points with the teetotal section. In a statement of the rival recommendations, tabulated to show the differences in parallel columns, no less than eighty proposals are put down as common to the teetotalers, the "neutrals," and "the trade." Where they differ, the differences are only of degree.

There is thus an effective agreement on the chief objects in view. Reformers are united in demanding, first, certain regulations of various kinds; and secondly, a reduction in the number of licensed houses, if possible, without expense to the public pocket.

As to the first, there is little disagreement. Most of the reforms demanded might pass without serious opposition. And as to reduction, the remaining licensees are perfectly willing to pay the compensation of the deprived ones, provided they themselves are allowed to remain; and since we do intend to retain a certain number of houses, up to this point there is no difficulty. The "neutral scheme" secures a reduction of licensed houses without any public expense or loss of revenue.

It is objected to the neutral scheme, however, that the reduction is not sufficiently rapid. If the betterment principle could be applied, there is no limit to the rapidity that might be possible; but till betterment becomes feasible, there is no alternative, as both reports show, to beginning by a small annual charge on each house. Is it realized that, even under the neutral scheme, this small charge would knock off 7 or 8 per cent. from the capital value of each house—*i.e.* often the whole amount that the owner himself invested, and would thereby lose? Many of the houses would gain nothing by the suppression of even one-fifth of the total number, and therefore these could not possibly pay more than a small extra tax. But many houses would gain enormously, and even Lord Peel's scheme would allow them this gratuitous boon. Both schemes, however, are here deficient. The authority should have power to tax

specially any house thus gratuitously enriched, so as to recover the betterment it has conferred. In this way the compensation fund would become large enough to make reduction as rapid as might be desired, and still to compensate on a scale to which "the trade" would consent. There is no need of public money, as for compensating slave-owners (where a moral objection did exist) or army officers. If regulation and reduction were all that we wanted, the thing might be done at once; the Gordian knot could be untied without further delay.

Why, then, do we still hesitate to seize the opportunity? It is because we shrink from establishing a precedent for compensation. Some of us think it is unfair to the State, and too generous to the publican; and others fear that it will hinder more drastic reforms in the future. Although Lord Peel's report condemns the total suppression of licenses, even when local only, many of his supporters wish to pave the way for it. Social reformers of another type want to provide for constructive experiments, while others are anxious to remove the trade from private hands, because it is a great monopoly.

But, after all, compensation is by no means a new principle in English politics; and probably the discussion will be chiefly concerned with the question—What is the right compensation for the licensee? It is unfortunate that its consideration has been confined to those whose ability to consider the ethical claim has perhaps been impaired by a fervent desire for reform, and to those whose pockets are directly affected. And even if we could arrive at an idea of what would be just, is it not also a question for the economist? What is the danger to public credit of damaging a great number of persons, who have put money into an apparently sound property?

Moreover, supposing we conclude that the licensee could be injured without injustice, is it wise to forget to consider the probabilities of politics? How far, even supposing it to be just, would the House of Commons in committee approve, or the licensing authority enforce, the loss by thousands of men of their savings? Or, supposing a Conservative House of Commons to pass such an Act, would the House of Lords oppose the

Conservative party? Or, again, would the working men, if they hear that the publicans are to be ruined, allow their friends and their resorts to be "interfered with"? Before we cross the Parliamentary Tugela, it will be well to avoid the trenches which make it dangerous to say, "There will be no turning back." It is the keenest workers for temperance who will examine the trenches most. If the difficulties are real and formidable, it must be admitted that the present attitude of the trade offers a unique opportunity.

The way is practically open for the desired reforms, provided that the licensees are allowed to compensate themselves in the way they like best—*i.e.* in the way suggested by the "neutral" or "majority" report of the recent Licensing Commission.

The only objection to accepting the compromise offered which need be considered is that it establishes a precedent for compensation at market value. This would be a serious difficulty if the suppression of all the houses in any district were intended: but no such course is proposed, even by the teetotal leaders. It should also be remembered that no precedent would be established for compensation out of public funds, but only when the money is provided by the trade itself. And, in fact, a stronger precedent is already established by the full payment given at present to the licensee in cases of public improvement.

No doubt we are bound to resist any cost which is not fair to the public, as well as to the individual; and indeed, if a necessary reform cannot be effected without injury to a body of traders, the public interest must stand first. But we are in no such dilemma. The desired reforms can be effected without injury, and even without expense to the public, such as has been entailed in previous cases of loss inflicted by the State.

Of course this does not relieve us from the duty of considering whether the public is not giving too much. If there is any question of fairness, as undoubtedly there is, we shall naturally appeal to the principles laid down by experts upon similar questions of political science. So far as these can be applied, they certainly lend strong support to the publicans' claim. There may be more to learn from the expert, but reform cannot



wait for him. A study of the precedents, again, as also the fact that a publican's estate is taxed for death duties at its full market value, lend weight to the same side. Nevertheless, reformers will certainly be conceding some of their previous claims, and will naturally look for concessions on the other side. They will not be disappointed. The trade has receded from its full claim (in which it was supported by high authorities) at many points; *e.g.*—

1. It is willing not to use its power to oppose certain reforms, many of which would injure it; and it waives its claim to compensation for such injuries.

2. It no longer demands payment from public funds.

3. It submits to a special tax on the licensees, equivalent to about 7 per cent. of their capital value, the whole fortune of many public-house owners.

If the Liberal party can accept the compromise, it is free to legislate when in power; and, while out of office, its concurrence would remove the ground on which the Unionist Government has refused to act. We are all anxious to accept an opening for reform, if we can do so without sacrifice of principle. Many reformers, and even zealous teetotalers, are persuaded that the moment has come at last.

REFORMER.

## HOW WE BECAME "A NATION OF SHOPKEEPERS."

LITTLE more than a century ago Napoleon contemptuously styled us "a nation of shopkeepers," and the name is with us until this day. With characteristic national good-humour we have been at little pains to disclaim the epithet, mainly for the school-boy reason that "calling names won't hurt us," which is only another form of the common-sense conviction that if we are shopkeepers, we ought not to mind being told so; and if we are not shopkeepers, the title will not make us such. Also, we do not resent it because we know that the word does not actually define us; because we know that, greatly occupied as we have been, and still are, with commerce and merchandise, we are not wholly so, but have other deeper and wider national interests. Shopkeepers we may be, yet like that great and good man, the late William Morris, shopkeepers with a difference, as those who have become so, not so much by natural aptitude or inclination, but by force of circumstances perhaps, by training, in pursuit of some ideal or other, or from a sense of duty.

There is to my mind nothing more fascinating in our history than the narrative of how we became such, of how we were made, as it were, shopkeepers in spite of ourselves; for our apprenticeship to business partook more or less of the nature of an accident, and our success was unlooked-for and almost a miracle, as all must concede who have studied the evolution of the modern, so-called, shopkeeping Englishman from his ancestor, the fierce, iconoclastic Saxon warrior, who leapt from his ship's prow upon these shores in the early part of the fifth century. Our commercial predominance is indeed a paradox, because we have sprung mainly from a race who not merely disliked commerce and knew nothing about it, but who were pre-eminently lacking in the commercial instinct. Thus despite

Britain's fertility, mineral wealth, and admirable situation for trade purposes, few, if any, countries developed their resources so slowly as did Saxon England. It is a startling, but, I think, indisputable fact that the Anglo-Saxon race took little short of eight hundred years to attain the commercial level of the rest of civilized Europe.

This is perhaps not to be wondered at, when we remember what an ancestral inheritance of European arts and industry England had to compete against during these long, dull centuries of her apprenticeship; when we remember that the high state of social culture which at an early date distinguished Rome and other cities of the empire, and which was maintained by the Italian republics in the Middle Ages, was itself a survival of a luxurious civilization, won from those more ancient Greek and Oriental empires whose unrivalled arts took their very conquerors captive.

Yet England's pitiable condition of commercial lethargy in these early days could not have been wholly due to lack of opportunity for learning foreign commercial methods; for the Saxons had their chance like the rest, to profit by the example and experience of the empire, seeing that they found a flourishing British trade organization when they came here, ready to their hands had they wished to avail themselves of it. Nor can it be urged that the geographical isolation of Britain was a really effective barrier to commercial intercourse with the continent, for the Saxons themselves were a maritime and seafaring people. It was therefore no fear of the elements that kept the early Englishman within his island, and that restrained him from contact with his more polished continental neighbours. The hindrance lay rather in the very nature of the Saxon himself, in that intense reserve and self-sufficiency which resented interference and made all sympathetic approach from the outside difficult, if not impossible.

The isolation of the lands from and to which our forefathers came, by fostering a marked insularity of manners and customs, had in turn induced that secondary but more complete isolation of national character, that singular "aloofness" of the Saxon



spirit which made the early mediæval Englishman particularly inaccessible to the reach of European ideas, and which proved for centuries an effectual wall of separation between England and the rest of civilized Europe. The grim loneliness of those retired fens and fastnesses, described in the song of *Beowulf*,<sup>1</sup> seemed to have entered his very soul, inuring it to self-reliance and solitude. It was therefore in some such stern, separatist spirit that he launched daringly forth upon the wild Northern ocean to find a country where he might undisturbedly dwell. Word was brought him of these Western islands, and he came to Britain as to a land set apart for himself. This accounts for the ungovernable fury with which the Saxons fell upon Roman Britain, a fury so startling and almost inexplicable to the world of that day. Previous experience might have led Europe to suppose that tribes so rude and untrained as the Saxons would be dazzled and impressed with that majestic imperial civilization which so many Northern barbarians—their kinsmen the Franks in particular—had with a certain pride adopted. Had the Saxons, like the Huns, come of an alien stock, their attitude would scarcely have been remarkable, but as a branch of that great Teutonic family to which the Emperor Theodoric belonged, better things were expected of them. When Goths, Franks, and Vandals had settled down within the borders of the empire, and deigned to receive the impress of its civilization, what, it might be asked, hindered the Saxons from doing likewise?

The thing that hindered was simply the fact that the newcomers were Saxons,<sup>2</sup> and not Goths, Franks, or Vandals; that they were a race which, from its earliest known history, was—as it is still—passionately occupied with the development of its

<sup>1</sup> See Kemble's *Beowulf*, ii., p. 56: "They frequent the hidden land, the refuge of the wolf, the windy promontories." Cf. also Stopford Brooke's *Primer of English Literature*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> The distinctive character exhibited by the Saxons at this early period is well given by Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Appendix to Book II., p. 263: "The Emperor Julian denotes them as distinguished among their neighbours for vehemence and valour. Zosimus . . . ranks them as superior to others in energy, strength, and warlike fortitude."

own individuality; a race wealthy in original and formative ideas, and endowed with unerring social and political instinct. This people already possessed the germs of a social polity before they crossed the sea, germs which, however rudimentary, contained in them a living organism, capable—if planted in congenial soil—of infinite possibilities of expansion. Crude as his system was, to the Saxon it was not only preferable to any other, but it was for him the only possible system. What he now wanted was merely space in which to obtain free play for the growth and spread of his deep-rooted and upspringing ideas. Until he came thus suddenly upon the advanced civilization of this island, Rome had scarcely existed for him; and now, just as he was preparing to start and found himself a kingdom, the empire—as represented by the Romanized inhabitants of Britain—imposed the first check upon his breathless march westward. For the first time in history, Saxon and Roman citizen met face to face, and the barbarian remained unabashed. He was in no whit awed by the magnificence of the empire; and he tendered it no reverence as some of the fiercest of the other barbarians had done. Unlike the Goths, the Saxon could not be appeased by bribes or booty, but was the one destined implacable foe of a Romanized Europe. The imperial civilization was utterly alien and distasteful to him, and he never rested till he had destroyed it root and branch. Thus of all the Roman-British baths, temples, theatres, and villas he found here,<sup>1</sup> he left scarcely one stone upon another. So scathing indeed was his scorn for the imperial order of things, that he would not so much as avail himself of the foundations upon which the Roman town had rested, but set about erecting his own rude habitation side by side with, rather than upon, the ruins of the old.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the Romanized condition of Britain at this period, see Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, p. 195: "It had been for above three centuries the seat of Roman civilization and luxury . . . hence they had not only built houses, temples, courts, and market-places in their towns, but had adorned them with porticoes, galleries, baths, and salons, and with mosaic pavements, and emulated every Roman improvement. . . . Their cities had been made images of Rome itself, and their natives had become Romans."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kemble's *Saxons in England*, vol. ii., ch. vii., pp. 262, 295. Cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 296, 297, 300.

This absolute obliteration of the empire was something new in the world's history, and spoke volumes for the youth, vigour, and daring originality of the new-comers. Viewed in the light of subsequent events, it was prophetic of the rôle the Saxon was to play as the ultimate replacer of that world dominion which instinct and conviction alike persuaded him must give way before him.<sup>1</sup> His destruction of the Roman civilization, therefore, was not wanton but deliberate; he had no possible use for it; it in no way fitted in with his scheme of things, and his own ideas of social order were diametrically opposed to those of Rome. It was further necessary to his dignity to be rid of it, for while it remained he could not be—as he intended—so thoroughly himself. With the Saxon as with the Roman, no half measures were to be tolerated; he also, to manipulate a famous saying, would be *aut Saxonicus aut nihil*.

Henceforth, therefore, Britain was the abode of warlike tribes strangely hostile to continental manners and customs; and the crucial question for Europe was, Would the Saxon convert it into a pirate stronghold, whence he could sally forth at will to still further ransack the empire? It seemed improbable that a nation so daring and fanatic should, in the moment of victory, stay their hand, and not press their advantage further.

Continental apprehensions, however—if they ever existed—proved groundless, being based on an utter misconception of Saxon character, which, as far as foreign opinion is concerned, has never been removed.

Pressure from without, not natural restlessness, had driven our fathers forth, and having had a certain amount of trouble in acquiring this island, the Saxon was in no hurry to set forth upon his travels again.<sup>2</sup> The character of the early Englishman, like that of his modern descendant, was distinguished by a marked absence of ulterior motive or design; and so far was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. R. Green, 1893 edit., pp. 16, 17, and *ibid.*, p. 24: "It was the one purely Germanic nation that rose upon the wreck of Rome."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. R. Green, *History of the English People*, 1893 edit.: "However roughly he dealt, while the struggle went on, with the material civilization of Britain, it was impossible such a man should be a mere destroyer. War was no sooner over than the warrior settled down into a farmer."



he from contemplating further conquests, that having once got rid of all trace of the Roman occupation here, he dismissed all further thought of the empire. The comparatively remote situation of Britain furthered his disposition for seclusion, and enabled him to withdraw from all further intercourse with the adjoining mainland. So strong indeed was his native conservatism, and so confirmed was he in his determination to live to himself alone, that he was even prepared to take up arms against any neighbouring tribe of his own nation that ventured to encroach upon his mark or boundary line; and he at times found it difficult to tolerate the proximity of such of his own community as lay outside his own immediate family.<sup>1</sup> With his extraordinary exclusiveness and passion for localization, it is not to be marvelled at that for the early and mediæval Englishman everything centered in the homestead.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the Gael, the Saxon was not gregarious; he lived by himself, or with his family around him, and desired no intruders. Bound to no man nor any man to him, his ideal of liberty was to live in independent seclusion upon his own freehold or farmstead.<sup>3</sup> To the stranger whom chance or circumstances threw across his path, he was hospitable, with quiet dignity; he wished him well, but was secretly relieved when the time came to send him on his way again. Like the trees in his English forests, the Anglo-Saxon stood apart, root-fast, unbending, shut up in the gnarled, forbidding bark of his own nature, whose stern exterior few could penetrate, but whose harshness was forgiven it by those who knew how it encircled, not hollowness, but a heart of oak.

For despite his reserve the Saxon was not the cold, impenetrable personality he appeared, and his very fierceness in

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus noted this feature, and his remark is quoted by Green (p. 5, 1893 edit.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, i., p. 231: "His own home and parish were more to him than the House of Cerdic, or the safety of the nation;" and *ibid.*, par. 81, "The individual Englishman."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Stubbs, *ibid.*, i., 20. *Vide* also Kemble, *Saxons in England*, i., 131-134. Cf. also Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii., p. 324, note 75, quoting Supus, who refers to it as a great public calamity that, owing to the Danish invasions, "Freemen may not govern themselves . . . nor possess their own, as they like."

war testified to the play of passionate powers within him. Ruthless warrior as he was, his immediate kinsfolk knew the depth and warmth of his affections, his passionate devotion to the wife of his choice, his forbearing tenderness towards his children. There was fire under that seemingly hard outer crust: poetic imagination and religious enthusiasm were there, glowing none the less fiercely because so carefully repressed; but fanned by a chance wind from some unexpected quarter, his soul's sullen embers would leap into flame, glorifying everything upon which their light was cast. Like the bards of old, he called things by new names. Ocean was to him "the whale's path;" or gazing on the high-curved prow of his boat, he called it "the foam-necked."<sup>1</sup> Filled to overflowing with the poetic sense of all things, the impulse drove him to seize his harp, and he burst wonderfully into song.<sup>2</sup>

The gradual conversion of the Saxon tribes to Christianity, which took place in the seventh and eighth centuries, gave an exceptional opportunity to the Saxon muse; so that, by the close of the seventh century, while the politics of the country were merely tribal,<sup>3</sup> Saxon learning and literature were notably in advance of any in Europe.<sup>4</sup> But I am not here concerned with early English literature, except in quoting it both as the first conscious expression of that dreamy, hero-worshipping Saxon nature, which was centuries later to bequeath us a Chaucer, a Shakespeare, and more important still, as evidence how from the first the main trend of the Anglo-Saxon character was towards the expression and practice of ideas. From the first the Englishman was occupied with the moral rather than with the material aspect of things; he was occupied, like the Greeks, in the search for Truth, Beauty, Justice, and Self-control.

Side by side with his literary output, the next expression of his enthusiastic individuality was given in early English industrial art. The early Englishman was not merely a poet

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kemble's *Beowulf* (1847), pp. 10-13.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. R. Green, *History of the English People* (1893), i., pp. 53, 54.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Stubbs, i., 39, "a great family of tribes;" and again, *ibid.*, p. 231, par. 81.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, i., 234, 235; and Green's *History* (1893), pp. 69-75.

and dreamer, but also a fine and original artist. It had followed from their wholesale rejection of imperial ideas, that our forefathers had to seek and find out everything for themselves, and to begin at the very beginning of Art and Industry.<sup>1</sup> The Goths and Franks had taken up Roman civilization just where they found it. Not so the Saxon. He delighted above all things in going his own way, and in finding everything out for himself. He would not be helped. He was prepared to give laws to all the world rather than to receive any. It never occurred to him that he was ignorant, or that the outsider could teach him anything. He preferred his own unique, if laborious methods, to anything that came from over seas. Disdaining the Frank's short cuts to civilization, he would have hewn down forest upon forest of difficulties rather than have owed his direction to a stranger.

But some of his finest arts he brought with him. From earliest times the Saxons were a nation of splendid smiths:<sup>2</sup> Thor's craft was held in magnificent honour amongst them. At home, too, their women wove a rude woollen cloth for the family use, while up to the period of the Danish invasions English embroidery and missal painting, in point of wealth and ingenuity of device, were of unsurpassed beauty and excellence. It was during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries that English decorative art received the impulse of that "Anglo-Saxon spirit of design" to which Mr. J. O. Westwood<sup>3</sup> refers, the peculiarly distinctive character which marked it out from all the continental work of the period.

<sup>1</sup> The economic helplessness of the Saxons is well illustrated in Bede's account of the South Saxons, whom Bishop Wilfred found throwing themselves in parties from the rocks into the sea for want of a better remedy against the famine. He partly achieved their conversion by teaching them the art of fishing, of which they appear to have been utterly ignorant.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, edit. Kemble, 1847, "Anglo-Saxons . . . mighty war-smiths;" cf. also Kemble's *Saxons in England*, ii., p. 306, refers to "the heroical weapon-smith;" cf. also the long account of the smith's importance among the Saxons in Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iii., p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Archæologia*, x., 275: "Of the distinctive character of various styles of ornamentation employed by the early English, Anglo-Saxon, and Irish artists," Also *ibid.*, vol. vii., p. 17.



But though his artistic and poetic impulse prompted the early Englishman to fashion much that was valuable as art, he worked for no distant market, but simply to satisfy his own ideals, or to adorn the shrines of the church in his own town or hamlet. Artistically gifted as he was, he possessed the true artist's proverbial lack of business qualities; he did not possess the desire to trade, and he had no commercial spirit.<sup>1</sup> Intricate business calculations had neither part nor lot in his mind, and his taciturn reserve, his mistrust of strangers and of everything to which he was unaccustomed, made him unfitted for the pursuit of those glib, persuasive arts which were necessarily exercised in the mediæval chapman's calling. His ignorance and inexperience disposed him to be, on the one hand, too suspicious, and on the other, too credulous for a successful bargainer, whilst his native integrity and downrightness made him utterly disdainful of all trade tricks.

As times were then, the Anglo-Saxon must have made but a sorry merchant, and even supposing him to have been inclined for commerce, the internal divisions of the country were extremely unfavourable to its development. Tribe warred against tribe, and community was hostile to community, so that if the humble Saxon pedlar<sup>2</sup> had wished to shoulder his pack and fare afield, he would not have been able.<sup>3</sup> Inclination and necessity alike therefore united in discouraging him from any attempts at an "upland trade," and, as I have endeavoured to show, he surlily withdrew from all international communications, commercial or otherwise. How little he ventured with his wares abroad is attested by the inducement of "thegnhood," which the king held out to any trader who made three voyages at his own cost.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, i., 122, "averse to trade;" and *ibid.*, p. 104, where he quotes Strabo's verdict, "They cared little for money or merchandise;" cf. also Stubbs, i., 18 (*Const. Hist.*).

<sup>2</sup> Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, chap. ix., pp. 104-106.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119, "Travelling . . . for purposes of traffic was very rare," etc.

<sup>4</sup> Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, quotes Alfred's translation of Ohther's voyages to the North as proof that about this time "the habit of visiting distant parts for purposes of traffic had already begun." But this can hardly be taken as evidence of Anglo-Saxon exploits, as Ohther was clearly a Northman, and moreover

Thus it was this native ineptitude for commerce which, even more than racial or geographical isolation, caused England to lag so far in the rear of European industry, and which, taken in connexion with that two-fold isolation, sufficiently explains the clumsiness of English mercantile methods at a time when most of our continental neighbours were skilled merchants and financiers.

Had the Anglo-Saxon been left as severely alone as he desired to be, it would be curious to speculate what commercial standing he would unassistedly have attained, or if indeed he would have developed the commercial instinct at all. But he was far from being suffered to enjoy undisturbedly the solitude he loved in the island home he had so doggedly fought for, and which, with a careless confidence, born of sheer ignorance of external matters, and unwarranted by the troubled state of Europe at that time, he took ridiculously disproportionate means to secure.

The Saxon's conquest of Britain, and his wanton destruction of the imperial civilization here, had set him outside the pale of European conventions: henceforth he was the enemy of all who had succeeded to the purple, or hoped to succeed thereto. Europe had not forgotten Britain, if the English were doing their best to forget Europe, and the sight of an island so admirably situated for trade purposes, thrown away on a people who had no idea how to develop its resources, afforded for several centuries to come an irresistible temptation to the greed both of political and mercantile adventurers. The political, social, and industrial history of England, from the close of the ninth to the opening of the fifteenth century, is simply the recital of the efforts made by Europe to obtain a footing in this island, and to force the acceptance of her civilization upon us.

the wonder his exploits excited even in King Alfred's mind clearly proves that such voyages were regarded as something quite out of the common. What is more probable is, that the king translated them with a view to exciting a spirit of emulation among his own thegns and merchants, a spirit in which they were somewhat lacking, as is evident from the "fearfulness" of the Anglo-Saxon fisherman, who confined his fishing to fresh water, because it required big ships for sea-fishing (Turner, iii., p. 24).

It is, further, the recital of the foreigner's partial success, and of his final repulse, with all the unlooked-for issues of the struggle; it is, finally, the story of how at length, for purposes of fighting the intruder with his own weapons, force of circumstances obliged the detached Saxon tribesman to stand shoulder to shoulder with his fellows and become, not merely a patriotic Englishman, but a hard-headed and prosperous merchant, whether he would or no.

The first attack upon us, as also our first grounding in the rudiments of internal and external commerce, came from a people who lived almost opposite our northern shores, and whose eyes had long been fixed on the valuable openings for a coasting-trade presented by the numerous river mouths and other sheltered inlets of these islands. And to this attack the Anglo-Saxons, in spite of, nay, by reason of their vaunted independence, fell an easier prey than might from their war-like reputation have been expected. Indeed, that very self-sufficiency which prompted the Anglo-Saxon to be so little interested in the world outside himself, that love of separating himself out even from his own people, became at any period of threatened national disaster a source of grave weakness and actual peril. It delayed that indispensable unity of the Saxon tribes which alone could have resisted the strong pressure of a foreign invasion. The enemy were upon them before they had realized the necessity of national cohesion, and, unaccustomed as the Saxons were to concerted action, the Danes broke easily through their badly organized defences, and swarmed all over the country. By the close of the ninth century, York, Nottingham, and London were in their hands, and though Alfred defeated their attempts on Wessex, and Edward and Athelstan reconquered, in the following century, many of their strongholds, yet by the close of the tenth century they had obtained a footing here, which they maintained with varying success up to the accession of the Confessor in 1042. And even then the dominant influence at Court continued to be that of the Northmen, although some of it came from rival bands who had settled amidst a more southern civilization.



However socially disturbing at the time, the Danish Conquest was on the whole a distinct economic advantage to this country. Though of a kindred stock, the Danes in one respect presented a marked contrast to the Saxons, for they are admitted on all hands to have been very keen traders.<sup>1</sup> They introduced the practice of commercial intercourse between England and the North of Europe, and their settlement here gave its first impulse to English commerce. By availing themselves of the internal communication afforded by the rivers, and by establishing trading centres at their mouths, the Danes opened up the country in a way that would never have suggested itself to the slower-witted Saxon.<sup>2</sup>

In this way the ports of Grimsby, Hull, York, Chester, Lincoln, Bristol, and London, with many others, sprang into existence. Within the country they penetrated to inland places like Nottingham, Oxford, and Shrewsbury; in fact, wherever a river was deep and steady enough to navigate a laden boat, Danish merchants were to be found.

Their trade lay chiefly in the fish, tar, timber, ship-masts, ropes, sail canvas, eiderdown, furs, skins, whale-oil, and such commodities as were furnished around the Baltic. The Humber was their principal destination, as its wide sandy mouth was the first available shelter that offered itself to such ships as hazarded the crossing. Thus Hull and Grimsby<sup>3</sup> came to do a brisk trade with the North, and even York, Mr. J. R. Green tells us, "from this time became more and more a Danish city, and was thronged at the close of a century with Danish merchants."

Wessex, it will be remembered, never came within the area of Danish influence, so that the towns and hamlets on the south coast did not partake of the prosperity with which Danish enterprise had endowed the towns of Northumbria and East

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. R. Green, *Conquest of England*, p. 118: "The Danes were as keen traders as they were hard fighters."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. ix., p. 436, *et seq.*; and *ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Anderson, *Orkneyinga Saga*, pp. 75, 76: Kali's song—

"Dirt indeed we had in plenty,  
While we lay in Grimsby harbour."

Anglia. The proximity of this last-mentioned province to Denmark and the Scandinavian countries, with their consequent convenience of access from the Continent, as well as the large profits accruing from the herring and other deep-sea fisheries<sup>1</sup> in the North Sea, probably accounts for the rapid rise of the East coast towns, and Ipswich, Dunwich, Norwich, Sandwich, Lincoln, Boston, and Great Yarmouth, all probably date the beginnings of their prosperity to this industry.

It is probably to this period we must refer the drawing up of regulations providing for the safe conduct of the Scandinavian merchants who ventured here, according to which the natives of Denmark enjoyed the unique privilege of sojourning in London all the year through, as well as all the benefits of the law of the city of London; in other words, of resorting to fair or market in any place throughout England.<sup>2</sup>

The long and peaceful reign of the Confessor gave, doubtless a further impetus to the start already made in Anglo-Danish commerce, and more especially so as Harold, the son of Godwin who in 1053 succeeded to his father's earldom and influence, was, according to a contemporary historian,<sup>3</sup> so deeply interested in trade as to be compared to "a merchant who seeks the fairs with his packs." There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of this description, as the earl probably inherited the commercial instinct from his father, who had learnt it under Cnut. Indeed the whole policy of the House of Godwin was of a strictly protective character. Their exile was probably the outcome of their strong opposition to the Norman party at Court; and their return to power in 1052, displaying, so to speak, the popular manifesto of "England for the English," was significantly marked by the immediate flight of the whole French party.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ælfric's *Dialogues*, quoted in Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, iii., p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Riley, *Munim. Gild. Lond.*, ii., pt. i., introd., p. xxxi.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of St. Edward*, 1067, (c) *Chronicles*, edit. H. R. Luard, 1858, lxi. 177.

<sup>4</sup> Vide *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, edit. Kemble, 1847, p. 427, describing the meeting of Godwin and his fleet with the king and his land forces: "But it was loathful to almost all of them that they should fight against men of their own race, for there was little else there which was of much account, except Englishmen . . . and moreover they were unwilling that this land should be still more exposed to outlandish men, by reason that they themselves destroyed each other," etc. . . . "and Bishop

But notwithstanding the hive-like industry of the East coast settlements, the Danish spirit of commercial enterprise had, we may believe, not penetrated far into the interior, or roused and carried the great inert mass of the Saxon population with it. Among the scattered, almost inaccessible inhabitants of the "upland," we may believe that the old distrust of any new thing prevailed, and even while they were in the act of turning these matters over in their minds, the Normans were upon them, and their sudden shock of conquest shattered the greater part of the newly raised commercial fabric to the ground. With the English it was the old story of tribal jealousies and fatally divided counsels. Of individual heroism they had enough and to spare, but they lacked the union that is strength, and their forces, separately led, were separately beaten.

At first sight it does not appear as if Anglo-Danish commerce had much to lose by the Norman Conquest, for it was not now as formerly, the incursion of a barbarian horde, but a mere political transfer of power to a kindred Northern people, who, though more socially cultivated, were no whit behind their Danish kinsmen in commercial ability and cunning. Nor were the Normans strangers to this country; they had long possessed a trading establishment here,<sup>1</sup> and many Normans had risen to political and ecclesiastical power, whilst numbers of them had visited England fifteen years before in the train of the great Duke William.<sup>2</sup>

It was on the face of it only a later Danish political conquest, and bearing the strong, just government of Cnut in mind, what was there—it might be asked—to dread in the elevation of a Norman duke of Danish descent, cousin to the late king, to the throne of England?

There was much to fear, however, and by his fitful outbreaks against the Norman rule, the Englishman seemed to show his prescience of all that final and hopeless defeat would

Robert, and Bishop William, and Bishop Ulf, with difficulty escaped, and the Frenchmen who were with them, and thus got over sea."

<sup>1</sup> At Dungeness, *vide* Chéruel, *Hist de Rouen*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, note *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, p. 427, edit. Kemble, 1847.



cost him. True, it was in one way only a later Danish conquest, but it was Danish with a difference. The very quarter of attack was changed, and this of itself was significant of the new developments in store for the English people, and of the new channels into which their energies were about to be directed. All previous invasions of Britain, save one, had come from the North; this, like the Roman invasion of old, came from the South; and in so far as it was authorized and approved by the Pope, as a kind of punitive expedition calculated to bring England and her stiff-necked people forcibly under the dominion and influence of a European civilization, thus far it partook of the nature of a second imperial, or Roman invasion also.

Though wholly Norse in their origin, yet by virtue of their long residence in a Southern land, the Normans, like the Franks, had acquired a veneer of the polished Gallic civilization that surrounded them;<sup>1</sup> though unlike the Franks, the Normans, while adopting the social order of the people among whom they had settled, had lost none of their native vigour and love of rule. Together with the French language, they had assimilated a large mass of imperial ideas and institutions which had survived the earlier barbaric conquest of Gaul. In this way their art, their law, their Church, and, more than anything, their chivalry was in its essence Roman;<sup>2</sup> and, thus they came to us as it were embodying anew all that hateful imperial civilization which centuries before the Saxon alone, out of the nations of Europe, had resisted and spurned, and which he had now to receive at the sword's point, and with his enemy's foot upon his throat. As the Saxon foeman fled or fell before the onset

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii., p. 358: "The Frankish nation had rapidly improved since the reign of Charlemagne. The effects of the Roman civilization were extensive and permanent, and the ardent zeal of the Christian clergy had greatly contributed to humanize and soften their martial fierceness. The unwarlike characters of the successors of Charlemagne had tended to increase the civilizing spirit. The Normans from their contiguity partook of the melioration of the French manners."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gibbon's *Crusades*, p. 401, where, speaking of the monkish military orders, he finds their passion for discipline and austerity the only two features of the Roman empire which alone survived its wreck: "their spirit and discipline," he says, "were immortal."

of the gleaming Norman chivalry, it would appear that, by the hands of her auxiliaries at least, Rome was being amply and bitterly avenged.

The one sop of comfort in the bitter cup of Danish conquest drained by the Saxons, had been the knowledge that they could afford to despise the pagan barbarity of their foe; if they could not always conquer they could occasionally convert him, civilize him, and to a certain extent impose their language and forms of government upon him. But with the Norman Conquest the situation was for the time being completely changed. By it the English nation did not merely suffer, as formerly, a temporary military or political defeat, but experienced nothing short of a complete overthrow, for several generations to come, of their unique and isolated civilization. For the first time in our history, the Anglo-Saxon genius was deliberately held in contempt and set at naught. Where it attempted to assert itself it was forcibly bound, and thrown, heavily ironed, into a dungeon, or let out in chained gangs to work under the lash of a Norman overseer. And the Norman gladly served as the task-master deputed to flog and force us into that Imperial mould to which the rest of Europe so willingly conformed. To him, therefore, this was a thoroughly congenial task; in addition to the vindication of the Imperial dignity, so to speak, he had some scores of his own to wipe out, and this lent a noticeable air of fierce vindictiveness to his occupation of the country. He had probably not forgotten his recent treatment at the hands of the Londoners led by the House of Godwin, and that wholesale detestation of the Frenchman which the English, without a thought of consequence, had been at little pains to conceal.

Now that the tables were turned, the Norman joyed in proving to the Saxon that he had at length found a master. His mailed hand pressed heavily everywhere; feudal castles were built on every available hill,<sup>1</sup> and the hitherto free inhabitants of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, edit. Kemble, 1847, p. 442: "And they built castles wide throughout the nation, and poor people distressed." And again, p. 445, "Upon this he (King William) went to Nottingham and built a castle there, and then advanced to York, where he built two castles; he then did the same at

towns were awed into reluctant submission beneath the frowning ramparts of a Norman keep. On all sides a ruthless and wholesale confiscation of Saxon property went on.<sup>2</sup> Despite the air of profound legality with which it has been thought necessary to invest the Norman occupation, it cannot be controverted that, generally speaking, might prevailed over right; and that all over the country, out of sight, a great deal of ruthless cruelty and lawless plundering went on. It was as if some robber, after slaying the shepherd, had set his wolfish hounds to guard the sheepfold, where, though the sheep were not for their eating, these took many a sly bite, so that many of the flock were mangled or died of fright, and the rest were too terrified to defend themselves or break away. Similarly, such was the intimidation caused by the Norman settlement here, that trade must have come almost to a standstill. Even in the towns the security of life and property was so endangered as to intimidate the mass of peace-loving citizens, and seriously to dislocate commerce. York, which, as we have seen, was the centre of the Northern trade, was in 1068 sacked by William, while in the following year it was again pillaged and burnt, and the whole shire left a black and barren desert.<sup>1</sup>

Destruction was in fact a congenial work to the Norman baron; construction he did not care about, unless it were the building of a fortress. The Norman knight was a magnificent warrior and a famous governor, but he pursued a terrorizing policy. He had no idea of inspiring confidence in the justice of his rule, so that the timid townsfolk might flock to him as to a father. He utterly despised the merchant and the craftsman; and his personal dealings with them were probably confined to the smith, the linen-armourer, and the builder, and such artisans of the kind as ministered to his personal convenience and lived within his castle bounds. Those who lived outside his protection, might look to themselves if their lord Lincoln and everywhere in those parts." Also, p. 462: "He caused castles to be built and oppressed the poor."

<sup>1</sup> See *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, edit. Kemble, 1847; cf. also Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, iii., p. 257: "His dreadful devastation of Yorkshire, which left one hundred miles of the country north of the Humber a mere desert."



rode roughly among them. He respected his own market, but only because the tolls of it went into his own pocket. He was not equally restrained from despoiling that of his enemy, and as a king's officer, exercising, or rather abusing, the royal privilege of purveyance he was at all times ready to plunder the poor country folk, and to take provisions and the hire of men and horses, without even the intention of paying for the same. Now and again a merchant fair afforded a glorious opportunity to a party of young Norman bloods, who deemed it sport to ride down the stall-holders, and set fire to the highly combustible material of the booths.<sup>1</sup>

All through the Norman period these turbulent evils went on, and no man dared complain. The misery increased rather than diminished with years, and to the chroniclers of the time it must have seemed as if one misery only passed to make room for the arrival of another.<sup>2</sup>

But a close examination of the spirit of these times will show us the exceeding utility of these very tribulations, and the part they played in helping to bring out the sturdy quality of our national character. They serve to show how, out of England's weakness, came forth her strength, and how the Norman Conquest, regarded as a strong measure of severe but salutary discipline, was, in many ways, though perhaps neither socially or aesthetically, an excellent thing for England.

The harsh tyranny of the Norman overlords fostered, if it did not create, the corporate life of the towns; the timid burghers learnt to associate for purposes of mutual protection and defence, and thus the development of the sturdy commercial Saxon spirit was the direct outcome of the insolent rapacity and misgovernment of the haughty Norman baronage.<sup>3</sup> Not in the towns only, but all over the country, a common danger and a common grievance drew the people together, and so helped to

<sup>1</sup> I believe this happened at Lincoln, but I have unfortunately for the present lost the reference. The statement is, however, true, although I cannot for the moment place it.

<sup>2</sup> See the wails of the contemporary chroniclers.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, i., 270: "They provoked and stimulated by opposition and oppression the latent energies of the English."

wipe out those tribal barriers which had hitherto proved such an obstacle to Anglo-Saxon unity. Henceforth the people remembered that they were first of all Saxons, as distinguished from Normans; and only secondarily that they were men of Mercia, Wessex, Kent, or Northumbria.<sup>1</sup> But the Norman Conqueror was not satisfied merely to drive the Saxons before him; he compelled them to coalesce not only with one another, but with his own people. There was no existing impediment of race, and by the close of the twelfth century the thing was actually done. The Norman sprinkling had so far disappeared as to be no longer distinguishable, and Saxon, Dane, and Norman were gradually merged and swallowed up into the great mass of the English people. Where it had not become absorbed, the Norman tyranny survived in lonely greatness among the lay or ecclesiastical baronage; but even here it had finally to give way before the increasing pressure of the surging populations of the towns, impatient of antiquated feudal privileges and exactions. The long feuds between the towns and the local baronial or ecclesiastical magnates amply illustrate how impoverished and stranded at the end of two hundred years the Norman feudal aristocracy had become, and how hand over hand the Saxon freeman was gaining upon him.

But absorbed and lost to sight as it was, the workings of the foreign element were for some time to come felt in many directions. The Norman leaven, perhaps even more than the Celtic or Danish infusions that preceded it, leavened the whole lump of Saxon heaviness, and the blunt Saxon mind, while it lost little of its dreamy impulsiveness, acquired something of an edge from Norman sharpness.

Thus much was then achieved: the peoples were blended, and it only remained to bring England into touch with the continent, and the humiliation of the haughty and exclusive Saxon would be complete.

The early Englishman of this period was, as I have tried to show, not quick-witted. Though a surprisingly fine artist, he was a bad salesman. He had not yet acquired the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, i., 232, par. 2.

"shop-keeping" bent with which he is now credited. The sinuous arts of commerce as then practised, its numerous and complex tricks of trade, so far from attracting, distinctly repelled him,<sup>1</sup> and his feelings towards the soft-tongued foreign merchants who, from the Confessor's time if not earlier, visited our shores, certainly fell little short of actual aversion. One of the bitterest fruits of the Norman Conquest was the admission of flocks of French merchants into the country. All the seaports were full of them, and in London they very speedily got into their hands the chief management both of industrial and municipal affairs.<sup>2</sup> It was through their agency that England was brought directly into touch with that Oriental traffic with which she had hitherto been only distantly connected through the Baltic or German traders, who, under heavy restrictions, were admitted into the great marts of Venice. Now, however, through the agency of the Rouenese merchants, who visited the great fairs of Champagne or Languedoc, England could readily communicate with the Mediterranean; and Italy, Greece, and Constantinople were brought nearer than they had ever been before.

The whole direction of trade was in fact changed; some of England's commercial energies were, so to speak, dammed up, but only that they might be re-diverted into a new course. The trade with the North was more or less destroyed, but in its place sprang up a commerce with the South. William's devastation of Yorkshire dealt a blow at the Humber trade, from which it took a couple of centuries to recover; but the fall of York increased the rising importance of London, which was now left with Winchester as its only commercial rival.

Economically regarded, therefore, the most important result of the Norman Conquest was that it broke violently through the traditional Saxon exclusiveness and forcibly linked England to the Continent, bringing her, whether she would or no, into the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, i., p. 18. Speaking of the early Saxons, "Money and merchandise were of little account with them;" and cf. also Strabo, quoted in Turner, i., 104, "They cared little for money or commerce" (Strabo, 460, 461, 454).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Norman-French names of the early sheriffs and mayors, as given in Stowe's *Chronicle*.



circle of European industry and exchange.<sup>1</sup> The Norman Conquest built, so to speak, a bridge between France and England, along which all the packmen of Europe could tramp in with their wares.<sup>2</sup> The grappling-irons were thrown, and the Englishman was boarded and overrun. Forcefully cut from his favourite northern moorings, he was unwillingly towed into the sphere of Romance influence.

But no amount of intercourse with foreigners could actually effect the Englishman's conversion; his stoical stolidity saved him, and however forcibly he was dragged into European intercourse, it took all the strength of the Norman to keep him there. His spirit was as innately aloof as before; he might be in Europe, but he was not of Europe, and his subsequent history for many generations is simply that of his continuous struggle to escape.

The "drums and tramlings" of so many conquests, so far from giving the Englishman a cosmopolitan pliancy of address, merely stiffened his neck against the alien yoke. During the period of his most grinding subjection to the Norman, those marked racial characteristics, previously insisted on, necessarily remained in abeyance; but they were only suppressed, not destroyed, and were ready to emerge triumphantly as soon as the heel of the oppressor should be removed. This particularism of the Anglo-Saxon disposition survived the Conquest, but in the milder form of town rivalries, or in the obstinate resistance shown by the town communities to the dues, tolls, and exactions of their feudal overlord and of his rapacious, insolent bailiff.

But bitter as were these feuds, the Englishman reserved his most intense hatred for the intruder from across the seas. His detestation of the foreigner tinged all his disposition.<sup>3</sup> His whole nature revolted at the thought of a pack of aliens—such

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, i., ch. ix., p. 269: "In the first place it brought the nation at once and permanently within the circle of European interests . . . ." Cf. also Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, 3rd edit., introd., p. 3: "A kingdom which had hitherto been purely Teutonic was brought into the sphere of the laws, the manners, the speech of the Roman nations."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, 3rd edit., introd., p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Depping, *Hist. du Commerce entre le Levant et l'Europe*, etc., 1830, p. 337; cf. also Freeman's *Growth of the English Constitution*, Tauchnitz edit., 1872, p. 108.

as followed in the train of the Angevin kings—battening upon this land which did not in any way belong to them, nor could he for the life of him understand their wish to come here. The mediæval Englishman was completely out of touch with that gossiping order of mind which busied itself in seeking people out, and in learning all about them. He hated meddling almost as much as being meddled with; stoically incurious himself, he could not tolerate impertinent curiosity in others. Wrapped in his rough mantle of reserve, he was not one to be plucked by the sleeve with impunity. In all these respects, therefore, the Englishman was the very opposite of his continental neighbours; whatever he may have had in common with the hardy Scandinavian, he was utterly diverse from the wily Greek, the subtle Italian or Provençal, or even from the bland and suave merchants of Lübeck or Flanders. To a man of his temperament the volatility, versatility, and volubility of the average foreigner seemed above all things despicable. He experienced a feeling of disgust for the man who was always talking, or if not talking, gesticulating and juggling with his strange foreign wares. Besides, the foreigners introduced an unknown coinage into the realm, and had mysterious methods of commercial exchange, which the Englishman could not understand, yet which he nevertheless regarded with that immeasurable contempt he reserved for all methods save his own. Still, it was irritating to him to be at the mercy of a crowd of miserable foreign packmen, who took the Englishman for an ignorant islander, who did not even know the value of his own goods, and of whom they might take what advantage they pleased. He was further greatly shocked to discover how completely he was, for all his contempt, the dupe of this despised outsider, who gave him light or counterfeit money for his wares, but who required and got good English sterlings for anything he offered in return.

How, then, was he to get rid of the alien? The foreign merchants were under the immediate protection of the Crown, whose agents and financiers they were. It was also obviously useless appealing to the king, for the Norman and Angevin kings were themselves as much foreigners as they well could

be. Henry the Second and his son Richard spent as little time in their English dominions as possible; during a reign of thirty-five years Henry spent at least seventeen years abroad, while Richard was not a single year in England.

Moreover, even supposing the king were to banish the foreign capitalists, who could take their place? Certainly not the Englishman; he had neither the skill, the capital, nor that wide commercial experience which was necessary for the complex and perilous enterprise of farming the Customs and financing the Crown. There was, therefore, nothing for the Englishman but to possess his soul in patience, until such time as, having learned the ways and methods of the foreigners, he might hope to oust him, by beating him at his own game. This he secretly determined to do. For this purpose he bound himself, as it were, an unwilling shopkeeper's apprentice to the foreigner, and wearisome drudgery as he found it, what acted as a spur to his resolve was the fact that look where he might he could see his hated rival loading and unloading on the busy quay.

ALICE LAW.



## NOTES AND MEMORANDA.

"POOR LAW ADMINISTRATION. AGED DESERVING POOR."—Many of us, as we read the circular issued by the Local Government Board, under date of August 4, 1900, must have felt like the Liberal member in the *Bothie*, who—

"Started remembering sadly the cry of a coming election."

From first to last it bears traces of the effects which party politics may have on administration. On some points it will win general approval, on others varied criticism.

1. It recommends the removal of imbeciles from the workhouse—at least, the language used implies that the Board endorses the recommendation of the Committee on the Cottage Homes Bill, but it calmly relegates the removal to the Greek Kalends: "This question is one which must, at any rate, be deferred." Apart from the very questionable style of the sentence, it is not quite clear from it whether boards of guardians are at liberty to make a move in the direction of carrying out the Committee's recommendations or not. What is the exact force of "must"? Does it mean that the central authority will not enforce, or that it will prevent any attempt at reform? Such reform is urgently needed. The workhouse is not, never has been, never can be a fit place for the treatment of the imbecile and epileptic. For treating such a larger area of administration is needed. The county councils should be approached by boards of guardians, and invited to build institutions in which these unhappy people can be given the special care and treatment they require. As the words stand, they are likely to discourage any efforts to realize this hope on the part of the wiser members of a board of guardians.

2. It recommends the removal of children from workhouses. This has passed into a commonplace of poor-law administration, and although exaggerated language is common on the subject, such removal is in favour everywhere. The Board very wisely, considering how unripe is public opinion on the subject, gives great discretion to boards of guardians in choosing an alternative system.

3. It recommends distinctive treatment of deserving and undeserving

aged poor. The first class is to be given outdoor relief, or, if removal to a workhouse is inevitable, special treatment, cubicles, more time in bed, greater privileges of exit, some degree of privacy. Here we have the really important sections of the circular. Probably for the first time since 1834 the central authority has declared in favour of outdoor relief, and of distinction based upon desert; nay, it has gone further, and framed a definition of desert. Deserving persons are those "who have habitually led decent and deserving lives" ("deserving lives" is good), their previous habits and character have been satisfactory, they have not "failed to exercise thrift in the bringing up of their families or otherwise." (It might seem at first sight as if the bringing up of a family was the last field in which thrift is desirable—but let that pass.) Such is the portrait of the good man as sketched by the Local Government Board. The picture is a little blurred and indistinct, and Mr. Chaplin must have forgotten the Aristotle he read at Oxford, but still it is a comfort it is no worse. The result is to throw the decision as to whether a man is good or bad on the average board of guardians—about as unfit a body as could be conceived! It is for them to interpret "deserving," "unsatisfactory," "failure to exercise thrift." This, it may be said, is no more than boards of guardians have been trying to do for half a century; but, on the other hand, the better members of every board will now feel, what they have never felt before, that the central authority is against them. It will be interesting to see the answers sent by different boards to Mr. Chaplin. What will be the results of such an inquiry as he suggests in the case of those unions in which outdoor relief has not been given as freely as he prefers on a character test? Probably it will be found in the majority of cases that they have practically no inmates of their workhouses who come near to this definition of desert, and if they have, most of the privileges claimed have long since been granted. But on this and other points we must wait for more light. It is to be hoped that in their next report the Local Government Board will print the replies they receive, and that the various inspectors will be directed to report on the reception of the circular, and its effects.

L. R. PHELPS.

THE NEW RESTAURANT OF THE BOLTON CO-OPERATIVE STORE.  
—Those who have become acquainted with the work of co-operators in Lancashire, know that no store has been more vigorous and successful than that known as the Great and Little Bolton Co-operative Society. Arnold Toynbee lectured there more than once, and quite recently, an elaborate course of lectures on industrial history

has been given by Mr. Joseph Owen. There is a remarkably good library; also an active branch of the women's guild; and fourteen boys and girls have lately passed the children's examination in co-operation.

The enterprising committee have been for some time experimenting in the establishment of a restaurant, the aim of which is to provide their members (though any one may use it) with wholesome meals at moderate prices. It is, however, only a few weeks since the premises specially adapted to this purpose have been opened, so that it is too soon to judge how far the restaurant will "answer" in the pecuniary sense. That it "answers" in the sense that it meets a real need is quickly demonstrated, for the new rooms are already inconveniently crowded at the dinner hour.

"The old and disused cellars under our central premises," says the *Bolton Co-operative Record* for April last, "have now been transformed, in a very able and satisfactory manner, into a substantial and beautiful restaurant." The visitor descends from the street, and, turning at the foot of the stairs, finds himself in a large hall, fifty by thirty-seven feet, lighted by electricity, with a flooring of wooden blocks, and walls with a dado of tiles. The woodwork, of pitch pine, is fresh and bright. Close to the foot of the stairs is a bar, where of course "temperance" drinks only are sold. On the right of the hall about a quarter of the floor space is screened off, and the tables inside the screen are reserved for girls and women, with sitting accommodation for about fifty at once. Adjoining this, under the stairs, is a thoroughly well-fitted ladies' lavatory, for the use of which no charge is made. The rest of the hall is fitted with tables for men; and on the left opens out a pleasant room designed as a smoke and coffee-room, but at present the pressure for places at midday is so great that dinners are served there as well. The kitchens and other accommodation for service are on the same side. The cost of the adaptation and equipment of the whole place was estimated at £3000.

It was intended that the large hall should accommodate about 150 people conveniently; at present the average number served daily, between twelve and half-past one, has been on the first five days of the week, 310. On Saturdays there are fewer. On Sundays it is closed.

The manager is himself a practical cook, and has had a wide experience. He complains of the scant estimation in which the art of cooking is held in England, and his estimate of the comparative efficiency of masculine and feminine cooks is not flattering to women. It is easy to get waitresses, but not easy to get good kitchen helpers.

In considering the prices, it must be remembered that members of



the store get "checks" on what they spend at the restaurant, just the same as on any other purchases; and that the dividend on purchases at this particular store amounts usually to 2s. 11d. in the pound. Even on a July day, hot food seemed to be generally in demand; very little cold meat is asked for, except in the evenings with tea. There is a permanent printed price-list of a considerable variety of dishes, and each day the list is distributed with marks against the dishes ready on that particular day. For instance, soup with bread is 2d.; roast meat with vegetable, 6d. to 10d.; milk, 1d. a glass; tea or coffee, 1d. the cup, or 2d. "special;" rice and other puddings, 1d. or 2d.; stewed fruit with custard, 2d.; tea, with bread and butter, and cold meat, 8d.; steak and chips, 8d.; potatoe pie, 2d., 3d., and 4d. This last dish is said to be most popular. "You might make it in a dolly-tub and use it all."

The restaurant opens and closes at the same hours as the rest of the store for the convenience of the electric lighting.

It was certainly warm to eat a piled-up plate of beefsteak pudding with potatoes and peas (all for 7d.) in a crowded room. A bottle of lemonade at 1½d. was reviving. (It would have been 1d. served at the bar.) The waiting is a little hampered by the small space; but nothing was more noticeable than the quiet good manners of the people using the room. There was no impatience, no loud talking, no silly giggling among the girls. All seemed to be taking their time and enjoying their food, be it hot meat, or jam tarts, or plates of stewed prunes, or suet puddings, or tea.

There is "a shilling dinner" to be had complete, consisting of—"one soup, one joint or entrée, with potatoes, greens, pudding, bread and cheese, or small salad." But most do not rise to this. The manager found the average expenditure per head on one day in the dinner hour to be 7½d.; on another day it was as low as 5½d. "Their choice is often more determined by their means than their desires," as he remarked, especially in the case of the girls. A little more per head seems usually to be expended at the evening meal by those who come for it; but the room is not nearly so full as at mid-day.

An interesting comparison may be made with the *Cuisine Populaire*, in Geneva. The cuisine is much better housed, with roomy premises above ground. Wine is the usual drink in Geneva, coffee being only served in the early morning. The Swiss cuisine opens at 6 a.m. in summer, or 7 a.m. in winter: the English restaurant opens at 9 a.m. The Swiss prices are lower: soup, 1d.; meat, 2½d.; vegetable, 1d. The cuisine has marble-topped tables, with separate stools by them: the restaurant has table-cloths and chairs. The restaurant is at present

almost oriental in its seclusion of women : while the cuisine has a room for family parties, as well as one for "ladies alone," though in both cuisine and restaurant the greater part of the space is occupied by men. In the cuisine you buy a *jeton* at the entrance : at the restaurant the waitress brings your bill, which you pay at the desk, where also, if a member, you get your "checks." The lavatory accommodation in the cuisine consists of a row of jets of running water ; at the restaurant, as the manager says, "if you buy a 1d. bottle of soda-water, you can have a good wash for nothing."

It is very much to be desired that the experiment that the Bolton store has made should be widely studied and imitated. The need of good food is too often neglected, especially by women and girls ; and a convenient and pleasant place to enjoy it in greatly adds to its refreshing effect.

One other contrast with the cuisine may be mentioned. The cuisine sells portions to be taken home ; the restaurant has no such arrangement. A scheme, too, for children's dinners has not been attempted, for lack of room. But one hopes that the success that seems to be attending the present effort of the Bolton store may lead to an extension of its work, and the initiation of similar work on a larger scale elsewhere.

E. C. WILSON.

"HOME WORK AND DOMESTIC INDUSTRIES IN ENGLAND."<sup>1</sup>—Home work is associated with all the worst and most elusive evils of the present industrial system. It includes the abuses of under-pay, over-work, and unhealthy conditions, in their most extreme forms, and is a drag upon all social reforms—yet the most difficult of all such subjects for regulation.

The present pamphlet gives a concise account of this regulation, and is all the more signally clear for having been originally written for German readers. The author is in a position to know and understand industrial legislation ; and she wisely explains its present working by tracing its growth—a process which is especially necessary with institutions in this country, where all things have their roots in past history, and have grown up unconsciously amidst complications and anomalies.

The work in this instance has been most thoroughly done. Miss Anderson begins by describing the terms used, which is a matter of importance, since they have been formed by the gradual development

<sup>1</sup> By A. M. Anderson, H.M. Principal Lady Inspector of Factories and Work-shops. [Industrial Law Committee. London, 1900.]

of law, and, though precise, are not either obvious or logical. This means a careful distinction between the words "factory," "workshop," and "domestic workshop," as legally defined. She then gives an account of legislation regarding home work, including its history as well as its present state, and comparing it with factory legislation in general. There are still some abuses, even since the reforms prompted by recent public inquiries. The question of sanitation is one that needs further treatment. But there are many difficulties in dealing with English home life ; and, on the whole, it may be said that most evils could be checked under the present laws if these were fully carried out.

The great need is, therefore, the enforcement of existing laws, which means increased facilities for inspection. It is for this purpose that the Industrial Law Committee has been formed, as explained by Miss Anderson, with evident approval, at the close of her pamphlet. The appendix contains extracts from the Factory Laws ; while the Truck Acts are separately examined, as they deal with the most dangerous abuses connected with home work—that is, with a form of extortion only made possible by the helplessness of certain grades of workers, who sell their handiwork for trash, and are the victims of intimidation or ignorance.

The author keeps sternly to facts, and does not allow herself to become either discursive or eloquent. Her style becomes even involved, in the effort to be precise and exhaustive. There is that want of general statements or broad views which is characteristic of modern economic work. It is a tendency which may be carried too far, as it is apt to leave the reader wandering in a maze of facts without guide or object ; and there seems to be no real reason why a convincing style should detract from accuracy and thoroughness. But this is a question now to be met in all branches of research ; and meanwhile the present pamphlet shows that thorough work is being done, and that economic reasoning is being made the basis of reform.

M. W. MIDDLETON.

A WORKING-MEN'S CONFERENCE ON THE HOUSING QUESTION was organized in the autumn of 1899 by the two principal associations of London working-men's clubs, viz., The Working-men's Club and Institute Union, and The Federation of Working-men's Social Clubs. The Union was founded thirty-seven years ago, and includes 150 Working-men's Clubs in London (seventy-five of which are political, and seventy-five social), with a total membership of over 45,000, besides a large number of provincial clubs in all parts of England.



The Federation is a smaller association, founded thirteen years ago, and now comprises seventy London clubs, with a total membership of about eight thousand. In order to be affiliated to the Federation a club must satisfy three conditions : there must not be any political test for membership, or any religious test, and alcoholic drink must not be sold on the club premises. The majority of the clubs which belong to the Union are by this rule excluded from the Federation.

The headquarters of the Federation are at the Oxford House in Bethnal Green. It is largely occupied in promoting athletics, and in organizing competitions of all kinds between the affiliated clubs ; but it also attempts to provide for the intellectual interests of the clubs by means of lectures and conferences. The object of these conferences is twofold—in the first place, to give members of the clubs an opportunity of hearing social questions discussed by experts ; and, in the second place, to obtain an expression of opinion of a non-partizan character from members of the working classes on matters which most vitally affect their welfare. In 1897 the Federation invited and obtained the co-operation of the Union in organizing a conference on the subject of the London hospitals : several meetings were held, and a valuable report was produced. The alliance was renewed in 1899 for the purpose of dealing with the Housing Question.

Six meetings of this Housing Conference were held between October 25, 1899, and March 14, 1900, at the London Chamber of Commerce. Each meeting was devoted to the consideration of some special aspect of the question ; and among the speakers who accepted invitations to address the meetings were—Alderman Beachcroft (London County Council), Alderman Thompson (Richmond), Mr. F. Knee, secretary of the London Workmen's Housing Council, Mr. F. W. Galton, secretary of the London Reform Union, Mr. E. W. Winch, assistant-secretary of the Guinness Trust, Mr. James Parsons, director of the East End Dwellings Company, Mr. H. R. Taylor and Mr. H. P. Harris (London County Council), and Mr. Joseph Hyder, secretary of the Land Nationalization Society. The number of club representatives who attended the meetings did not exceed fifty, but those who came followed the subject with keen interest. Prior to the final meeting on June 20th, a pamphlet was circulated, giving a short digest of the facts and arguments laid before the Conference by the various speakers.

The following resolutions were drawn up by the secretaries, as expressing the general sense of the Conference ; some were warmly debated, but each was finally passed almost without a dissentient vote.

The only opposition came from one or two ardent Socialists, who wished to express their complete distrust of private enterprise, and to cast the whole burden of building working-class dwellings on the municipalities. It will be observed that these resolutions do not demand heroic remedies ; they are, in fact, the natural outcome of the sane and serious spirit which characterized all the meetings. The second part of the first resolution was inserted with the object of excluding a remedy which has been suggested by certain politicians—namely, the institution of fair rent courts in London.

The resolutions are as follows :—

“I. That this conference recognizes the fact that over-crowding in London is mainly due to the existence of a house famine, which causes rents to become artificially high ; and is of opinion that, if the supply of accommodation could be increased in proportion to the demand, rents would be reduced to a normal level.

“II. That it is desirable that municipal bodies should make full use of their powers in order to supply increased accommodation ; that such action should not involve a charge upon the rates, and that to this end restrictions on the exercise of such powers should be as far as possible removed, *e.g.*—

“(1) The period for the repayment of loans for building working-class dwellings should be extended to a hundred years.

“(2) Land bought for the purpose of building working-class dwellings should be counted as an asset, *i.e.* its value as subject to the obligation to build such dwellings should not be included in the sinking fund.

“III. That suitable private bodies should be assisted in the work of providing working-class dwellings (1) by increased facilities for borrowing money ; (2) by the grant of leases of public land for this purpose on specially favourable terms.

“IV. That it is desirable that the cost of clearance schemes should be reduced by making the terms of compulsory purchase of grossly insanitary areas more severe.

“V. That the building of block dwellings in central districts to compensate for houses destroyed in the course of clearance schemes is of doubtful value, unless the rents of such dwellings can be fixed on a scale within the reach of the class of the persons displaced.

“VI. That, since the supply of facilities for cheap and rapid transit is an essential condition of the increase of house accommodation, every means should be taken to compel railway companies to fulfil their obligations under the Cheap Trains Act, and the tramway services should be improved and extended.

“VII. That municipal bodies should acquire land for building purposes in new districts, and supply means of communication by the construction of tramways.”

RICHARD FEETHAM.

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SCOTTISH COUNCIL FOR WOMEN'S TRADES sustains its reputation as a record of interesting and effective work. Arising out of a smaller body more especially devoted to the organization of women workers, this Council now takes cognizance of all questions relating to female labour. Its operations are controlled by three committees. Committee A, Industrial Investigations—to investigate and report on the conditions of employment among women and children; Committee B, Industrial Organization—to promote trade combination among working women; Committee C, Parliamentary Bills—to watch the progress of, and to promote legislation in, the interests of women and children.

The research work done under the direction of Committee A is very valuable. Three special inquiries have been undertaken: (1) the conditions of home work among women in the shirt-making and kindred trades; (2) the conditions of home work among women in the miscellaneous minor trades; (3) the conditions of employment in the tailoring and dressmaking trades. The latter has been completed within the period under review, and the results of some minor investigations have also been tabulated.

In its work of introducing the equivalent of trade union organization among women workers, Committee B has made little progress. The hindrances are summarized as follows by the convener (the Rev. A. C. Laughlin): the idea of uniting as a precaution of mutual defence is a novel one; the congested and overcrowded state of the women's labour market induces a woman to cling to any situation, whatever may be the remuneration offered; the satisfaction of earning a mere “pocket-money wage;” the feeling that employment is only temporary, and will probably not be continued after marriage. The result being that women dumbly acquiesce in inadequate pay, unduly long hours, and insanitary surroundings, and do not respond to the efforts made on their behalf.

To effect its objects, therefore, the Women's Trades Council looks more to the influence of an enlightened public opinion, and to the promotion of suitable legislation. It is helping to form public opinion by its reports on the conditions prevailing in women's trades, and its Committee C prepares, introduces, and supports Bills which aim at effecting necessary improvements. The Seats for Shop Assistants



Bill, for instance, owes its origin entirely to this Council, and was drafted after an investigation into the conditions of women's employment in shops.

Two other bills have also been introduced. One, for the amendment and consolidation of the Factory and Workshops Acts, has been specially prepared for this Council; and as it has also been adopted by the Scottish Trade Union Congress, it may be regarded as the official Labour Bill for Scotland. The bill has been introduced by Mr. Caldwell, M.P. The third bill, which is in the charge of Colonel Denny, M.P., aims at the regulation of home work, and is promoted by this Council and the Women's Industrial Council of London. By it all workers are required to obtain a certificate from the factory inspector certifying that the homes in which the work is to be done are in a proper sanitary condition.

F. W. MOORE.

## LEGISLATION, PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRIES, AND OFFICIAL RETURNS.

THE statutes passed in 1900, like those of 1899, form but a thin volume, and a considerable proportion of this relates to the war. There are, however, a few which are interesting to the economist.

The *Census (Great Britain) Act*, 1900 (63 & 64 Vict., ch. 4, 8 pp., 1d.), does not differ much in substance from its predecessors, though its form has been considerably altered. In addition to the particulars hitherto mentioned—name, sex, age, occupation, relation to head of the family, infirmities (blind, deaf and dumb, imbecile), number of rooms if not more than five—the householder is to be asked for the nationality of any person whom he returns as born abroad. He has long been asked to write “British subject” and “naturalized British subject” opposite the names of natural-born or naturalized British subjects born abroad, but this has been done without authority, and, in 1891, in defiance of the law, which expressly states that no other particulars are to be asked for. It may be presumed that the change is due to the suggestion of the Statistical Society’s Committee, to the effect that all nationalities, and not merely British nationality, should be asked for. There is no mention in the Act of the distinction, which was drawn in 1891, between employers and employed; but this question was introduced into the 1891 census without parliamentary authority, perhaps as covered by the term “occupation,” so that it may appear again. No great regret would be felt if it does not.

The *Mines (Prohibition of Child Labour Underground) Act*, 1900 (63 & 64 Vict., ch. 21, 1 p.,  $\frac{1}{2}$ d.), is a very short Act, which simply substitutes thirteen for twelve in the age limit of employment.

The *Railway Employment (Prevention of Accidents) Act*, 1900 (63 & 64 Vict., ch. 27, 7 pp., 1d.), is of a somewhat technical character. Briefly speaking, its effect is to give the Board of Trade the same kind of power in regard to railway employment which the Home Secretary possesses in regard to dangerous trades.

The *Workmen’s Compensation Act*, 1900 (63 & 64 Vict., ch. 22, 2 pp.,  $\frac{1}{2}$ d.), applies the Workmen’s Compensation Act, 1897, to employers who habitually employ one or more workmen in agriculture.

The *Burial Act*, 1900 (63 & 64 Vict., ch. 15, 8 pp., 1½d.), apparently carries out the recommendations of the committee whose Report was summarized in the *Economic Review* for January, 1899. When the Act comes into force, on the first day of the new century, consecration of part of a cemetery will no longer necessitate the building of a chapel exclusively reserved for Church of England services. The forty-eight hours' notice is done away with, and provision is made for the eventual disappearance of all fees, except those paid for actual services rendered. The difficulties which in Oxford and several other places have led local authorities to try to manage without consecration having been thus cleared away, no one is likely to quarrel with the further provisions which secure that at least a suitable portion of the ground shall be consecrated if there is any demand for it.

The *Money-Lenders Act*, 1900 (63 & 64 Vict., ch. 51, 4 pp., ½d.), also carries out in substance the recommendations of a committee whose Report was summarized in the *Economic Review* for January, 1899. After the 1st of November, 1900, no money-lender can be sure of getting what his debtor has contracted to pay. When he sues for the debt, the Court, if satisfied that the interest or other charges are "excessive, and that the transaction is harsh or unconscionable, or is otherwise such that a court of equity would give relief," may reduce the interest and charges to what it considers to be "fairly" due, considering the risk and other circumstances of the loan. Moreover, the borrower may himself invoke the Court before he is sued at all, and the same power may then be exercised by it. All money-lenders must be registered, and trade under their registered name and at their registered address or addresses, and nowhere else and under no other name. To the question, What is a money-lender? the Act returns a cautious reply, to the effect that it is any one whose business is, or is alleged by himself to be, money-lending. It then excepts from this comprehensive definition various classes, such as pawn-brokers, bankers, friendly loan, and building societies.

The *Companies Act*, 1900 (63 & 64 Vict., ch. 48, 18 pp., 2½d.), is a somewhat abstruse work, containing a number of provisions intended to hamper the swindling promoter and the guinea-pig director in their nefarious work. It is probably of much greater interest to such persons than to the readers of this *Review*.

It is much to be hoped that the *Report from the Select Committee on Hospitals (Exemption from Rates), with Proceedings and Minutes* (Commons Paper, No. 273, fol., 128 pp., 1s.), will not meet with as much success as the Reports of the Burial and Money-lenders Committees. Mr. Bonsor, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Hayes Fisher, Sir Cameron



Gull, and Messrs. Round, Tomlinson, and Warr have decided in favour of exempting hospitals from rates, and have out-voted the Chairman (Mr. T. W. Russell), and Mr. Pickersgill. Their main conclusion is expressed in the following ludicrous terms :—

“Your Committee recommend that the principle of exemption from rates should be applied to all medical hospitals, infirmaries, or other institutions for the care and treatment of persons suffering from sickness or injury, or afflicted in mind or body, not carried on for profit or gain, and supported wholly or in part by voluntary contributions or endowments, and directly benefiting the rates in the county or district in which they are located to a greater extent than they pay rates.”

The phrase “than they pay rates” requires very liberal treatment if it is to have a meaning at all, but, granting this, it appears that a hospital assessed at £1000 a year in a place where the rates are 5s. in the pound is to be entirely exempted if it relieves the rates to the extent of £251, but not at all if it only relieves them to the extent of £249. It appears, too, that the hospital which relieved the rates of £249 would be entitled to no consideration from the fact that it happened to relieve the rates of other districts of £10,000 a year. So the hospitals and convalescent homes which are non-local, or are situated away from the district they serve, would get nothing. Apparently with some dim conception that they have landed themselves in a muddle, the majority of the Committee add some suggestions that “the central rating authority” should put everything right. If the rating authority refuses to exempt a hospital, the hospital may appeal “to the County Council, or such body as is the central rating authority,” and the “central rating authority” is to be empowered to arrange for the distribution of the loss inflicted by exemption in any one rating area over those areas which are directly benefited by the hospital, or to make good the loss out of the county fund. It would be interesting to know what this central rating authority is. Apparently the majority imagine that all these difficulties would arise inside counties and inside county boroughs, whereas, as a matter of fact, they would generally arise as between London and the home counties, and between a county borough and the administrative counties around or adjoining it. The reasons given for some kind of exemption are just as absurd as the practical proposals of the Committee; “Hospitals are everywhere doing a great work in relief of human suffering. They are almost always hard pressed for funds. They to a great extent relieve the rates, and it was established by evidence that were the exemptions from rates granted in London, several hundred additional beds could be provided, while the increase thrown

upon the rate-payers would be merely nominal." Of course, and the Committee might have added, a mere "nominal" increase of the income tax or the beer duty devoted to hospitals would be sufficient to double their income, and relieve the rates to a large extent. The question is, Why are the rate-payers of a particular district to be compelled, whether they like it or not, to make a contribution to any hospital in their district exactly proportioned to its assessable value and the rate in the pound levied? To this the Committee can only reply—

"Where it can be shown that a hospital relieves the rates by taking charge of and treating the sick poor, it is equitably entitled to be credited against its assessment with the amount represented by the relief thus afforded. To collect the whole rate without regard to the services thus rendered is to cast upon an institution, dispensing charity to the poor, a larger burden in relief of the poor than that imposed upon the rest of the community. It pays in services and rates as well."

It is a sad reflection that a Select Committee of the House of Commons apparently contained no man capable of exposing the absurdity of such stuff as this. A hospital is not a man nor even an animal to be treated with equity or inequity. The persons involved are the subscribers, and it is difficult to see how it can be inequitable to say to persons who wish to establish or support a hospital, "You must pay the ordinary taxes of the district in which your hospital is placed whether those taxes are (as they are for the most part) payments for economic services rendered or contributions towards poor relief." It really seems as if the simplest and most straightforward thing the House of Commons can do is to exempt all institutions and classes of persons from the payment of the existing rates, and then set up a new system of rates, from which nobody and no institution shall be exempt. Why spend time and trouble in exempting first one class and then another? Sir Edward Hamilton, it is satisfactory to observe, told the committee that he thought the Royal Commission on Local Taxation will report against the principle of exemptions in general.

That barbarous and antiquated principle still prevails to a large extent in the more backward countries of Europe, as is shown by the Foreign Office Report on *State Encouragement to Industry in Hungary* (F.O. Misc. Series, No. 531, 8vo, 17 pp., 1½d.), by Mr. Percy Bennett, Commercial Attaché to H.M. Embassy at Vienna, who writes like a true disciple of Colbert. Unable at present to protect herself against imports of manufactures from Austria, Hungary does the best she can to disturb the most economical distribution of industries by giving exemptions not to hospitals, but to various kinds of factories.

More pleasing to read is the Report on the *Trans-Siberian Railway* (F.O. Misc. Series, No. 533, 8vo, 29 pp., 3½d.), by Mr. Cooke, British Commercial Agent in Russia. The importance of this great line is not grasped by the numerous persons who regard it as a means of dominating China, or even as possibly a quick route to Chinese and Japanese ports for the few thousand Europeans whose business takes them there. Its real importance lies in the fact that it makes it possible for Russia to colonize an immense territory which has, at any rate when measured by the Russian standard, a very tolerable climate. How much of the whole of Siberia, which is one and a half times as large as Europe, is or can be made fit for Russians to live in Mr. Cooke does not attempt to estimate, but he gives us some idea of the capacity of the country to absorb immigrants when he tells us that in 1858 the population was 3,430,930; in January, 1897, 7,091,244; and at the beginning of 1900 probably over 8,000,000; the railway, even in its present unfinished state, having greatly augmented the inflow. It is usual to represent Russia as hungering for outlets to the sea. It probably was so once; it may be so still: but he must be a dullard who does not ask himself, Why should Russia get to the sea when her emigration and colonization can be carried on much more conveniently by land? It is a commonplace that modern civilization began on the sea-coast, but no one has asserted that it must end there. It would be difficult to name any country which could gain by war, but that Russia has nothing to gain and much to lose should be obvious even to the stupidest observer. She has not, like Western Europe, a population which is rapidly condemning itself to a voluntary sterility; and with a new territory in which to plant her accession of population, she is likely to be far stronger in comparison with the rest of Europe fifty or a hundred years hence than she is to-day. What she requires is peace in which to carry out this great work of colonization. The present Tsar inaugurated a more solid work in the cause of peace when he laid the foundation-stone of the Siberian railway in 1891, than when he called the Hague Conference in 1899.

The Labour Department sends us a *Report by Mr. Wilson Fox on the Wages and Earnings of Agricultural Labourers in the United Kingdom* (Cd. 346, fol., 306 pp., 3s. 4d.), which is an important contribution to the economic history of the nineteenth century; containing, as it does, not only careful computations of earnings and allowances, but descriptions of the way in which agricultural labour is divided among different classes in the different quarters of the country. The chart exhibiting the average earnings in different counties shows clearly enough how much agricultural earnings are dependent on the



neighbourhood of great towns and mining districts. Suffolk, which has no great town of its own, and is sufficiently removed from London, is at the bottom of the English counties. Oxfordshire, which, though placed in the middle of England, is singularly remote from anything more populous than Northampton, Reading, Swindon, and Oxford, comes next. Dorsetshire follows, having probably been elevated from the bottom place in recent years by the rapid growth of Bournemouth and Southampton, not far from its eastern border. At the top of the English list are Durham, Northumberland, Derbyshire, Kent, and Middlesex. All these, however, are beaten by the Scotch counties of Renfrew, Lanark, Stirling, and Dumbarton, which may be called the Glasgow home counties, and Middlesex is just passed by Midlothian.

Another very solid contribution to contemporary economic history is afforded by the Labour Department's *Report on Standard Piece Rates of Wages and Sliding Scales in the United Kingdom*, 1900 (Cd. 144, 8vo, 333 pp., 1s. 4d.), and its *Report on Standard Time Rates of Wages in the United Kingdom in 1900* (Cd. 317, 8vo, 222 pp., 11d.), in continuation of the volumes on the same subject noticed in the *Economic Review* for January, 1896.

The introductions contain, among much matter which will interest others than the historian or the statistician, an attempt to estimate roughly the comparative prevalence of piece and time wages, which puts the piece-paid wages at about one quarter of the whole manual labour class.

The same department's *Annual Abstract of Labour Statistics of the United Kingdom*, 1898-99 (Cd. 119, 8vo, 230 pp., 11½d.), has been very little altered this year. We miss the chart showing graphically the extent of unemployment in the years which have elapsed since the first issue of the *Labour Gazette*. It is to be hoped that in future years this will reappear in an improved form, showing the fluctuations within each year instead of averaging the months of each calendar year. Collectors of these annual volumes should note that each of the first four was called *Annual Report of the Labour Department of the Board of Trade with Abstract of Labour Statistics of the United Kingdom*, and that the fifth became simply *Annual Abstract of Labour Statistics of the United Kingdom* on the front and back, but was *Annual Report of the Labour Department*, 1897-98, on the back edge; while the present volume, the sixth, is everywhere simply *Annual Abstract of Labour Statistics of the United Kingdom*. It is curious that the obvious desirability of this change was pointed out in the *Economic Review* for April, 1895. A century was then mentioned as the probable length of time necessary for making the change,

but we live in stirring times, and the Labour Department is highly progressive, so it has been made in five years.

Another example of the predictions of this *Review* being fulfilled before their due time is exhibited in the *Report of the Postmaster-General for 1899-1900* (Cd. 333, 8vo, 86 pp., 4½d.). For several years past it has been pointed out in these pages that the surplus of assets over liabilities shown by the accounts of the Post Office Savings Bank was imaginary, and that sooner or later a deficit must appear. This was expected in fifteen or twenty years' time, but the boom in trade and the borrowings for the war have accelerated the progress of events, and the Savings Bank, in place of the delusive surplus of £12,753,293, now shows a deficit of £504,928. Of course this has created more alarm than the predictions of the *Economic Review*, but the fact is that the collapse in the value of its investments has really put the Savings Bank on its legs again. Before, it made a very considerable loss on every new £100 deposited with it. Now, with consols below par, it does not. But the boom in trade is past its zenith, and so also, it is to be hoped, is the period of military expenditure, and as soon as the prices of government securities begin to rise again, and the nominal surplus of the Post Office reappears, the business carried on will again become a losing one. A reduction in the rate of interest will then again be called for by every principle of sound finance.

EDWIN CANNAN.

## REVIEWS.

**DEMOCRACY AND EMPIRE** : with Studies of their Psychological, Economic, and Moral Foundations. By FRANKLIN HENRY GIDDINGS, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Sociology in Columbia University. [363 pp. 8vo. 8s. 6d. net. Macmillan. New York, 1900.]

Is "the democratic empire" a contradiction in terms? A hundred years ago, no doubt, it would have been so regarded by the disciples of Montesquieu or Rousseau. But when history reveals a fact, the philosopher softens an absurdity into a paradox, and proceeds to explain away the impossibility of what has actually happened. Nor need the philosopher feel shame in admitting that his office is in truth ancillary to history. To reveal the fact just as it is, and, so doing, to penetrate its meaning, is the whole sum of his calling. Such an effort and interest on the part of Professor Giddings led to the issue, at divers times and in divers places within the last ten years, of a series of studies and addresses dealing with various aspects of the problem of Democracy and Empire. For these papers, now collected in one volume, their author claims, with substantial justice, the character of a consistent and continuous argument. "The several papers could as well have been presented as successive chapters, for they are logically related parts of a whole. A definite thesis is stated in the first paper, and a definite conclusion is reached in the last. The intermediate papers are successive steps in a continuous argument." One has certainly no desire to quarrel with the dish; it is always eatable, and often appetizing. The several papers were well worth preserving; they deserve the appreciation which they have received. The book is sufficiently scientific to be impressive, popular enough to be widely read. It has literary merits to catch the ear of the public, and pregnant passages to arrest the attention of the thinker. It is eminently candid, robustly optimistic, and frankly practical. With all these hearty admissions, I cannot but regret that Professor Giddings did not work over his material again. Certain fundamental definitions might have been more clearly established, certain problems more deeply probed. The chapters, which, as they stand, the reader is inclined to compare



with a row of stepping-stones of various security and disposed at irregular intervals, would then have been more fitly likened to the links of a chain. And, it may be, the tendency to stop on the edge of a difficulty or to adumbrate a solution in a hazy outline of biological metaphor would have been avoided.

Broadly speaking, the first and larger half of the book deals with democracy; the second and smaller with empire. The economic and moral basis of democracy are suggestively handled, and the critics of democracy judiciously criticized. Optimist as he is, Professor Giddings recognizes the immediate dangers of democracy to lie in unbridled emotionalism and the decay of character: *Les races se féminisent*. On this head he speaks earnestly and wisely. On the destinies of democracy his utterance is so interesting that it must be cited in his own words—words which may be taken as the final reply to Mr. Lecky's indictment of democracy as the tyranny of ignorance. "Whatever the form of the State that is organized in the constitution, the State behind the constitution can never be absolutely democratic. . . . Inferior men will continue to defer to their superiors, to believe dicta instead of thinking propositions, and to imitate examples instead of originating them. This is why the democracy that has rebelled against the traditional modes or forms of authority, and has become distrustful of the leadership of cultivated men, invariably evolves that most preposterous and contemptible of potentates, the 'boss.' Leadership of some kind men must and will have. The destinies of political democracy will, therefore, be determined ultimately by the character of the aristocracy that rules the State behind the constitution. The ignorant masses of Mr. Lecky's formula will not rule through their ignorance. They will rule through their deference to great humbugs, great scoundrels, great priests, or great men." A determined effort to restore faith in the true aristocracy of intellect and conscience "is to be the most momentous sociological phenomenon of the next fifty years. The initiative may be taken by the Roman Catholic Church. Accepting democracy as the inevitable form of the State within the constitution, the Roman Catholic Church fully and deliberately intends to make itself again what once it was—the ruling aristocracy of the State behind the constitution. If this purpose becomes more and more obvious the forces of Protestantism will again be roused to intense activity. The principles of liberty and of individual responsibility will again be opposed to the principle of authority, and will again fascinate the minds of rationalistic men. In all probability, then, the destiny of democracy is to be controlled either by religious authority, or by a much more earnest and thoughtful type of Protestant liberalism than

that which prevails to-day. In a struggle between these forces, men of all ranks and conditions—the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlearned—will give their allegiance to worthy leaders. The ‘boss’ with his deeds of ignorance and of evil will sink into oblivion.”

But besides the inner conflict of ideas, the vision of the future reveals to Professor Giddings an Armageddon, on the issue of which the destinies of humanity and the very existence of democracy depend. “In the broad sense, there is from henceforth but one real political question before mankind. That question is: Are world-politics to be dominated by English-speaking people in the interest of an English civilization, with its principles of freedom, self-government, and opportunity for all; or by the Russian-Chinese combination, with its policy of exclusiveness and its tradition of irresponsible authority?” Rightly or wrongly, I cannot share the professor’s vision, either in its confidence or its concentration; nor do I see sufficient ground for assuming that the antithesis is as absolute as he supposes. But my object is not to adduce reasons for dissent, but to point out that in the issue thus emphatically stated lies the major premiss of the writer’s claim for imperialism. Democracy must expand or perish. Possessed with this conviction, nothing is left Professor Giddings but to plead the philanthropic case for imperialism. This will be found most clearly stated in his chapter on the consent of the governed. “If we seek in our maxim a deep ethical meaning, can we say that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed *at the moment when they submit to its authority*? If we patiently and conscientiously reflect upon this question, we shall undoubtedly be obliged to answer it in the negative. . . . Thus it appears that the ethical justice of government has its source, not in the consent of subjects, who at the moment are unfit to understand or to appreciate it; but only in that approval which may be given or withheld after full experience of the nature, objects, and excellence of government, and after the attainment of full maturity of reason to understand and to interpret it.”

Now this argument I thoroughly dislike, not because it is unsound if applied with absolute integrity, but because it so easily lends itself to sinister uses. That the doctrine of the consent of the governed may be stiffened to absurdity is not to be denied. But it appealed and appeals with authority to the plain man and the unsophisticated conscience. It sets limits to the wanton interference with the liberty of others; it helps to restrain the most peccant part of human nature. It surely deserved a better fate than the torture by which consent is forced to confess that it really means no more than a possible ultimate

acquiescence. On the other hand, the logical consequences of humanitarian aggression are at least as cogent, and in practice far more dangerous. Starting from such premisses it would be very difficult, I think, to take serious exception to such a reading of international obligation as the following. If any nation, having the power, finds reason to believe that it can exploit the territory of another people by more efficient and productive methods, and consequently, in the long run, promote not only its own interests, but impose its own (superior) type of civilization on the inhabitants of the conquered territory (supposing any to remain), it will be fulfilling its mission to humanity and a *casus belli* will be superfluous! It may be left to the historian to explore and justify results; the moralist is concerned with authors and their motives. The scientific study of history leads neither to satire nor despair, but to a deep and reverent optimism; but the tolerant detachment of the historian may far too easily become sophistry in the philosopher, and fall perilously near to obscuring the grand issues of right and wrong.

"Those who to empire by dark paths aspire  
Still plead a call to what they most desire."

W. G. POGSON SMITH.

#### POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION: A Study in Government.

By FRANK J. GOODNOW, A.M., LL.D., Professor of Administrative Law in Columbia University. [270 pp. 8vo. 6s. 6d. net. Macmillan. London, 1900.]

This book, despite its somewhat general title, is concerned with a particular question; but the general title is justified by the manner in which that question is dealt with. The question is how to make party Government and the political "Boss" in the United States responsible. The following outline will, it is hoped, fairly represent the scope of the book.

If we include "extra-legal" institutions, all governmental systems are found to have a broad similarity; and the primary functions of the State are "politics," which are defined as being concerned with the expression of the will of the State, and "administration" which is concerned with the performance of it. These two, at the risk of anarchy, ought not to be separate, and the executive authority should be subordinate to the law-making. This subordination is secured in America by the party system—an "extra-legal" institution.

After qualifying the doctrine by allowing the independence of the judicial authority, Professor Goodnow shows how the American system of local government has thrown an enormous amount of work upon



the national party; a citizen, unless he desires to commit political suicide, being compelled to vote again and again for party candidates at successive elections in order to secure the execution of the party's will. In other words, "administration," instead of being the servant of "politics," is itself part of politics. An English reader readily accepts the argument here developed in favour of centralized as against local administration of national laws, and of the "civil service" as against the "spoils" system. Though there is no allusion to Bagehot, the result of the discussion is to confirm Bagehot's eulogy of the subordination of "administration" to "politics," as worked out in England. Needless to remark, the author is the friend of Civil Service reform, which—to the grief of Tammany—has made such great progress recently in the United States.

So much for the argument in the first half of the book, the results of which prepare us for a discussion in greater detail of the American party system. Beginning again with general principles, the advantages of strong parties in popular Governments are enforced by illustration and argument, the chief advantage being the exclusion of local and self-interest from national affairs; and, coming to particulars, popular and responsible government is found to exist in England owing to the Cabinet system, an extra-legal institution, and to be absent, or almost absent, in the United States, owing to the party system, another extra-legal institution. This frank recognition that American government is not popular will apparently be rather unwelcome to some electors. It is accounted for by the fact that in England the Cabinet, working within the governmental system, secures co-ordination of "politics" and "administration," whilst the American party, which stands outside the formal system of government, has too much work thrust upon it, being hampered by the constitutional separation of powers and functions. Not that the parties are not strong enough. They are, in one sense, too strong and too much organized. The "Boss," as he exists at present, though he controls the so-called popular Government, is not popular or responsible. Moreover, he knows it, and, keeping himself in the background, is content to rule through his nominees. His power is so great that the legislature no longer deliberates. He "controls the making of the laws and their execution after they are made." Yet he is corrupt, and the good citizen cannot abide him.

In virtue of all this, the Boss deserves the impartial and scientific attention of the student of political science, who is not to be deterred by the outward appearance. This attention Professor Goodnow proceeds to give him. Apart from his moral characteristics, which

are bad, the Boss is a political necessity, and has come to stay. Therefore he must be made moral and responsible. England, too, has known the corrupt Boss (Walpole), and England's success in making the Premier responsible may be a happy augury to America. But England is lucky. Her governmental system itself secures the co-ordination of politics and administration. The United States constitution is so framed as to exclude it. There co-ordination is found outside the Government in the party, and to remedy the defect (as the Constitution cannot be altered), the party must be made part of the Government. This, at any rate, is the conclusion which we expect, and which Professor Goodnow partly adopts. His practical suggestions are, however, somewhat limited. American law already to some extent recognizes the existence of parties; for example, in the nomination of candidates. This semi-legal position has led to much jobbery in securing party nominations, and in consequence to some interference of the courts. But the party member remains without sufficient protection, and parties have fallen into the hands of a few persons. Professor Goodnow suggests that this may be remedied, and some of the electors' burdens removed, by combining in one the registration of voters and the primaries of the parties. Thus a law might be passed under which the voter, when he registers, should declare to what party he belongs, and at the same time nominate his party candidates. It would take too long to discuss the details of this scheme; but the result, it is hoped, would be to allow the "independent" voter a real choice in the selection of his candidates (at present he is deprived of this), and, consequently, to render the party and through the party the Boss responsible. The conclusion is that Americans must do what they can in a common-sense way to secure a "reasonably centralized" administration, thereby removing much work in local elections from the party system, and at the same time attempt to make parties more responsible to the popular will.

A word or two may be said in criticism of both the method and the substance of the book. As to method, the subject is sometimes dealt with in rather an abstract way, especially as regards the American political experience which the author has in mind. Perhaps the English reader does not know enough about American political life; at any rate the reviewer was glad of the too occasional illustrations. As to substance, it is difficult not to see with the author the difficulties caused by "the Constitution" in American politics. The Englishman may feel that it would be simpler to alter the Constitution, *e.g.* the periods of elections, than to make it still more complex by further recognition of the parties. If this is impossible, Professor

Goodnow's suggestion would do something to remove corruption and irresponsibility. But as to the Boss? Has any method yet been found of letting the people choose their leader from among the party? Not in England. Here, too, we choose our parties, and have to bear with the leaders which we may get with them. It is the standard of public life which does most to determine what class of men busy themselves with politics, and America appears to want less 'cuteness and more honesty. Professor Goodnow's interesting scheme, if carried out, would do something to enable the law to deal with the scoundrels and protect the elector from some of the gentry who now give themselves, not for nothing, to politics. Even if Professor Goodnow's scheme is not carried out, his book should do much to clear political thought.

W. J. BRAITHWAITE.

#### LETTERS OF DAVID RICARDO TO HUTCHES TROWER.

Edited by JAMES BONAR, M.A., LL.D., and J. H. HOLLANDER, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Finance, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. [xxiii., 240 pp. 8vo. 7s. 6d. Clarendon Press. Oxford, 1899.]

These letters throw a very interesting light on a man whose glory has been a good deal dimmed in process of time. It is a long time since any one would be found to agree with Brougham's verdict about Ricardo, that "he seemed to have dropped from the skies"! Perhaps these letters will help to show that we have gone rather too far in the opposite direction, and that he is worthy of higher appreciation than Professor Ingram, for instance, deals out to him when he says, "Nature intended him rather for a mathematician of the second order than for a social philosopher" (*Hist. of Pol. Econ.*, p. 135). Some points in this connection are brought out by the editors in a good introduction.

"In view of the present letters to Trower, we should no longer speak of Ricardo as 'legislating for Saturn.' In letter forty-one, for example, in dealing with the positions of Malthus, he shows greater regard than that economist for the immediate effects of any change as compared with the ultimate; corn does not *at once* raise up its own consumers; the effect of high wages will not be *at first* more mouths, but greater demand for workmen's luxuries" (p. x.).

"In theory, Ricardo approved of a sinking fund raised from taxes, but as a practical politician he came to think it more than useless, from the inability of ministers to avoid tampering with it; and so, 'if we are to be taxed only for the purpose of creating a sinking fund, I, for one, dissent from it'" (xxxi.).



And, in another way, time is on Ricardo's side. Bagehot criticized Ricardo for assuming too readily the promptness of transfer of capital and labour from one employment to another—an essential presupposition of his theories. Now this is just what the improvement of means of locomotion is ever causing to be more nearly realized. In this way it is often seen that a good analyzer of existing conditions is, without knowing it, something of a prophet also, just as the true painter of the human figure seizes on the type towards which our bodies are progressing. In saying this, we may admit of Ricardo, what Roscher says of Mill: "Ein historischer Kopf war er nicht." In fact, it is startling to discover from these letters what an illiterate man he was. A list of his solecisms gleaned from this correspondence would disgrace a board-school boy. "Rigourous," "Hiedelberg," "Glocester," "straight waistcoats," are a few of them. It is fair to his character to say that he was completely conscious of his deficiencies, and he shows a modesty about his attainments in general which quite disarms hostile criticism. "Thus you see that I have no other encouragement to pursue the study of political economy than the pleasure which the study itself affords me, for never shall I be so fortunate, however correct my opinions may become, as to produce a work which shall procure me fame and distinction" (p. 8).

These traits are interesting, because Ricardo's system, like that of Adam Smith, laid him open to the charge of Philistinism, and of "a certain deadness to the lofty aims and perennial importance of religion" (Ingram, *l.c.*, p. 104); and we naturally look to his letters for confirmation or refutation of the charge. Though he can become enthusiastic at times, as when he says that to see the "Descent from the Cross" by Rubens, in the Cathedral at Antwerp, is "alone worth all the trouble of a journey from London" (p. 34), the impression the letters give is that of a man who had no very deep feeling, and who enjoyed political economy and the pleasures of the fireside more than anything else. In the celebration of the Mass in Antwerp Cathedral he could see nothing but "mummery" (p. 36), while his estimate of theology is naively expressed on a certain occasion when he heard that a former champion of Malthus had deserted political economy for theology. "I am sorry to hear that Mr. Sumner does not intend writing any more on political economy—his whole attention in future is to be devoted to the study of theology. Whether in this latter pursuit he will have an equal chance of benefiting mankind, as in the former, I have great doubts, or rather I have no doubt at all" (p. 47). Mr. Sumner, was the future Archbishop!

The purely economic interest of this correspondence is considerable.

Hutches Trower was a broker on the Stock Exchange, who retired early in life and set up as a country gentleman. He took a gentlemanly interest in political economy, and was, perhaps, rather more than a Socratic midwife to Ricardo's thoughts. There is between them a good deal of criticism of current theories. Thus at one time Malthus is discussed, whom he seems to have accepted less as time went on. "I could fill," he says, "sheet after sheet with what appears to me to be false reasoning and inconsistencies in this book," *i.e.* Malthus' *Pol. Econ.* (p. 16). Frequent allusions and occasional quotations occur from some unpublished "notes" on this author, which the editors of this book hope may yet be found. At another time the currency and the sinking fund are a good deal talked about. He would like to see a gradual abolition of the Poor Laws (p. 25), which, he says, "create an unlimited demand for human beings," such as would in time reduce the rich to poverty and efface all distinction of ranks (p. 26). It is highly interesting to find him saying of his famous theory of value, "I fear I cannot arrive at any sounder conclusions than the acknowledgedly imperfect ones which I have already published" (p. 207). Again, he seems to limit his theory that exchange value is regulated by the labour necessary for its production, when he says (p. 152), "It is in the early stages of society, when few exchanges are made, that the value of commodities is most peculiarly estimated by the quantity of labour necessary to produce them."

There is a passage of especial interest at the present time on the fluctuations in the value of bullion caused by the war. "The bullionists, and I among the number, considered gold and silver as less variable commodities than they really are, and the effect of war on the prices of these metals were (*sic*) certainly very much underrated by them. The fall in the price of bullion on the peace in 1814, and its rise again on the renewal of the war on Bonaparte's entry into Paris are remarkable facts, and should never be neglected in any future discussion on this subject" (p. 12). It is remarkable how little gold has, on the whole, varied in price, though the output has trebled even since 1888. One wonders whether the new gold-fields in Alaska and the present war will again counteract each other.

On another point of recent interest, also, he shows himself far ahead of his age. "Surely no reasonable man," he writes, "can apprehend danger to the United Kingdom from according the Catholic claims in Ireland. I believe the Church establishment in Ireland would be more secure, but I should not see much to regret if Ireland had a Catholic establishment, in the same way as Scotland has a

Presbyterian one. If there be an established religion it should be that of the greatest number" (p. 145).

Such questions as these, which turned his mind away from his favourite economics, were brought before him by virtue of his duties as member of Parliament. It is a curious fact that Ricardo never saw the borough of which he was the representative, with the advantage, according to McCulloch, "that he could speak and vote as he thought proper, without being influenced in any degree by the opinions of his constituents" (p. 107, note 2). He spoke a good deal in Parliament, not without considerable shyness, and he interested himself in electoral reform. "There is no class in the community whose interests are so clearly on the side of good government as the people; all other classes may have private interests opposed to those of the people. The great problem, then, is to obtain security, that the representatives shall be chosen by the unbiassed good sense of the people. The suffrage must be extensive to secure the voters against corrupt influence, and the voting must be by ballot for the same reason" (p. 52).

In another place he limits the extension to the educated. "This being *demonstrated*, we must extend the election franchise to all *reasonable men* who have no *particular interest* in opposition to the general interest, and the most you can require of the friends of reform is the right to challenge such electors as are *without the necessary qualifications*" (p. 63. The italics are his). "You would require security for a good choice of representatives, and this is precisely what I want. If I cannot obtain it without limiting the election franchise to the very narrowest bounds, I would so limit it" (p. 70). These are remarkable declarations, coming from one of the prime movers of English Radicalism.

Apart from their more solid interests the general reader will find these letters quite worth dipping into. We are brought into contact with the dispute about Queen Caroline, in which Ricardo took the chivalrous side. There are the same complaints of the deterioration of English manufactures sent abroad with which we are familiar (p. 35). Occasionally we get a glimpse of Ricardo the man, who was sometimes quite different from the economist; see his letter on p. 139: "I believe they have lowered the price of labour here, but I, as a gentleman I suppose, always pay the same." Once or twice he even permits himself a joke, strictly economic, of course. "Our Princes have certainly not refrained from marriage from a consideration of Malthus's prudential check, and from a fear of producing a redundant Royal population. If they had, they would now be actuated by different



motives, and we might expect that the great demand for Royal infants would be followed, by so ample a supply as to occasion a glut" (p. 42; cp. p. 37).

It only remains to say that the book is as well edited as it could be. It is supplied with a good introduction and notes, and an excellent index. Students of economic history will be grateful for its publication.

LAWRENCE PHILLIPS.

THE CHICAGO CONFERENCE ON TRUSTS: Speeches, Debates, Resolutions, etc. Held September 13-16, 1899. [x., 626 pp. The Civic Federation. Chicago, 1900.]

MONOPOLIES AND TRUSTS. By RICHARD T. ELY, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Wisconsin. [xi., 278 pp. Crown 8vo. 5s. net. Macmillan. New York, 1900.]

It cannot be said that either of these contributions to "the trust problem" (if Professor Ely will allow us the expression) advance the matter much further. It is, as Mr. J. G. Brooks put it to the Chicago Conference, our misfortune rather than our fault that no opinion upon the so-called trust has at present much value: "The movement is too new—it is too vast; it is, above all, too undeveloped." The Report of the Chicago Conference presents us with an interesting and, on the whole, representative survey of opinion. Publicists, politicians, and political economists, no less than the average man, had their say, and considerable pains had been taken to make the conference as representative and as authoritative as possible. The result is more suggestive and educational than conclusive or practical. Both the friends and the enemies of trusts will find materials for their confirmation, and the different "remedies" that have been proposed find due and adequate representation; but the delegates wisely disclaimed authority, and as wisely refrained from adopting resolutions "purporting to declare the sense of the conference upon any aspect of the subject of discussion." It may not be without interest to readers of this *Review* to learn that Mr. E. J. Smith received an invitation to explain the "New Trades Combination Movement in England:" his explanation was accompanied by a severe and uncompromising criticism from the pen of Mr. R. W. Still, editor of the *Birmingham Gazette*. The conference does not seem to have attempted to adjudicate between the rival expositions.

Professor Ely's contribution is more ambitious: it aspires to be "scientific," and a great part of his essay is taken up with theoretical

issues. It is, in fact, a fragment of a larger and extensive work upon the *Distribution of Wealth*: and such a mode of publication has, as the author admits, as many drawbacks as advantages. Professor Ely seems anxious to vindicate his claims to priority for original contributions to economic theory in connexion with the subject of monopoly, and the present volume may be regarded as a development of the theory he originally broached in his *Problems of To-day*, published in 1888. It is not very clear wherein the originality of Professor Ely's conception of monopoly consists: still less clear how far it is helpful or valuable for theoretic or practical purposes. However, he has made a genuine attempt to give precision to the idea of monopoly, and to distinguish its different forms and degrees: and every economist knows how very unsatisfactory definitions and classifications can be made to appear. The essence of monopoly, according to Professor Ely, is "substantial and controlling unity of action;" "substantial unity of action" is vague, but it is further defined as that "which gives exclusive control, more particularly, though not solely, with respect to price." In this sense, we can speak of "partial" and "complete" monopolies, and at the same time limit the scope of the term itself. Professor Ely proceeds, upon the basis of this terminology—that is, "the use of the word monopoly in economics to mean unified control,"—to consider the classification and causes of monopolies. He is not able to avoid a certain amount of cross-division, and his substitution of "social" for what are usually called "artificial" monopolies (in distinction from "natural") does not seem particularly happy; but here again, as Professor Ely reminds us, all terms in economics are "more or less arbitrary." The theoretical difficulties of the subject reach their climax in "the law of monopoly price," where, again, Professor Ely claims precedence with a "new law," for the details of which the reader must be referred to the chapter itself. It rests on the general principle that "the monopoly price is influenced by the general level of well-being, and by the readiness with which people spend money." In ch. iv. Professor Ely discusses the limits of monopoly and the permanency of competition, reaching the conclusion that, "so far as we now see, we have a large field belonging to monopoly; but outside this field we have another in which, under right conditions, competition is a permanent social force. Furthermore, we place the burden of proof upon those who claim that competition in industry is self-annihilating and invariably makes way for monopoly" (p. 179).

The fifth chapter, on "The Concentration of Production and Trusts," is devoted to a general discussion of production on a large scale, so far

as it bears upon the main subject in hand. The professor maintains that "there is no such thing as a trust problem in itself;" "the trust problem, as it is called, means the wide-spread tendency to do business on a large scale." It is, therefore, in part a genuine industrial evolution, but it is also in part a purely speculative movement. From the first point of view, trusts are not, in the author's judgment, a bad thing, unless business on a large scale is a bad thing. "On the contrary, when they come about as the result of a free development, they are a good thing; and it is a bad thing to attempt to break them up" (p. 213). The speculative movement, on the other hand, the professor would place on a par with the Mississippi schemes of John Law and the bubble companies of the eighteenth century in England; though, owing among other things to "the action of bankers in a closer scrutiny of trust projects," the trust movement "is not likely to yield such a large wreckage as the bubble movement of the eighteenth century" (pp. 214, 215). Though there is, strictly speaking, no trust problem, Professor Ely admits that "when people talk about trusts, they have problems in mind which are real and genuine." In his last chapter, he accordingly discusses "evils and remedies." Analysis reveals that we have to do with three main problems: first, a monopoly problem; secondly, a problem of industrial concentration; and, thirdly, a problem of wealth concentration (p. 217). The professor condemns the efforts that have been made to crush or check trusts as "faulty and indeed deplorable;" the true remedies must not be direct, but indirect. The author's own programme of reform is certainly not violent or heroic: it includes general and special education, an "ultimate goal" of government ownership (with or without "government operation") in the case of natural monopolies, regulation of bequests and inheritances by taxation and "otherwise," tariff reform, a reform of the patent law, and of the law of private corporations. Such remedies, with a few others (mainly concerned with the protection of labour) would, the author maintains, "prove sufficient for the disease of monopoly"—a somewhat vague conclusion, but perhaps as near to precision as might be expected.

Professor Ely's volume is the first in the "Citizens' Library of Economics, Politics, and Sociology." Let us hope that the continuation of the series will support the conviction of the Editor that "scientific work in the field of the humanities may generally be made interesting to intelligent citizens through cultivation of clearness in statement and literary style." It may be suggested, however, that it might be made more useful by the inclusion of an index.

SIDNEY BALL.



## THE TEMPERANCE PROBLEM AND SOCIAL REFORM.

By JOSEPH ROWNTREE AND ARTHUR SHERWELL. Seventh Edition. [xxxi., 784 pp. Crown 8vo. 6s. Hodder and Stoughton. London, 1900.]

The public interest in the subject and in the book may reasonably be measured by the editions issued. The first edition was in April 1899; this, the seventh, in June 1900. The statistics have been brought up to date. Chap. iii., which deals with State Prohibition, is almost entirely new. Local Option has been separately and more amply treated in chap. iv. High Licence in chap. v. The Russian Monopoly has chap. vi. to itself; so has the Dispensary System separate treatment in chap. vii. The appendices, with the exception of one omission, remain. The illustrations are largely increased.

As to statistics, it is enough to say that the drink bill rose last year by *seven and a half millions sterling*. The average consumption per head was higher, both in spirits and in beer. The average expenditure per head of population was 3s. 1d. more. The economic gravity of the problem is therefore increased. The author's strong and even terrible statements as to the social and political menace in the trade are still more justified by the figures for 1899.

But the special interest of this last edition is found in the added evidence as to the success of State prohibition and local option. This has been collected by a careful personal investigation. In view of the new facts, the old chapter has been rewritten. Perhaps I may be permitted to say that all my personal preferences would be for a verdict in favour of State prohibition; but I have laid the book down convinced that the authors have fully proved their contention, *i.e.* that State prohibition is a failure where it has been tried longest. In Maine the law is openly violated, with the consent of authorities and public. In some states prohibition has been given up; where it is retained, it would appear to be a useful political cry which helps party, but which no party has the intention or the power to enforce.

On the other hand, local option has had a considerable measure of success. This success has been mostly won in rural and sparsely populated districts: and our authors see no reason why such a policy should not be equally successful in England as in America. Where success has been won by local option in urban centres, it has always been in districts provided with a "safety valve;" *i.e.* the near presence of another district where drink could be had if wanted. Friends of local option should very carefully consider the facts of this chapter.

In reference to high licence the authors have been able to accumulate further proofs that, *taken by itself*, it is not a sound policy,

for it has three evils in it. First, it does not lessen the political power of the trade; secondly, it interests localities in the success of the liquor traffic; and thirdly, it intensifies the pressure on the retailer.

By the increased evidence accumulated, the authors are led to speak even more confidently as to the solution of the problem. The real difficulties are found in the urban centres. Nothing, they believe, can be effective there except the overthrow of private interest.

Finally, one may be allowed to refer to the pages on opposition to reform. Mr. Charles Walker is quoted from speeches made as late as November 1899, and again in March 1900. The *Licensing World*, too, supplies instructive reading. I may remind my readers that Mr. Walker was a signatory to the Majority Report of the Royal Commission *with reservations*, before he made these speeches. Which policy the trade intend to stand by, the Majority Report or *the Reservations*, will be plain to the reader of this book. Mr. Walker, in the clothing of a member of the majority, and Mr. Walker on a trade platform or at a trade dinner, are not quite the same person. There is an inclination abroad to imagine that the trade members are somehow pledged to the Majority Report, and that if temperance reformers will only meet them halfway, it will be easy to compromise the little now left at issue. To such I would say: Read carefully your *Licensing World*.

T. C. FRY.

WAGES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By ARTHUR L. BOWLEY, M.A., F.S.S.  
[vi., 148 pp. 8vo. 6s. University Press. Cambridge, 1900.]

This is an instalment of a larger work which Mr. Bowley is preparing, as we gather, and publishing gradually in the *Statistical Journal*. "If I had waited," he tells us, "till it was finished, many of the preliminary results, complete in themselves, would have been lost to those to whom they might have been useful, and helpful criticism which, I trust, may be evoked by these notes, lost to the author." The apology is not needed by any one who glances through these pages. They are necessarily of a fragmentary nature. It seems difficult to procure satisfactory statistics of wages with anything like continuous regularity; "even Mr. Mulhall, who has found statistics of almost every measurable quantity, is obliged to give very few figures of wages." But it is to be hoped that the publication of this book may do something to remedy this defect, and that readers of it will obtain such sequences of wages as they can to forward to the London School of Economics.

The collection of statistics about wages is in flat opposition to the proverb that one fool is able to ask more questions than ten wise men can answer. For it is only the expert who is able to ask the questions which shall produce any trustworthy information. This is well illustrated by the difference between wages and earnings. There are, says Mr. Bowley, deductions and additions to be allowed for and suspected.

"The deductions include necessary payments for assistance in work, rent of machinery, payment for light, tools, oil, gunpowder, etc.; fines for bad work or breach of rules—sometimes amounting to a regular tax, and expense of getting to work; there are others less easy to reckon, and theoretically perhaps not entering into the question, such as compulsory deduction for insurance, specially high house-rent, due to the necessity of living in a special district, specially high prices of commodities, those concealed extortions which have been diminished by the Truck Acts, expense of special clothing, or of an arbitrarily high standard of living, all of which come under the economic question of real income, rather than the statistical question of wages. The additions are: payments in kind, which have gradually diminished throughout the century, and vitiate simple comparisons of money wages; free board, free house or ground, free clothes, cheap coals or free haulage, special facilities for cheap purchase without middlemen's profits, bonuses, or special opportunities for earning extra money for special tasks" (pp. 6, 7; cf. pp. 41, 96). (On p. 55 a case is quoted from Ross where the money wages of a foreman ploughman were only £26 per annum, but his total estimated earned income was £50.)

Another difficulty in some trades is caused by the complexity of organization, as in the cotton-trade, where we are told that "the workmen have to employ skilled officials to estimate the rate of payment in conformity to the general agreement" (p. 4). A further point, which is, perhaps, deserving of more prominence than is given to it, is that it is in periods of depression that statistics are chiefly available, and more rarely in those of undue inflation (p. 125). The averages, therefore, tend to be calculated from data which represent the minimum rather than the normal.

In the presentation of his results Mr. Bowley has preferred to use the kinetic method, which, as he explains, "consists in studying, not wages themselves, but their rates of change, making no attempt to construct a wage census for former dates or at the present time, but to study the proportionate changes of wages, period by period, whenever we can obtain a sequence of figures" (p. 3). It would be impossible here to give any idea of his facts and figures in detail. But



there are one or two remarkable conclusions which emerge. One is, that "wages generally increased from 50 to 100 per cent. between 1780 and the battle of Waterloo. Some trades were able, chiefly through their trade unions, to maintain the pecuniary advantage gained, and in that case their wages are not even now greatly above the rate then prevailing" (p. 125). And an inspection of the tables in this book enables us to see that in nearly all trades wages are now double what they were a century ago. Another point is that the purchasing power of money has also increased. In 1831 and in 1892, for instance, the weekly wage of agricultural labourers in Sussex is put down at 12s. But in 1831 that sum would buy 5·8 pecks of wheat; in 1892 it would buy more than double the amount—12·7 pecks.

The great variation in wages according to locality is a feature of agricultural labour which is well brought out by the recent blue book on the subject, which has appeared since Mr. Bowley's essay. It agrees with him in finding the explanation in the fact that, in the neighbourhood of the manufacturing towns and of the coal mines, it is impossible to persuade the agricultural labourer to work for so much less than was paid for hardly more arduous work in mines and manufactures.

In another trade, that of the hand-loom weavers, we get a reminder of the pathetic picture drawn by Disraeli in *Sybil*, who, from being in 1790 a fairly well-to-do and contented set of men, in 1840 "were earning a miserable 5s. a week, at the expenditure of fourteen hours daily work." One cannot help hoping that the Christian Social Union may help to alleviate such distress if it should occur in the future, by throwing light upon it in its social and economic bearings.

It only remains to say that the Cambridge Press has done its work with its usual thoroughness. Maps and charts are often the weak points in a book. These are excellent; but the reader would have been grateful if the chart which faces p. 23, but which the text states should face p. 22, had in fact faced p. 21, where it is first discussed.

LAWRENCE PHILLIPS.

VALEURS MOBILIÈRES : RUSSIE : Réimpression de Notices et de Tableaux du Bulletin Russe de Statistique. [144 pp. 4to. St. Petersburg, 1900.]

The notes and tables in the above publication, issued under the supervision of the Russian Finance Department, contain matter of very unequal value. We are furnished (pp. 18-26) with statistics of the securities of all sorts created, and at present existing in Russia. Their total issue price amounts, it appears, to 32 milliards of francs

(£1,280,000,000), and their present value to 34 milliards (£1,360,000,000). The total value of the securities quoted on the London Stock Exchange amounts up to £5,675,746,000. The writer suggests that an English reader might feel flattered by the comparison, but, at the same time, points out its obvious unsoundness. The securities quoted on the London Stock Exchange include foreign securities which are also quoted on every other stock exchange in Europe. But what English reader of any intelligence, one may ask, would think of instituting any such comparison? The total of securities created in a country is a total which, without analysis, cannot be said to indicate anything. Both the Russian and the London securities in question consist in part of the State debt, in part of the shares and debentures of railways and other dividend-paying concerns. The amount of the latter may perhaps fairly be taken, so far, as an indication of national wealth. The amount of the former, on the contrary, is *pro tanto* an indication of the negation of wealth; and it is not easy to discover what purpose it is imagined can be served by adding the two together and giving the total in a lump sum.

The portion of the paper which deals with the history of the State debt (pp. 9-13), and with the reduction of the floating debt and the resumption of specie payments (pp. 32-37), is of much more interest and value. The State debt, in the modern sense of the word, begins with Catherine II. We hear, indeed, of one of the predecessors of Peter the Great borrowing £6000 from James I. of England, which he was honest enough shortly afterward to repay. As to Peter the Great's own methods of raising funds for the conduct of his wars with Sweden, with Turkey, and with Poland, they were distinctly of the mediæval type, consisting of forced loans from rich private individuals and from the monasteries, sales of privileges, and, over and above all, of the depreciation of the metallic currency. At a period when the copper rouble should have weighed the fourth of a pound, it sometimes weighed, as a matter of fact, no more than a fortieth. Catherine II.'s methods showed but a moderate advance on Peter's. She raised, certainly, a small loan in the modern fashion at Amsterdam, which had even then hardly lost its pre-eminence in European finance. Her main resource, however, was the issue of assignats. All the States of Europe, indeed, as the writer says, "navigated for long in the galley of a floating debt before reaching the haven of a consolidated one." At the time of the death of Catherine, the funded debt of Russia was still only about £2,000,000. By 1803, however, the issue of assignats had reached the figure, formidable for the epoch, of £12,000,000, and the Napoleonic wars brought it up to something over £40,000,000.

At present the consolidated debt of Russia stands at £660,000,000. Out of this, however, £60,000,000 represents a nominal increase in the capital amount, owing to the conversion of five per cent. bonds into four per cents., a measure which really effected a large annual saving in interest; and another £200,000,000 represents the loans raised for the construction of railways, which return about 8 per cent. on the outlay. The returns from the railways, indeed, are now sufficient to meet half the sum needed for the total service of the debt.

The floating debt of the empire is now practically a vanishing, or, it might be said, a vanished quantity. The writer thinks the present therefore a suitable occasion for giving it an obituary notice. In England and in France there are floating debts in a technical sense, but they are of little concern to any one. It would take a financial expert, indeed, to tell us what part of our debt is floating and what is consolidated. In Russia the case was very different. At the close of the Crimean War the floating debt amounted to £240,000,000, and consisted of (*a*) paper money in the strict sense of the words, and (*b*) paper money bearing interest. By the latter is meant the large mass of Treasury bills then afloat which had, in theory, some years to run, but which were, at the same time, available for the payment of taxes, and the acceptance of which, at any moment, and in any quantities, was obligatory at the Exchequer. In these circumstances, it was not surprising that the attempt to resume specie payments in 1862 proved a failure. By 1876 the situation was much improved; the amount of the paper money was greatly reduced, and, at the same time, a large metallic balance had been accumulated in the coffers of the bank. Then, however, came the Russo-Turkish War, and added 400,000,000 of paper roubles to the 900,000,000 already in circulation. The steps taken towards the re-establishment of sound finance had all to be taken over again. They were begun, and, from 1885, at any rate, were carried out on a definite plan. It was decided, pretty much as we subsequently decided with regard to the rupee in India, to let the paper rouble settle down to an average value in gold on the stock exchanges of Europe, to take this average value over a series of years, and on that basis to resume payment in gold. The average value of the rouble on the Berlin Bourse, between 1877 and 1896, was a little over 2 marks, or, in English money, about  $2\frac{1}{2}d$ . From the 1st of January, 1894, to the 31st of December, 1895, it did not fall below 2.16 marks. It was decided, accordingly, to announce in 1897 that rouble notes would be redeemed on that basis, or, rather, on equivalent in gold, 0.7742 grammes, and that this value would be maintained with all the resources of the State. The decision, as we know, has not



caused anything in the nature of an exodus of gold from Russia. On the contrary, the treasure held against the notes has since considerably increased, and the country has become a gold standard one in the fullest sense of the words.

WILLIAM WARRAND CARLILE.

DIE SÄCHSISCHE BAUMWOLLEN-INDUSTRIE. Von Dr. PHIL. ALBIN KÖNIG. [370 pp. 8vo. M. 9.60. Teubner. Leipzig, 1899.]

This volume is a minute examination of the fluctuations in the local cotton industry of Saxony, from 1770 to the end of the Napoleonic wars, and is based, to a great extent, upon the records of the great fair of Leipzig, held biennially at Easter and Michaelmas. This huge market formed a distributing centre, not only for the numerous German States, but also for Poland, Russia, and the countries of the Lower Danube. At the earlier date mentioned, the slender stock of cotton goods brought to Leipzig consisted of productions of French, Swiss, Saxon, and Indian looms. England was represented by silk and woollen goods, tin, lead, and hardware. But the recent innovations in the processes of manufacture, introduced early in George the Third's reign, were giving our manufacturers an advantage, in spite of the higher wages even then prevailing in England, which some of them were ready to grasp at once. Cotton goods of English and Scotch manufacture began to find their way to Leipzig from 1773 onwards, an enterprising Manchester man named Humphries taking a foremost part in the new trade. Adopting the principle of small profits and quick returns, he figures in the annals of the fairs of Leipzig and Frankfort as the native producer's most formidable competitor from 1796 till Napoleon instituted the Continental system. In 1798, at Frankfurt, he cleared off all his stock to the amount of 500,000 florins, while the sales of his competitors barely cleared their expenses in travelling to and fro from the fair.

Indeed, interest in this book centres in the testimony it bears to the enterprise of our men of business a century ago. Their methods were those with which we credit our German competitors of to-day. "By a sharp drop in prices, and by despatching a great number of travellers with samples who were ready to transact business on very reasonable terms, especially with regard to credit, the English sought to secure the lion's share of orders," says Dr. König, and he proceeds to show that they succeeded. The Russians, Poles, and Wallachians were our best customers, always insisting on obtaining goods of British manufacture. A painstaking German, named Baumgärtel, undertook a

journey into England in 1791, in order to acquaint himself with our new machinery. But though he did his best to conceal the object he had in view, our manufacturers were too discreet to allow him more than a passing glance at their new factories, and he had to come away unsatisfied. Indian muslins in 1793, Indian calicoes, and the textile fabrics of Chemnitz and the Voigtland in 1798, and the calico prints of Saxony in 1804, were all supplanted by the products of English mills.

C. H. D'E. LEPPINGTON.

**AMERICA'S WORKING PEOPLE.** By CHARLES B. SPAHR.  
[261 pp. Crown 8vo. 5s. net. Longmans. New York, 1900.]

The information which Mr. Spahr gives in this book is very various. A chapter on the trade unions of Chicago is followed by a discussion of Mormonism; and we are transferred from North to South, from town to country, apparently very much as Mr. Spahr's journeys led him. Each chapter is practically a separate essay, and is interesting rather as the personal experience of a traveller than for the economic statistics which it contains.

Five out of the ten chapters of the book deal with the conditions of labour in the towns; two more describe the conditions of farmers in different parts of the country, and the three other chapters are devoted to the consideration of the negro question and of Mormonism. It is in these latter chapters that Mr. Spahr is most interesting; his information is evidently first-hand, and he has spared no pains to make it trustworthy. He confesses to a "strong prejudice in favour of the negro," and is convinced, in spite of the pessimism of many of the whites with whom he came in contact, of the great progress, mental and moral as well as material, which has been made by the negro since his emancipation. He refuses to regret that education in many cases unfits them for service, but rather hails this as the most hopeful sign of advance, since servility is the chief danger of the negro; and he is especially emphatic about the advantage of the negro franchise, and most hostile to its withdrawal.

For the most part Mr. Spahr limits himself to facts, and gives us little of his own opinion; yet it is clear that he writes in an optimistic and hopeful strain. The general condition of the working classes is distinctly better than it was twenty years ago, while the restless discontent which prevails everywhere is in itself an omen of further progress. "The distinguishing spirit of America's working people," says Mr. Spahr, "is hopeful discontent;" and the record of the last few years shows a steady advance towards a better organized system of labour and a higher moral and intellectual standard. Mr. Spahr has indeed a great faith in the beneficial results of the "Americanizing

process," and is convinced that the American system of popular government is more successful than any other in securing the "superiority of common manhood."

M. W. GODFREY.

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### SHORT NOTICES.

ELEMENTS OF ECONOMICS OF INDUSTRY, being the first volume of *Elements of Economics*. By ALFRED MARSHALL, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Cambridge. [xiv., 421 pp. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. Macmillan. London, 1899.]

The merits of Professor Marshall's text-book are too well known to need restatement. The present edition has been carefully revised and rearranged in the interest of beginners. Some of the more difficult matter has been omitted altogether or relegated to appendices, in some cases explained at greater length. In an interesting preface to the third edition, Professor Marshall contrasts the method of his *Elements* with that of his *Economics of Industry*, published in 1879. In the *Elements*, by way of avoiding the appearance of too easy or too absolute solutions of economic difficulties, he had tended to give more prominence to difficulties which in his earlier volume he had to a great extent ignored, with the result that, if the earlier volume appeared too easy, the later volume became too difficult. The endeavour of the author has been to make the present edition "more nearly self-contained" and at the same time "somewhat simpler and less technical than the earlier editions." This is certainly an improvement in the right direction; Professor Marshall has not made too great a sacrifice of difficulties; his book still remains the best, because the most educational, introduction to the study of economic problems. Nor has he materially modified the characteristic features of his exposition, although a considerable part of books i., ii., iii., and v. has been rewritten. The appearance of this new edition, however, while it satisfies one want, stimulates another and older want: it whets the appetite for the second volume.

HISTORY OF TRADE BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES. By SIDNEY J. CHAPMAN, Lecturer in Political Science in the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire. [116 pp. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. Sonnenschein. London, 1899.]

This book is based on an essay, written by the author, to which the Cobden prize at Cambridge was awarded in 1898. It represents much



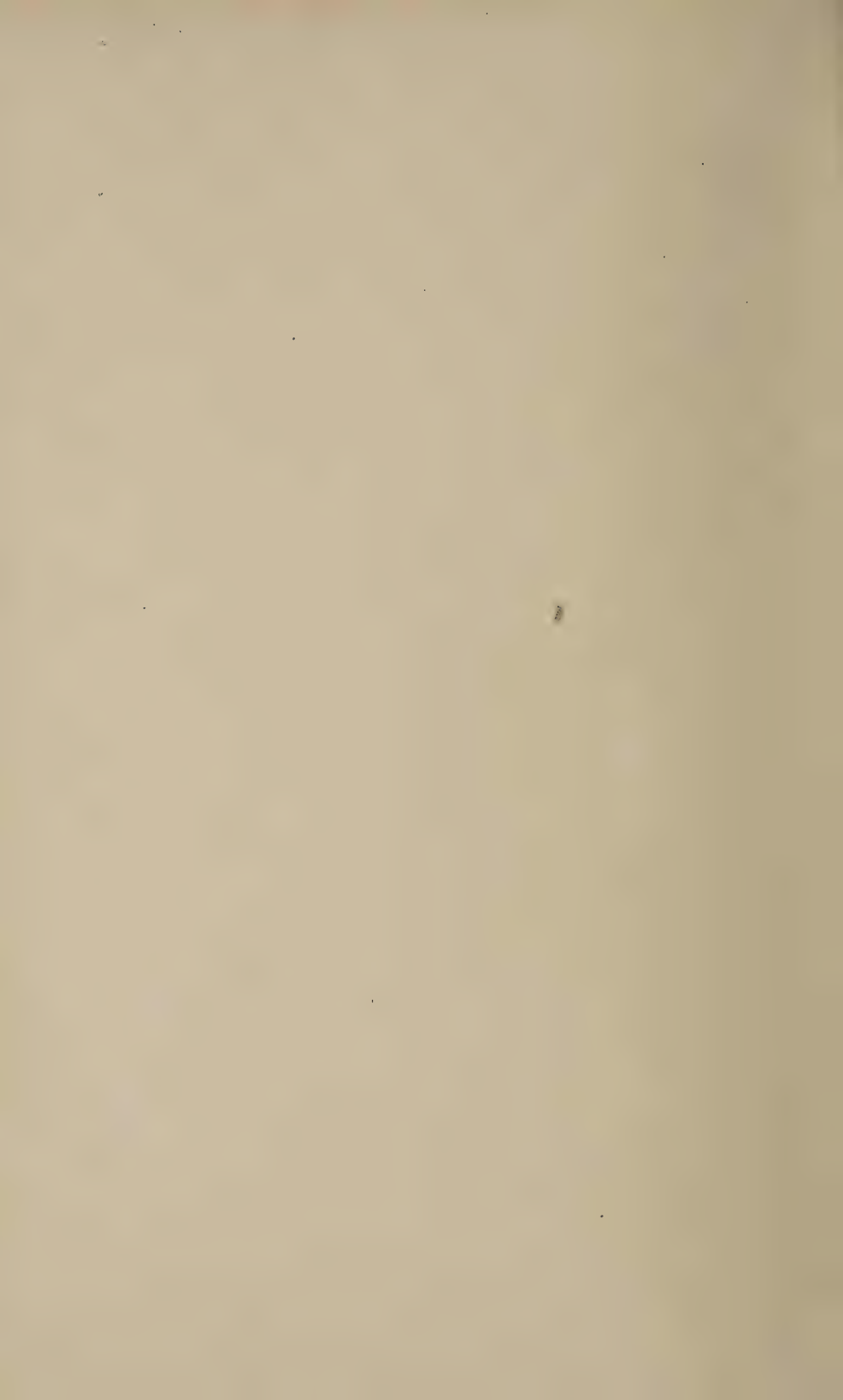
painstaking work, and, though necessarily technical in character, is clearly written and arranged, and illustrated by excellent diagrams and tables. The history of Anglo-American trade is given in some detail, and its fluctuations accounted for from the time of the War of Independence. From that date up till about 1845 America pursued a protectionist policy, but then established moderate free trade, the change in policy being followed, or at any rate accompanied, by a rapid rise in exports. During this period the trade with England increased more rapidly than that with other countries, but after the Civil War America reverted to protection, and since then her other trade has increased more rapidly than that with the United Kingdom. In spite of the increased trade of America, our trade per head is estimated by Mr. Chapman as far greater—ours being reckoned as nearly £20, and that of the United States as between £5 and £6. These figures, however, date as far back as 1894. Mr. Chapman gives many interesting details, in the course of the book, of the effects of various events in either country, and also in Europe, on Anglo-American trade: such as the Irish potato famine of 1846, which gave the first great impetus to food export from America; the financial reforms of Mr. Gladstone in 1852; the Civil War; and the payment of the French war indemnity to Germany. The far-reaching effects of these and similar events is briefly but clearly indicated.

SOME SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PIONEERS OF THE  
NINETEENTH CENTURY. By RAMSDEN BALMFORTH.

[232 pp. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. Sonnenschein. London, 1900.]

Mr. Balmforth writes clearly and easily, and the great variety of the subjects with which he deals shows that his interests and sympathies have a wide range. There are, for instance, short biographical sketches of Cobbett and Cobden, Elizabeth Fry and Lord Shaftesbury, Carlyle and Ruskin; and some instructive chapters on working-class movements like those of trade unionism and co-operation. Most of these studies have already appeared in the pages of the *Co-operative News* (which may be taken as an encouraging sign that wholesome educational work is being carried on among the ranks of co-operators), but are well worth this republication in a more convenient form.

















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